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History.

AN

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest ACCOUNT of TIME.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS;

AND

Illustrated with MAPS, CUTS, NOTES, &c.

WITH

A GENERAL INDEX to the Whole.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεσθαι μὴ κατανόει· ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ εὑρήσεις δικόπως, ἅπερ ἕτεροι συνῆξαν ἐγκόπως.

Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.

VOL. XV.



LONDON:

Printed for T. OSBORNE, in *Gray's-Inn*; A. MILLAR, in the *Strand*; and J. OSBORN, in *Pater-noster Row*.

M.DCC.XLVIII.

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AN

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earlieſt Account of Time.

VOL. XV.

BOOK III.

The ROMAN *Hiſtory.*

CHAP. XIX.

The Hiſtory of Rome, *from the Death of* Vitellius *to the Death of* Domitian, *the laſt of the twelve* Cæſars, *in whom ended the* Flavian *Family.*

THE *Flavian* family, now raiſed to the higheſt pitch of grandeur, was no-way conſpicuous either for its luſtre or antiquity. *Titus Flavius*, the emperor's grandfather, was a citizen of *Reate*, now *Rieti*, in the country of the *Sabines*; and, in the civil wars between *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, ſerved under the latter in quality of centurion, but returned home after the battle of *Pharſalia*; and, having obtained his pardon, betook himſelf to the mean employment of collecting taxes, under the farmers of the public revenue. His ſon *Titus Flavius Sabinus* followed the ſame profeſſion, and acquitted himſelf in it with ſuch integrity, that, by the ſeveral cities of *Aſia*, where he was collector of the tax called *quadrageſima*, ſtatues were erected to him with this inſcription, *To the honeſt publican.* Afterwards he withdrew into the

The deſcent, birth, and actions, of Veſpaſian before he attained the ſovereignty.

country of the *Helvetii*, where he acquired a conſiderable fortune by lending money upon intereſt. He married *Veſpaſia Polla*, whoſe father had been military tribune, and prefect of the camp; and had by her two children, *Sabinus*, of whom we have ſpoken above, and *Veſpaſian*, who was born on the ſeventeenth of *November* of the ninth year of the common Chriſtian æra; ſo that he was raiſed to the empire in the ſixtieth year of his age. He was, amongſt many other new men choſen from the municipal towns, from the colonies, and even from the provinces, admitted into the ſenate by the emperor *Caligula*. He indeed at firſt declined that dignity, but was at laſt, in a manner, conſtrained by his mother to accept it. He afterwards ſerved in quality of military tribune in *Thrace*; was quæſtor of the provinces of *Cyrene* and *Crete*, ædile, and prætor. He attended the emperor *Claudius* into *Britain*, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf, though only tribune of a legion, in a very eminent manner. He was conſul during the two laſt months of the eleventh year of *Claudius*'s reign, and by *Nero* appointed governor of *Africa* in quality of proconſul. He married *Flavia Domitilla*, a native of *Africa*, at firſt ſlave to *Statilius Capella*, but afterwards manumiſed, and made free of the city. By her he had two ſons, *Titus* and *Domitian*, who reigned after him, and one daughter, named *Domitilla*, who died, as did alſo her mother, before his acceſſion to the empire. *Veſpaſian* was, as *Tacitus* obſerves, of all the emperors, the only one by power changed for the better.

A mean flatterer, while in a private ſtation.

WHILE he was in a private ſtation, he uſed to court the favour of the princes by the meaneſt flattery. During his prætorſhip, he begged leave to exhibit extraordinary ſports in honour of *Caligula*, on account of the pretended victory in *Germany*. He was one of the few ſycophants who were of opinion, that thoſe, who were ſaid to have conſpired againſt that prince, ſhould be publicly executed, and that their bodies ſhould be left unburied. In the preſence of the whole ſenate, he returned *Caligula* thanks, for having done him the honour of inviting him to his table. He was chiefly indebted to *Narciſſus*, the freedman of *Claudius*, for the conſulſhip, and the two ſacerdotal dignities which he enjoyed: what dignities theſe were, we are no-where told. After the death of *Narciſſus*, his great patron, he withdrew, and led a private life, dreading the violent ſpirit of *Agrippina*, who bore an irreconcileable hatred to that miniſter, and all his friends. It was therefore probably after her death, that he was by *Nero* appointed proconſul of *Africa*, in which government he acquitted himſelf, according to *Suetonius* [a], with honour and integrity; accord-

[a] SUET. in Veſp. c. 4.

ing

ing to *Tacitus* [b], with ignominy, and public hatred (A). Soon after his return from *Africa*, his affairs being in a bad condition, and his credit at ſtake, he was obliged to mortgage his houſe and poſſeſſions to his brother *Sabinus*, and in the mean time to ſupport himſelf, and his family, with the mean gain he earned by ſelling and changing horſes, nay, and by orher means ſtill more unworthy; for he was convicted of having extorted from a young knight the ſum of two hundred thouſand ſeſterces, for employing his intereſt in procuring him a place in the ſenate, againſt the inclination, and expreſs will, of his father. He attended *Nero* into *Achaia*, where he incurred that prince's diſpleaſure, and was forbidden the court, for his inattention while the emperor was ſinging; a crime, which had nigh coſt him his life at *Rome*, as we have related elſewhere. Hereupon he withdrew into the country, and there led a life altogether private and retired, expecting every moment his laſt doom, when he was, contrary to his expectation, named by *Nero* to command in the war againſt the *Jews*, as a perſon of great military abilities, and one, who, on account of his mean extraction, gave him no umbrage.

He was therefore ſent into *Judæa* with three legions, eight ſquadrons of horſe, and ten auxiliary cohorts, his ſon *Titus* ſerving under him in quality of his lieutenant. In the courſe of that war, which proved ſo fatal to the *Jewiſh* nation, *Veſpaſian* acquired ſignal reputation. In every duty incumbent upon a leader, or even a ſoldier, he was indefatigable: it was he who always led the march; he who always choſe the ground for encamping. Upon conſultations and diſpatches he ſpent nights and days, and was ever ready, upon any exigency, to encounter the enemy hand to hand. His diet was ſuch as chance preſented. In his garb and dreſs, he varied little from a common ſoldier. In ſhort, had he been exempt from avarice, he would have equaled the moſt famous commanders of antient times. With that vice he is charged by moſt writers; among the reſt, by *Tacitus*, who owed to him his firſt promotion in the ſtate; but nevertheleſs declares, as becomes an impartial hiſtorian, againſt admitting perſonal hatred or affection in the characters of men. After the death

His character as a general.

Is taxed with avarice.

[b] Tacit. hiſt. l. ii. c. 37.

(A) The former writer acknowleges, that, during a ſedition at *Adrumetum*, he was outrageouſly inſulted by the populace; and, on the other hand, it is well known, that no province eſpouſed the cauſe of *Vitellius*, and oppoſed the preferment of *Veſpaſian*, with more ardour, than that of *Africa*; a manifeſt proof, that his government had not been popular.

of *Nero* and *Galba*, while *Otho* and *Vitellius* were contending for the ſovereignty, he began to cheriſh hopes of obtaining it himſelf, relying on ſeveral prodigies, prophecies, and propitious reſponſes of oracles (B). Of the many predictions, that of *Joſephus* the hiſtorian is the moſt famous, who ſaluted *Veſpaſian* with the title of emperor even in *Nero*'s reign, and aſſured him, he ſhould be ſoon inveſted with the ſovereign power. His prediction is mentioned not only by himſelf [c], but likewiſe by *Suetonius* [d], who tells us, that *Joſephus*, being by *Veſpaſian*'s orders put in irons, boldly affirmed, that in a ſhort time he ſhould by him be ſet at liberty; but that he ſhould be emperor firſt. However, that the empire was, by the dark laws of fate, by predictions and prophecies, foretold and ordained to *Veſpaſian*, and his ſons, was, ſays *Tacitus*, what we believed, after we had ſeen them emperors [e].

[c] Joseph. bell. Jud. l. v. c. 12. [d] Suet. c. 5. [e] Tacit. hiſt. l. i. c. 86. & l. ii. c. 78.

(B) The antients take notice of many prodigies preſaging his future grandeur. In his grounds, ſays *Tacitus* (1), while he was in the bloom of his age, a cypreſs-tree, ſignally tall, fell ſuddenly; but the day following roſe again, and reſumed freſh growth and verdure; which was, according to the concurring teſtimony of the ſoothſayers, an omen of extraordinary grandeur in the ſtate; yet at firſt the whole preſage ſeemed to have been literally fulfilled by his being honoured with the triumphal ornaments, which he acquired by his conduct in *Britain*; by his bearing the dignity of conſul; and by his renown in vanquiſhing the *Jews*. But, when he had paſſed through theſe honours, he began to believe, that the empire was the thing preſaged. He was confirmed in this belief by the anſwer returned him by *Baſilides* prieſt of the god *Carmel*, ſo called from mount *Carmel*, on which ſtood the altar of that deity; a deity, as *Tacitus* obſerves, not diſtinguiſhed by any ſtatue or temple, but only by an altar. As *Veſpaſian* offered ſacrifice there, and was entertaining great hopes and views, *Baſilides* the prieſt, having diligently ſurveyed the entrails, addreſſed him thus: "Whatever deſign it is which "you meditate, O *Veſpaſian*, "whether to build an houſe, or "extend your domains, or to "enlarge your train of ſlaves, "to you is granted a mighty and "large ſettlement, infinite bounds, "and multitudes of men." Theſe myſterious words were immediately ſpread abroad by fame, and by all explained as preſaging the empire to *Veſpaſian*. Many reſponſes of oracles, and prodigies of the like nature, are related by *Suetonius* (2), and *Dio Caſſius* (3); but we ſhall not treſpaſs upon the patience of our readers with a detail of them.

(1) *Tacit. hiſt. l.* ii. *c.* 78. (2) *Suet. in Veſp. c.* 5. (3) *Dio, l.* lxvi. *p.* 744.

Ves-

VESPASIAN, being encouraged by *Mucianus* governor of *Syria*, by *Tiberius Alexander* governor of *Egypt*, and by all his officers, not to neglect the preſent opportunity, while two competitors, of all men the moſt unworthy, were contending for the empire, at length yielded, as we have already related; and was proclaimed emperor at *Alexandria* on the firſt of *July* of the ſixty-ninth year of the Chriſtian æra; on the third of the ſame month, in *Judæa*, where he then was; on the fifteenth, in *Syria*; and a few days after, in all the provinces of the Eaſt. He was not in himſelf any-way changed by ſo ſudden and ſo mighty a turn of fortune: no loftineſs appeared in his aſpect, no arrogance, nor any new behaviour, under his new character. He immediately rewarded his friends, raiſing ſome to military commands, others to be governors of provinces, ſeveral to the rank of ſenators, moſt of them men of ſignal merit and renown, and who afterwards acquired the higheſt honours in the ſtate. As he thought it below him to court the ſoldiers by largeſſes, he promiſed them no greater donative in the heat of the civil war, than had been given them by others during full peace. In the council which he eſtabliſhed at *Berytus* for the direction of all momentous affairs, it was reſolved, that *Titus* ſhould purſue the war againſt the *Jews*, and *Mucianus* march with part of the forces againſt *Vitellius*. But *Titus* undertook nothing till the next year; and *Antonius Primus*, with the *Illyrian* army, defeated the troops of *Vitellius* before the arrival of *Mucianus*; made himſelf maſter of *Rome*, and all *Italy*; and cauſed the unhappy emperor to be publicly executed as a common criminal: all which tranſactions we have already related at large.

Iſacknowledged emperor in the Eaſtern provinces.

Not changed by his new dignity.

IN the mean time *Veſpaſian*, having paſſed ſome time at *Antioch* the capital of *Syria*, proceeded from thence to *Egypt*, where he received the joyful tidings of the victory gained by *Primus* at *Cremona*. Hereupon he haſtened to *Alexandria*, with a deſign to diſtreſs *Rome* by famine, ſince from *Egypt* chiefly the city was ſupplied with corn. He was at the ſame time preparing to invade *Africa* by ſea and land, in order to bring upon the enemy, by intercepting their proviſions, the calamity of hunger, with that of diſſenſion. But in the mean time many perſons of all ranks and degrees arrived from *Italy*, to acquaint him with the fate and fall of *Vitellius*; which were no ſooner known, than multitudes flocked from all quarters, notwithſtanding it was then winter, to court the favour of the new emperor; inſomuch that *Alexandria*, the greateſt city of the empire after *Rome*, proved too ſmall for the vaſt numbers of embaſſadors, deputies, noblemen, officers, *&c.* who flocked thither. Among the reſt, embaſſadors arrived

Receives news of the fate of Vitellius.

from *Vologeſes* king of *Parthia*, who offered to aſſiſt him with forty thouſand *Parthian* horſe. *Veſpaſian* returned him thanks, and, deſiring he would ſend embaſſadors to the ſenate, acquainted him, that the commonwealth was re-eſtabliſhed in peace[f]. The news of the death of *Vitellius* made *Veſpaſian* alter his meaſures; for, inſtead of diſtreſſing the city, which had already proclaimed him emperor, with famine, he diſpatched thither a great number of veſſels laden with corn; which arrived very ſeaſonably, there not being at that time remaining in all the public ſtores above ten days proviſion of grain[g]. As the winter-ſeaſon was far advanced, *Veſpaſian* continued ſome months at *Alexandria*, waiting a ſafe paſſage from the gentle weather returning with the ſummer.

Mucianus *arrives at* Rome.

In the mean time *Mucianus* arrived at *Rome*, according to *Joſephus*[h], the day after the death of *Vitellius*; and in a moment drew to himſelf, as he had been inveſted by *Veſpaſian* with an uncontrouled power, the whole ſway. *Licinius Mucianus* was, according to the character which *Tacitus* has drawn of him, a man remarkable for a ſtrange combination of good and bad qualities; luxury and vigilance, haughtineſs and complaiſance; when unemployed, exceſſively voluptuous; of infinite abilities and activity, when buſineſs required them. Hence his equal ſhare of praiſe and reproach; as a public miniſter, admired; as a private voluptuary, condemned. He was a great maſter in the ſeveral arts of engaging, an able orator, well verſed in civil affairs, prompt in foreſeeing events, dextrous at concerting ſchemes, mighty in credit with thoſe who were above him, under him, or in equal authority with him; in ſhort, ſuch a man as could eaſilier create an emperor, than be one.

His character.

He bears univerſal ſway.

Veſpaſian, as he was chiefly indebted to him for the empire, upon his departure for *Italy*, inveſted him with an unlimited power, and is even ſaid to have truſted him with his ſignet, as if he had been his partner in the ſovereignty. Hence, upon his arrival at *Rome*, he was by all looked upon and revered, rather as the emperor's collegue, than as a ſubordinate miniſter. Quite ſunk was the power of *Antonius Primus*, and *Arrius Varus*, whom *Veſpaſian* had already appointed captain of the prætorian guards. As *Mucianus* could not well diſſemble his animoſity towards them, the city immediately turned her back upon her late favourites, and devoted herſelf to the new minion. To him alone court was paid, to him all addreſſes were made: neither was he wanting to his own grandeur; for he never appeared in public but encompaſſed with guards, and attended with an equipage be-

[f] Tacit. hiſt. l. iv. c. 51. Joseph. bel. Jud. l. iv. c. 52. [g] Dio, Val. p. 702. Tacit. ibid. [h] Joseph. bell. Jud. l. iv. c. 42.

coming

coming a ſovereign. He forbore indeed the name, but performed all the functions, of ſovereignty. Soon after his arrival, he cauſed *Aſiaticus*, the late emperor's freedman, to atone for his late wicked ſway, by ſuffering the death of a ſlave. His doom was by every one expected, and even wiſhed for; but the death of *Calpurnius Galerianus* occaſioned a mighty and general dread in the city. He was the ſon of *Caius Piſo*, who, in the reign of *Nero*, had aſpired to the ſovereignty; but had himſelf no ſhare in that conſpiracy, nor had ever offered to diſturb the ſtate. However, as he was of an illuſtrious family, of a graceful perſon, and greatly beloved by the people, he was, by order of *Mucianus*, committed to the cuſtody of a band of ſoldiers, ſent forty miles from *Rome*, and there put to death by having his veins opened [i].

He cauſes Calpurnius Galerianus *to be murdered.*

WHILE *Mucianus* was thus ruling with abſolute ſway in *Rome*, the *Batavians* were carrying on the war againſt the *Romans* with ſtupendous ſucceſs in *Lower Germany*. Of that war we ſhall here, as in its proper place (for it was happily concluded this year, the firſt of *Veſpaſian*'s reign), briefly recount the cauſes and events. The *Batavians*, originally the ſame people with the *Cattans*, who dwelt beyond the *Rhine*, being driven thence by a domeſtic inſurrection, ſettled at the extreme borders of *Gaul*, in an iſland formed by the mouths of the *Rhine* and the ocean (C). They were not ſubjects, but allies, of the *Romans*, being obliged to aſſiſt them only with troops commanded by men of the firſt rank amongſt them. They had at this time eight cohorts, men thoroughly exerciſed in the wars of *Germany* and *Britain*. Theſe *Vitellius* had gained over to his party, and a great ſhare they had in the victory at *Bedriacum*; but, proving afterwards refractory and ungovernable, the emperor thought it adviſeable to remand them back to their own country. *Julius Paulus* and *Claudius Civilis*, both men of royal deſcent, greatly ſurpaſſed the reſt in credit and quality. The former was ſlain by *Fonteius Capito*, who falſly charged him with rebellion. The latter was put in irons, and ſent to *Nero*; but by *Galba* declared innocent, and ſet at liberty. Under *Vitellius* he was again in danger of his life, being charged with treaſon: and hence his hatred to the *Romans*, which prompted him to arm his countrymen againſt them. However, as he was a man of great addreſs, leſt the *Romans* ſhould look upon him as a public ene-

The Batavians *revolt from the* Romans, *under the conduct of* Claudius Civilis.

[i] TACIT. hiſt. l. iv. c. 11. JOSEPH. bel. Jud. l. v. c. 42.

(C) According to this deſcription, the *Batavians* poſſeſſed *South Holland*, part of the country of *Utrecht*, and the iſland of *Betaw* in the dukedom of *Guelderland*.

my,

my, if he once appeared to have revolted from them, in the beginning of the war between *Vitellius* and *Veſpaſian*, he pretended an attachment to the latter, and was, by letters from *Antonius Primus*, ordered to ſtop, and drive back, the forces ſummoned to ſuccour *Vitellius*. *Civilis*, therefore, determined to revolt, but concealing, for the preſent, his main drift, contented himſelf with diverting the *Batavian* youth from liſting themſelves purſuant to the orders of *Vitellius*. Soon after, pretending only to celebrate a banquet, he aſſembled the chiefs of the nation, and the moſt daring among the populace, in a ſacred grove, where, when they had carouſed till far in the night, and were warm and bold, he acquainted them with his real deſign, diſplayed the praiſes and renown of their nation, enumerated the inſults they had ſuffered, the oppreſſion they groaned under, and all the miſeries attending a ſtate of ſervitude. As he was heard with great applauſe, he bound them all, with many barbarous ceremonies, in a combination.

Civilis *is joined by the* Caninefates *and* Friſians.

He then diſpatched meſſengers to the *Caninefates*, who inhabited part of the iſland, to engage them in the ſame cauſe and aſſociation. The *Caninefates* fell readily into his meaſures; and, chooſing for their leader one *Brinno*, famous for brutal bravery, took the field; and, being joined by the *Friſians*, a people beyond the *Rhine*, forced the winter-encampment of two cohorts, burnt down all the ſtrong-holds in the iſland, and maſſacred all the *Roman* victualers and traders, whom they found confidently rambling about, as in time of peace. Hereupon *Civilis*, pulling off the maſk, and openly joining the *Caninefates* and *Friſians*, marched to attack the *Romans*, who, under the conduct of *Aquilius*, had retired to the upper part of the iſland. The conflict was ſcarce begun, when a band of *Tungrians*, who ſerved under the *Romans*, went over to the enemy. At the ſame time the *Roman* fleet, conſiſting of twenty-four veſſels, the rowers being for the moſt part natives of *Batavia*, rowed away directly to the enemy's ſhore. By this means the *Roman* forces were eaſily defeated, put to flight, and inhumanly butchered, both by the enemy, and their own companions. Upon the news of this victory, the *Germans* immediately diſpatched embaſſadors to *Civilis*, with offers of ſuccours. On the other hand, *Hordeonius Flaccus*, who commanded the army in *Upper Germany*, ordered *Memmius Lupercus* to march out forthwith againſt the enemy with two legions, all the cavalry of the *Ubians* and *Treverians*, and a ſquadron of *Batavian* horſe, men long ſince corrupted in their fidelity to the *Romans*, but feigning a great zeal for their cauſe, purpoſely to betray them in the very heat of the fight. Accordingly, the two armies having joined battle, the

Puts the Romans *to flight.*

Batavian cavalry, deſerting the legions while they were fighting with great bravery, fled over to *Civilis*; then inſtantly, like enemies, turned upon the *Romans*. Yet the legionaries, though preſſed on all ſides, ſtill kept their ranks, and ſtood their ground, till the auxiliary *Ubians* and *Treverians* betook themſelves to a ſcandalous flight, diſperſing all over the fields. Againſt them the *Batavians* bent their fury and purſuit; which gave the legions an opportunity of retiring with ſafety to the old camp, which, as we have obſerved in the reign of *Tiberius*, is placed by moſt geographers near the preſent city of *Stanten* in the duchy of *Cleves*.

Eight Batavian cohorts go over to Civilis.

ABOUT the ſame time the eight *Batavian* cohorts, which, in obedience to the orders of *Vitellius*, were upon their march to *Rome*, being informed of the revolt of their countrymen, and the advantages by them already gained, returned, and took their route towards *Lower Germany*, there to join *Civilis*. *Herennius Gallus*, who then governed *Bonna*, now *Bonn*, attempted to oppoſe the paſſage of the *Batavians*, at the head of three thouſand legionaries, and ſome cohorts haſtily raiſed; but was by them defeated with great ſlaughter. The conquerors, avoiding *Cologne*, purſued their march, without committing any hoſtilities, and joined *Civilis*, who, now ſeeing himſelf at the head of a regular army, but ſtill dreading the formidable power of the *Romans*, obliged all who were with him to ſwear allegiance to *Veſpaſian*, and diſpatched embaſſadors to the two legions in the old camp, requiring them to take the ſame oath. The anſwer they returned, was, That they would not follow the counſels of a known traitor, nor thoſe of a public enemy; and that a *Batavian* fugitive muſt not interfere in the affars of the *Roman* ſtate, but prepare to meet the doom due to his enormous crimes. *Civilis*, highly provoked at this anſwer, rouſed to arms the whole *Batavian* nation; and, being joined by the *Bructerans* and *Tenctcrans*, attacked the camp with a numberleſs multitude, and a fury hardly to be expreſſed. But the *Romans*, though ſcarce five thouſand men, made ſo vigorous a defence, that *Civilis*, deſpairing of ſucceſs by the method of force and ſtorming, changed his meaſures, and blocked them up on all ſides, not doubting but they would be ſoon conſtrained by famine to capitulate. In the mean time *Hordeonius Flaccus*, underſtanding that the camp was beſieged, immediately diſpatched *Dillius Vocula*, commander of the eighteenth legion, and *Herennius Gallus*, with powerful ſuccours, to the relief of the two legions. But, while theſe two commanders were ſtill encamped at *Gelduba* upon the *Rhine*, now *Gelnub*, a ſmall village near *Ordingen*, in the territory of *Cologne*, news were brought them of the defeat of *Vitellius* at *Cremona*; whereupon

Civilis *beſieges the old camp.*

upon the officers immediately declared for *Veſpaſian*, forced the ſoldiers to ſwear allegiance to him, and ſent *Alpinus Montanus* to acquaint *Civilis* with the victory, and deſire him to lay down his arms, and diſband his troops, if with them he meant to aſſiſt *Veſpaſian*, ſince they all had already acknowleged him emperor.

Defeats Vocula, *the* Roman *commander; and is defeated by the* Gaſcones.

BUT *Civilis* had ſomething elſe in view; and therefore openly declared, that he would never ſheath his ſword, till he had redeemed both his own country and *Gaul* from the tyrannical yoke of the *Romans*; and that inſtant diſpatched againſt *Vocula* the veteran cohorts, and the flower of his *German* forces, under the command of *Julius Maximus*, and *Claudius Victor*, huſband to his ſiſter. Theſe, coming upon the *Romans* quite unprepared, put them to flight, and made a dreadful havock of them. But in the mean time ſome *Gaſcon* bands, lately raiſed by *Galba*, arriving at *Gelduba*, fell upon the enemy in the rear, whilſt earneſtly purſuing the defeat; filled them with diſmay, and inſpired the *Romans* with freſh courage; ſo that they returned to the charge, and, with the aſſiſtance of their allies, put the enemy in their turn to flight, and gave them a total overthrow. All the braveſt men of the *Batavian* infantry were cut off; but their horſe eſcaped with the *Roman* ſtandards and priſoners taken in the beginning of the encounter. *Vocula*, encouraged with this ſucceſs, marched againſt the enemy beſieging the old camp, and, after a moſt bloody conflict, forced them to abandon the enterprize. In the heat of the engagement, *Civilis*, being thrown by the fall of his horſe, was throughout both armies believed to have been dangerouſly wounded, or ſlain: and to this report chiefly was owing the victory gained by the *Romans*. *Vocula*, inſtead of purſuing the enemy when broken, and in diſorder, applied himſelf to fortify the old camp; and, having ſtrengthened it with ſome new works, returned to *Gelduba*, and thence proceeded to *Noveſium*, now *Nuys*, where *Hordeonius Flaccus* lay encamped with part of the army.

The Roman *ſoldiers mutiny.*

BUT *Vocula* was ſcarce gone, when *Civilis* again laid ſiege to the old camp; and, advancing with a ſtrong detachment to *Gelduba*, made himſelf maſter of that place; but was put to flight by the *Roman* cavalry near *Noveſium*. But in the mean time the ſoldiers began to mutiny, and claim preſent payment of their donative; for they had learnt, that the money was already ſent thither by *Vitellius*. *Hordeonius* immediately complied with their demand; but diſtributed the money in the name of *Veſpaſian*. The ſoldiers no ſooner received it, than they abandoned themſelves without controul to debauchery and good chear, to nocturnal revelings and cabals; and, when intoxicated with wine, renewed their antient fury and rage

againſt *Hordeonius*, who was by them ſuſpected of favouring *Civilis*, becauſe, from a mind well diſpoſed towards *Veſpaſian*, he had not oppoſed his firſt attempts. As none of the general officers dared to check or reprimand them, in the height of their rage, they violently burſt into the bedchamber of their general, dragged him out, and then butchered him. *Vocula* would have undergone the ſame fate, had he not made his eſcape in the diſguiſe of a ſlave. They then reſtored the images of *Vitellius*, tore thoſe of *Veſpaſian*, and committed, during that night, innumerable diſorders. But, their rage being appeaſed upon the return of the day, dread and conſciouſneſs took place. The firſt, the fourteenth, and the eighteenth legions were eaſily reclaimed by *Vocula*; and led by him, after they had again taken the oath to *Veſpaſian*, againſt *Civilis*, who had laid ſiege to *Magontiacum*, now *Mentz*. Before their arrival, the beſiegers were withdrawn; but the *Romans*, coming up with them, as they marched careleſly, and appriſed of no danger, fell upon them ſword in hand, and made a dreadful havock of the diſperſed and diſorderly multitude [k].

Murder Hordeonius Flaccus their general.

In the mean time, the death of *Vitellius*, the murder of *Hordeonius*, and the burning of the capitol, being divulged through *Germany* and *Gaul*, both theſe nations ruſhed into open hoſtilities againſt the *Roman* people. A motly multitude of *Cattans*, *Uſipians*, *Mattiacians*, and other *German* nations, joined *Civilis*. The *Gauls* too, laying hold of the preſent opportunity, while the *Romans* were weakened and broken by ſuch ſucceſſive civil wars, combined to attempt the recovery of their antient liberty, being ſtrongly moved by the burning of the capitol to believe, that the diſſolution of the empire was at hand. The city, they ſaid, had of old been taken by the *Gauls*; but, the manſion of *Jupiter* having eſcaped, the empire had thence continued to ſubſiſt. The druids, too, animated them with vain oracles, that to nations beyond the *Alps* the empire of the world was portended. The chief ſway among the *Gauls* was borne at this time by *Claſſicus*, *Julius Tutor*, and *Julius Sabinus*; the two former *Treverians*, and the latter a native of *Langres*. Theſe three, having in private conferences ſounded the minds of the reſt, and engaged in their deſigns ſuch as they judged proper, came at length to a reſolution of throwing off all diſguiſes, and openly declaring againſt *Rome*. The only heſitation which occurred, was, how to diſpoſe of the *Roman* forces then in *Gaul*. Some were for maſſacring them all, others for putting to the ſword only their commanders, ſince the common herd, bereft of their leaders, would be eaſily enticed into the confederacy. The latter

The Gauls revolt.

[k] Tacit. hiſt. l. iv. c. 12—36.

opinion

opinion prevailed; and this was the ſubſtance of their firſt conſultation. The conſpirators then diſpatched incendiaries into all the regions of *Gaul*, to rouſe them to war; but in the mean time feigned great obſequiouſneſs and reſpect to *Vocula*, who was well appriſed of their deſigns; but thought proper, as he wanted force to thwart them, to diſſemble in his turn, and to purſue the ſame artifices which were purſued againſt him. With this view he repaired to *Cologne*; but *Claſſicus* and *Tutor*, who were both commanders of the *Treverian* horſe, encamping by themſelves, and ſeparating the firſt time from the legions, he returned back, and, with the legions alone, proceeded to *Noveſium*, a numerous body of *Gauls* having pitched in the open fields about two miles from that place.

The Roman *legions murder* Vocula, *and ſwear allegiance to the* Gauls.

To the camp of the *Gauls*, as hoſtilities were not yet begun on either ſide, daily reſorted great numbers of *Roman* ſoldiers; and there, as they found themſelves ſurrounded with terrors on all ſides, they agreed to purchaſe their own ſafety by committing an iniquity till then unknown among the *Romans*; which was, to ſwear allegiance to the *Gauls*, and promiſe either to murder, or deliver up in chains, their officers. *Vocula* was not unappriſed of what paſſed in the camp of the *Gauls*; but, judging it beneath him to fly, aſſembled the ſoldiery; and, having in vain attempted to divert them from ſo monſtrous an iniquity, he retired, with a deſign to put a preſent period to his life; but, being reſtrained by his freedmen and ſlaves, he was ſoon after murdered by *Æmilius Longinus*, a deſerter from the firſt legion, ſent by *Claſſicus* for that purpoſe. His lieutenants *Herennius* and *Numiſius* were only put in irons. After this, *Claſſicus*, aſſuming the badges of a *Roman* magiſtrate, entered the camp, and adminiſtred the new oath to the legions there, every one ſwearing allegiance to the ſovereignty and empire of the *Gauls*. Between *Tutor* and *Claſſicus* was ſhared the charge of managing the war. The former laid ſiege to *Cologne*, and forced the inhabitants to take the ſame oath, as he did all the ſoldiers who lay farther up the *Rhine*. *Claſſicus* ſtrove to gain over, by fair promiſes, the two legions that were ſhut up in the antient camp, and were obliged, for want of proviſions, after having conſumed in food their horſes, and other beaſts of burden, to ſupport themſelves by plucking ſhrubs and plants, and picking the herbs which ſprouted amongſt the ſtones of the walls. But at length upon ſo much glory and patience they brought a foul ſtain, by ſending deputies to *Civilis*, to beg their lives. Neither were their ſupplications received, till they had ſworn homage and fidelity to the *Gauls*. Then he granted them their lives; but reſerved the plunder of the camp to himſelf, appointing guards

Cologne, *and other cities, take the ſame oath.*

to

to ſecure the money, ſlaves, and baggage, and others to convoy the ſoldiers thus departing diveſted of all. When they had marched about five miles, the *Germans* ruſhed upon them out of an ambuſh, and cut the greater part of them in pieces. The remainder fled back to the camp; which the *Germans*, by throwing in firebrands, ſet on fire; ſo that ſuch of the unhappy *Romans*, as had ſurvived the late ſlaughter, were all to a man conſumed by the flames. *Civilis*, elated with the ſucceſs of his arms, ſoon reduced all the neighbouring cities, ſome of them being willing to follow his fortune, and others awed by his power [1].

In the mean time *Julius Sabinus*, having pulled down and broken the public tables containing the confederacy with *Rome*, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed *Cæſar*; and, leading an huge hoſt of his countrymen the *Lingones*, ſuddenly invaded the adjacent ſtate of the *Sequanians*, who continued faithful to the *Romans*; but, being by them put to flight, in order to raiſe a report, that he had periſhed, he ſet on fire the country-dwelling whither he had fled, and by that means ſaved his life yet for nine years. By the victory of the *Sequanians*, the fury of the war in *Gaul* was ſtayed. The ſeveral ſtates began by degrees to recover coolneſs and judgment, the reſt following the example of the people of *Rheims*, who publiſhed all over the provinces of *Gaul* an invitation for aſſembling their ſeveral deputies, to conſult which conduced moſt to the good of the whole, war or peace. The aſſembly was held at *Rheims*, where *Tullius Valentinus*, one of the embaſſadors of the *Treverians*, with great vehemence promoted the war; but was oppoſed by *Julius Auſpex*, one of the chiefs in the ſtate of *Rheims*, who diſplayed at large the power of the *Romans*, and the bleſſings of peace. They all extolled the courage and reſolution of *Valentinus*, but followed the counſel of *Auſpex*, moſt of them being deterred from purſuing a general confederacy by the mutual jealouſy and competition of the ſeveral provinces. It was aſked, Where muſt be the head of the war? whither muſt they recur for ſupreme authority? and, ſhould all their purſuits proſper, what place would they chooſe for the ſeat of empire? Some boaſted their alliances, ſome their wealth and forces, others their antiquity; and, from all theſe, each claimed ſuperior prerogative and rule. At length, after long and warm debates, they agreed to acquieſce in their preſent condition. To the *Treverians* letters were immediately diſpatched in the name of the ſtates of *Gaul*, adviſing them to lay down their arms while their pardon was yet to be procured, and their friends were ready to intercede for them, if

Julius Sabinus *defeated.*

The Gauls *reſolve upon peace.*

[1] Tacit. hiſt. l. iv. c. 67. Joseph. bell. Jud. l. vii. c. 11.

they

they ſhewed remorſe. But *Valentinus*, a better ſpeaker than commander, oppoſed this counſel, and ſhut the ears of the nation againſt it. What chiefly diſpoſed the *Gauls* to peace, was, the news they received, that an army was advancing full march againſt them, conſiſting of four legions from *Italy*, two from *Spain*, and one from *Britain*, under the conduct of two ſignal commanders, *Annius Gallus* and *Petilius Cerealis*, whom *Mucianus* had diſpatched from *Rome*, to put a ſtop to the further conqueſts of *Civilis* and *Claſſicus*. *Sextilius Felix* arrived before them, having, at the head of ſome auxiliary cohorts, forced a paſſage through *Rhætia*. To him joined themſelves the twenty-firſt legion, and the ſquadron of horſe ſurnemed *The Singular*, commanded by *Julius Briganticus*, nephew to *Civilis*, but hated by his uncle, and hating him.

The Treverians; *routed by* Sextilius Felix;

WITH theſe forces *Felix* attacked and routed the *Treverians* commanded by *Tutor* near *Bingium*, now *Bingen*; and in a few days obliged the *Tribocians*, the *Vaugiones*, the *Cercatians*, and the *Nemetians*, to deſert their countrymen, and return to the *Romans*. After he had thus made himſelf maſter of the countries bordering on the *Rhine*, from *Mentz* to the preſent city of *Baſle*, the legions, who had revolted to the *Gauls*, renewed of their own accord the oath of allegiance to *Veſpaſian*; and, leaving *Treves*, where they were then quartered, retired to *Mets*, a city confederate with the *Romans*. In the mean time *Petilius Cerealis* arriving at *Magontiacum*, and being informed there, that *Valentinus* was poſted at *Rigodulum*, now *Rigol*, with a numerous band of *Treverians*, he drew into one body whatever ſoldiers he found at *Magontiacum*, with the forces he had brought over the *Alps*; and, having reached *Rigodulum* in three marches, attacked the enemy's intrenchments, tho' incloſed by the mountains, and the river *Moſelle*, and ſtrengthened with deep trenches, and barricades of huge ſtones. The *Treverians* fought for

and by Cerealis, *who takes* Valentinus *their general.*

ſome time with great reſolution; but were, in the end, forced to abandon their camp, and ſave themſelves by flight over the mountains. The *Romans* purſued them, and, in the purſuit, took many perſons of great diſtinction; and amongſt them *Valentinus* their general. The next day *Cerealis* entered *Treves*; which city the ſoldiers were paſſionate for raſing, as the birth-place of *Claſſicus* and *Tutor*; but *Cerealis*, dreading to inure his ſoldiers to licentiouſneſs and cruelty, checked their rage; for, ſince the civil wars had ceaſed, the ſoldiery were more tractable in ſuch as were foreign. Their attention was likewiſe diverted by another object, the arrival of the legions, which had ſworn allegiance to the empire of the *Gauls*. They appeared ſad and dejected, keeping their eyes immove-

The return of the legions, which had

immoveably fixed upon the ground, and imploring their pardon by silence and weeping, till *Cerealis* comforted them, ascribing their desertion to the inevitable operations of fate, and assuring them, that neither he nor the emperor would remember their past offences. At the same time he caused an order to be published throughout the camp, that no one should, upon any dispute, reproach his fellow-soldier with mutiny or desertion [m].

sworn allegiance to the empire of the Gauls.

In the mean time, *Civilis*, *Tutor*, and *Classicus*, having from different quarters assembled all their forces, attacked unexpectedly the intrenchments of the legions now at the very gates of *Treves*, forced them, put the cavalry to flight, and seized the bridge of communication over the *Moselle* in the midst of the city. News of this general rout and havock being brought to *Cerealis*, while yet in his chamber, nay, in his bed (for he passed not the night in the camp), he started up, and, undaunted by all this confusion and distress, strove with his own hand to stop the fugitives; animated them, tho' void of armour, with his own example; and, heading such as were remarkably brave, recovered the bridge, and secured it by a guard of armed men. Then, hastening to the camp, and there rallying the dispersed legions, he not only drove out the enemy, but the same day forced their intrenchments, and recovered the city of *Cologne*, where he found the wife and sister of *Civilis*, with the son of *Classicus* [n]. *Civilis*, having after this unhappy fight recruited his forces with incredible expedition, posted himself in the old camp, where he was attacked by *Cerealis*, reinforced by the accession of three legions. But, as the fields round about were naturally marshy, and *Civilis* had by a great dam diverted the course of the *Rhine*, which thence flooded all the neighbouring grounds, the *Romans* were easily repulsed, and their cavalry put to flight, by some *German* squadrons sallying out against them.

The Roman *intrenchments surprised and taken.*

The gallant conduct of Cerealis.

By the issue of this encounter, both the leaders were prompted, tho' from different motives, to put the whole to the issue of a general battle; *Civilis* eager to pursue his good fortune, *Cerealis* to cancel his dishonour. Accordingly the next day both armies appeared early in the field, and engaged with equal fury and resolution. After the conflict had lasted many hours, the *Germans* were in the end put to flight; and the war had been finished that day, had not the conquerors been prevented, by night approaching, and a sudden storm, from pursuing the flying foe. After this overthrow, *Civilis* withdrew to the island of the *Batavians*: *Classicus*, *Tutor*,

Civilis *receives a total overthrow.*

[m] Tacit. hist. l. iv. c. 71—77. [n] Idem ibid. c. 78.

and an hundred and thirteen ſenators of *Treves*, croſſed the *Rhine* to raiſe new forces; wherein they were attended with ſuch ſucceſs, that ſoon after they returned with a vaſt multitude, and at the ſame time made a fourfold aſſault upon the *Roman* forces poſted at *Avenacum*, *Vada*, *Grinnes*, and *Batavodurum*, now *Arnhem*, *Wageningen*, *Rhenen*, and *Duerſtede*. They were every-where repulſed with great ſlaughter, and forced to caſt themſelves precipitately into the river. Notwithſtanding this diſappointment and defeat, *Civilis*, a few days after, entered in the dead of the night the camp of *Cerealis*, upon the bank of the *Rhine*, made a dreadful havock of the *Roman* ſoldiers, while, appriſed of no danger, they were repoſing in their tents, and carried off a great number of captives. The general, half-awake, and almoſt naked, eſcaped through a miſtake of the enemy; for they had carried off the admiral's ſhip, diſtinguiſhed by its flag, from a belief, that *Cerealis* was in it. But he had paſſed that night elſewhere, as many believed, in the embraces of *Claudia Sacrata*, a native of *Cologne*. The centinels borrowed an excuſe for their negligence from the diſhonour of their general, alleging, that they were injoined to keep ſilence for fear of interrupting his repoſe; ſo that, as ſpeaking was reſtrained, they had dropped aſleep.

He ſurpriſes the Romans *in their camp;*

but is obliged, in the end, to abandon his own iſland, and ſubmit to the Romans.

BUT, notwithſtanding this advantage, *Civilis* was in the end obliged even to abandon his own iſland, and retire beyond the *Rhine*. *Cerealis* committed dreadful ravages all over the iſland of the *Batavians*; but, through a policy uſual to generals, left all the lands and dwellings of *Civilis* untouched, tempting at the ſame time the *Batavians* with an offer of peace, and *Civilis* with a promiſe of pardon, which he reſolved to accept, finding his countrymen tired of the war, and inclined to prevent the deſolation and ruin of the whole nation, by devoting him to puniſhment. Having therefore deſired a conference, the bridge upon the river *Wahal* was broken down in the middle; and the two generals, ſtepping forwards on each ſide, ſtood upon the oppoſite extremities. The iſſue of this conference was, as we learn from *Joſephus*, the reſt of *Tacitus*'s hiſtory being loſt, an intire ſubmiſſion on one ſide, and an unreſerved pardon on the other. The *Batavians* remained in the ſame condition they were in before the war broke out, that is, exempt from all manner of tributes, and only obliged to ſupply the *Romans* with troops when required; a condition this, bordering upon liberty [o].

Veſpaſian and Titus *conſuls.*

DURING theſe tranſactions in *Germany*, *Veſpaſian* and *Titus* commenced conſuls, the former the ſecond time, and

[o] JOSEPH. bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 11.

both

both abſent. The ſenate was therefore aſſembled on the firſt of *January* by *Julius Frontinus*, city-prætor, when they decreed, that public thanks ſhould be returned to the general officers, to the armies, and to the confederate kings, for having eſpouſed with ſo much zeal the cauſe of *Veſpaſian*. From *Tertius Julianus* they took away the prætorſhip, for having forſaken his legion, when it was about to declare for *Veſpaſian*, and transferred that dignity to *Plotius Griphus*. Upon *Hormus*, *Veſpaſian*'s freedman, they conferred the equeſtrian dignity. Soon after, *Frontinus* reſigned, for what motive, we are no-where told, his office; which was aſſumed by *Domitian*, whoſe name was prefixed to all letters and edicts; but the whole ſway remained in *Mucianus*. The young prince, however, boldly exerted many acts of power, at the inſtigation of his intimates, or his own wanton will [p] (D). But *Antonius Primus* and *Arrius Varus* gave *Mucianus* far greater umbrage: they were both renowned for their late famous exploits in war, in great credit with the ſoldiery, and beloved by the populace. *Antonius* was beſides reported to have ſolicited *Scribonianus Craſſus*, the brother of *Piſo*, whom *Galba* had adopted, to aſſume the ſovereignty. *Mucianus* therefore, ſeeing he could not openly cruſh *Primus*, pretended a great friendſhip and value for him, heaped publicly mighty praiſes upon him in the ſenate, made him great promiſes in private, put him in hopes of the government of *Hither Spain*, void by the departure of *Cluvius Rufus*, &c. Having thus intirely gained him, he diſmiſſed the ſeventh legion, which was inviolably attached to him, to their winter-quarters, at a great diſtance from *Rome*; and at the ſame time ſent the third legion back into *Syria*, and the reſt of the forces into *Germany*, to ſerve there under *Cerealis*. Having by this means quite broken the power of *Primus*, and diſburdened the city of thoſe who were apt to raiſe tumults and diſorder, *Rome* returned to her former tranquillity, the laws reſumed their force, and the magiſtrates their wonted functions [q].

Domitian.

Tranquillity reſtored to Rome.

DOMITIAN, appearing now for the firſt time in the ſenate, ſpoke in few words, and with great modeſty, of the abſence of his father, and that of his brother, and alſo concerning his own youth and inſufficiency. Then he propoſed, that

Domitian *goes the firſt time to the ſenate.*

[p] TACIT. hiſt. l. iv. c. 39.

[q] Idem, l. v. c. 11.

(D) Nay, *Suetonius* tells us, that, in one day, he diſpoſed of above twenty offices in the city and provinces: and adds, that he was on that account gently rebuked by the emperor, who, in a letter to his ſon, returned him thanks for not having diſplaced him too, and ſent one to ſucceed him.

all the honours, which had been beſtowed on *Galba*, but afterwards abrogated by *Otho*, ſhould be reſtored. *Curtius Montanus* moved, that ſome public honour ſhould be likewiſe paid to the memory of *Piſo*. The fathers ordained both; but of what regarded *Piſo*, nothing was executed. In the next place were drawn by lot commiſſioners, who were to cauſe reſtitution to be made of whatever had been uſurped by violence during the war, and to reſtrain the public expences. To *Tertius Julianus*, as ſoon as it was known that he had fled to *Veſpaſian*, the office of prætor was reſtored; but *Griphus* ſtill retained the enſigns of that dignity. Before the aſſembly broke up, one of the ſenators, by name *Junius Mauricus*, made ſuit to *Domitian*, that he would impart to the ſenate the regiſters of the late emperors, that they might thence diſcover who had ſolicited to be admitted accuſers, and againſt whom. But the young prince judiciouſly replied, that, in an affair of this ſort, the ſentiments of the emperor muſt be firſt learnt. However, *P. Egnatius Celer*, the accuſer of the celebrated *Soranus Barea*, was condemned; but *Mucianus* haranguing in behalf of the informers, and exhorting the fathers to obliterate the impreſſions of all reſentment, and forget the grievances ariſing from the neceſſity of the late times, all further proſecutions were dropped [r].

Mucianus *ſpeaks in behalf of the accuſers.*

THIS year *Mucianus* ordered the ſon of *Vitellius* to be put to death, pretending, that civil diſcord would never ceaſe, unleſs the ſeeds of war were utterly extinguiſhed. He treated *Antonius Primus* with ſuch haughtineſs, that he forced him to retire from *Rome*, and recur to *Veſpaſian*, by whom he was received without any great marks of friendſhip or diſfavour, the emperor's mind being under a conflict, on one ſide ſwayed by the great ſervices of that commander, by whoſe conduct the war was accompliſhed, on the other by letters from *Mucianus*. The other courtiers at the ſame time combined to diſgrace him, charging him with arrogance, overbearing and heightening the charge with the enormities of his former life. Neither failed he to raiſe to himſelf new enemies by his haughty carriage; for, with exceſſive oſtentation, he uſed to recount his own exploits and deſerts, treating the other commanders with the utmoſt contempt, eſpecially *Cæcina*, whom he uſed to revile as a captive, and a man of no ſpirit, who had tamely ſubmitted. Hence, by degrees, he ſunk in his character; but, from the emperor, retained to the laſt ſome appearance of favour. Of him we find no further mention made by the antient writers. *Mucianus* likewiſe diſplaced *Arrius Varus*, commander of the

Antonius Primus *repairs to* Veſpaſian.

[r] TACIT. hiſt. l. iv. c. 40—44.

prætо-

prætorian guards; and, to make him ſome amends for the loſs of this employment, beſtowed upon him another, that of ſupplying the city with grain, which had been formerly diſcharged by perſons of the firſt quality. To ſoften *Domitian*, who had a great kindneſs for *Varus*, he beſtowed the command of the guards upon *Arretinus Clemens*, who was nearly allied to the houſe of *Veſpaſian*, and very dear to *Domitian*. The father of *Arretinus* had diſcharged the ſame truſt with great credit under *Caligula*, whence his name was well-pleaſing to the ſoldiery. The guards had been hitherto commanded by a *Roman* knight; but *Arretinus* was, as *Tacitus* informs us, by rank a ſenator [s].

Veſpaſian *works ſome miracles.*

VESPASIAN, in the mean time, continued at *Alexandria*, and is ſaid to have wrought ſome miracles there (E). From *Alex-*

[s] TACIT. hiſt. l. iv. c. 68.

(E) A blind man, commonly known at *Alexandria*, proſtrating himſelf at his feet, implored a cure for his want of ſight, telling the emperor, that he had been warned by the god *Serapis* to recur to him, and beſeech him, that, with his ſpittle, he would condeſcend to waſh his cheeks, and the balls of his eyes. Another, lame in his hand, by the direction of the ſame god, prayed him to tread upon it. *Veſpaſian* at firſt derided them; but, as they continued to importune him, he began to waver, fearing on one ſide the imputation of vanity, and on the other drawn into hopes through the intreaties of the ſuppliants, and the arguments of flatterers. At length, conſidering himſelf as an inſtrument choſen by the gods to accompliſh the cure, he undertook the taſk with a chearful countenance before a vaſt multitude, intent upon the iſſue. Inſtantly the lame hand recovered full ſtrength, and upon the eyes of the blind light broke in. *Tacitus* aſſures us, that, even in his time, both theſe events continued to be recounted and averred by thoſe who had been eye-witneſſes of them, and could reap no advantage from their flattery. *Veſpaſian* was hence ſeized with an eager deſire of viſiting the reſidence of the deity, in order to conſult him about the ſtate and fortune of the empire. He therefore commanded all to retire from the temple, and then entered himſelf. While he was there, he ſuddenly perceived one of the grandees of *Egypt*, named *Baſilides*, ſtanding by him, tho' he knew him to be then at a great diſtance from *Alexandria*, and confined by ſickneſs. However, he examined the prieſts, whether *Baſilides* had that day entered the temple; aſked ſuch as he met, whether he had been ſeen in the city; then by horſemen, purpoſely diſpatched, he fully learnt, that *Baſilides* was at that inſtant eighty miles from thence (4). St. *Auſtin*, without

(4) *Tacit. l.* iv. *c.* 81. *Dio, l.* lxvi. *p.* 748. *Suet. in Veſp. c.* 7.

Arrives in Italy.

Alexandria he ſailed for *Italy*; and, having viſited in his paſſage the iſland of *Rhodes*, and ſeveral cities of *Aſia Minor*, landed, according to *Joſephus*, on the ſouth ſide of the promontory of *Iapygia* or *Otranto*. At *Brunduſium* he was met by *Mucianus*, and a great number of ſenators, and *Roman* knights; and at *Beneventum* by his ſon *Domitian*. On his route to *Rome*, he was received every-where with loud ſhouts of joy, with applauſes and acclamations; for every one entertained a mighty opinion of his virtues, and looked upon him as one ſent by the gods to reſtore the empire to its former luſtre and tranquillity. As he drew near the city, the far greater part of the inhabitants flocked out to welcome him, and conduct him in a kind of triumph to the capitol, the ſtreets through which he paſſed being ſtrewed with flowers, and the whole city, like a temple, filled with precious odours and perfumes. Altars were every-where raiſed, and victims ſlain, with ſupplications to the gods, that *Veſpaſian* might rule the empire many years, and his ſon *Titus* after him; that the ſovereignty might for ever remain in his family, and *Rome* flouriſh under them [t].

How received at Rome.

GREAT things were expected of *Veſpaſian* by all ranks of men, and no one was diſappointed in his expectation: for he made it his whole buſineſs to re-eſtabliſh the commonwealth, and reſtore the empire to its former grandeur; to conform to the laws, and ſee that all others conformed to them; to conſult the good of the whole, and of particulars; to prevent oppreſſion, and to puniſh it; to promote virtue, and reward it; to enforce the obſervance of the laws by his example, as well as by his judgments; and to merit the af-

[t] JOSEPH. bell. Jud. l. vii. c. 20.

queſtioning the truth of theſe facts, atteſted by ſeveral writers of great authority, obſerves, that *Veſpaſian*, according to *Tacitus*'s account, ordered the phyſicians to examine firſt, whether ſuch lameneſs and blindneſs were curable by human aid; who reported, that, in the one, the power of ſight was not wholly extinct, but would return, were the obſtacles removed; and, in the other, the joints were only diſtorted, and might be reſtored with regular preſſure. Hence St. *Auſtin* concludes, that ſuch cures were not above the power of men, and much leſs above that of the evil ſpirits, endowed with a ſuperior knowlege, and on this occaſion exerting it, to eclipſe, if poſſible, the miracles wrought by the apoſtles, and their diſciples (5). As for the viſion in the temple, it might well have been the effect of a warm and ſtrong imagination.

(5) *S. Aug. civit. Dei, l. x. c. 16.*

fections

fections and fidelity of the people, by his faithful care of them. His firſt care was, to revive the antient diſcipline in the army; for the ſoldiery had abandoned themſelves to all manner of licentiouſneſs, and committed innumerable diſorders, not only in the colonies, and municipal towns, but in *Rome* itſelf. He therefore diſcharged great numbers of them, eſpecially of ſuch as had ſerved under *Vitellius*, and had been long inured to rapine and licentiouſneſs; in the others he puniſhed the leaſt tranſgreſſions with the utmoſt ſeverity, not ſparing even thoſe to whoſe valour he owed the empire, nor omitting any opportunity of reforming the antient diſcipline; of which *Suetonius* gives us the following inſtance: A young nobleman, to whom he had given a conſiderable command, waiting upon him to give him thanks, and ſmelling fragrantly of rich oils and perfumes, the emperor, with a voice expreſſing his indignation, told him, that *he had rather he had ſmelt of garlick*; and took away the commiſſion, which he had given him a few days before. He was no leſs ſevere with the marines, who were appointed to carry letters and diſpatches from *Puteoli* and *Oſtia* to *Rome*; for, upon their petitioning him to have ſome allowance, beſides their uſual pay, for ſhoes, inſtead of complying with their requeſt, he ordered, that for the future they ſhould diſcharge their duty barefoot; and cauſed this ordinance to be immediately put in execution [u].

Revives the antient diſcipline.

He ſcarce ever failed to aſſiſt at the debates and deliberations of the ſenate, without aſſuming to himſelf any authority above the other ſenators, whom he frequently exhorted to ſpeak their ſentiments with freedom; telling them, that he had called them not blindly to approve what was his will and pleaſure, but to receive their counſel, to truſt and to follow it. Having taken upon him, ſoon after his arrival at *Rome*, the office of cenſor, he degraded ſuch of the ſenators and knights, as he found unworthy of their dignities; and ſupplied their places with ſuch perſons, either from the colonies or provinces, as were recommended to him by men of known integrity. By this means he increaſed the number of ſenators to a thouſand, which, by infinite maſſacres, had been exhauſted, and reduced to two hundred [w]. He likewiſe ſtrictly examined into all the courts of judicature, and there reformed innumerable abuſes and grievances, appointed new judges, and cauſed the laws to be reduced and digeſted into a far leſs compaſs. He frequently adminiſtred juſtice himſelf in the forum with great impartiality, and univerſal applauſe.

His conduct towards the ſenate.

[u] Suet. c. 8. [w] Idem, c. 9. Dio, l. lxvi. p. 666.

Embelliſhes the city.

As *Rome* had loſt much of its ſplendor by the late conflagration, and many houſes lay ſtill in ruins, he ordered the proprietors of the ground to rebuild them in a limited time, allowing any one to take poſſeſſion of the ground, if the edifices were not raiſed within that term to a certain height. The capitol he had ordered to be rebuilt before he left *Alexandria*, and appointed *Lucius Veſtinus*, a *Roman* knight, to direct and overſee the work. By him were aſſembled the ſoothſayers, who declared, that the remains of the former temple ſhould be removed into the marſhes; that upon the ſame foundations the new one ſhould be raiſed; and that to the temple nothing new, except height, ſhould be added. With this variation alone, the new temple was raiſed in a ſhort time; and this alone was judged wanting to the magnificence of the former. As the late fire had deſtroyed many public records, he reſtored three thouſand tables of braſs, which had been burnt, having with indefatigable pains found out their true copies. In theſe were recorded all the decrees of the ſenate, all the ordinances of the people, all treaties, alliances, and privileges, granted to any perſon or city, and all remarkable occurrences, from the foundation of the city. In theſe and the like works, he expended vaſt ſums.

His clemency, good-nature, and other commendable qualities.

He was ſo far from ſeeking the deſtruction of any man, that he could not behold, without many ſighs and tears, even the greateſt criminals led to execution. To all he was courteous and affable, allowing perſons of every rank to accoſt him with freedom, the gates of his palace being kept conſtantly open. He was ſo far from concealing the meanneſs of his former condition, that he frequently diſcourſed of it himſelf, and uſed to deride thoſe who, to flatter him, undertook to derive his pedigree from the founders of *Reate*, and the companions of *Hercules*. He deſpiſed titles, and, with much ado, was prevailed upon to accept that of the father of his country; a title to which no one had ever a better claim. The king of *Parthia* having written to him thus; Arſaces, *king of kings*, *to* Flavius Veſpaſianus; he, without finding fault with the title, or reſenting it as an affront, directed his anſwer thus; Flavius Veſpaſianus, *to* Arſaces, *king of kings*; ſhewing thereby in what contempt he had ſuch titles. He was ſo far from taking delight in public honours, that, when he triumphed with his ſon *Titus* over the *Jews*, being quite tired with the length of that ceremony, he was heard to ſay, that he deſervedly ſuffered for having, at his age, deſired a triumph, as if ſuch an honour had ever been due to his anceſtors, or hoped for by himſelf. He bore with incredible patience the many lampoons, that were diſperſed all over the town, reflecting upon his avarice; and the invectives of the philoſophers, whom he

had

had baniſhed the city (F). He gave no ear to whiſperers, nor ever put any one to death, whoſe crimes were not notorious, and plainly proved (G). Tho' ſeveral conſpiracies were formed againſt him, yet he could never be prevailed upon to puniſh the conſpirators with death, ſaying, that they deſerved rather pity than puniſhment, ſince they knew not what a weight and burden the empire was. He took the daughter of *Vitellius*, his inveterate enemy, under his protection, married her into a noble family, and allowed her a rich dower.

He forgets injuries.

He never ſought to revenge the affronts which he had ſuffered in the reign of *Nero*; but generouſly forgave all who had injured or reviled him. Being in that prince's reign forbid the court, and not knowing what to do, he had recourſe to *Phœbus*, the emperor's freedman, aſking him, whither he ſhould go. *Phœbus* returned him no other anſwer, but that he might go hang himſelf; and thruſt him out of his room. The freedman coming to beg his pardon after he was made emperor, *Veſpaſian* was provoked no farther, than to bid him be gone in the ſame terms. Tho' *Mucianus* aſſumed far greater authority than was ſuitable to the rank of a private man, and behaved with much haughtineſs towards the emperor himſelf, bragging, that in his own hands he had had the empire, but freely beſtowed it upon *Veſpaſian*; yet the emperor never rebuked him but in private; and, having once complained of him to a common friend, he ended his complaints with theſe remarkable words; *Yet I myſelf am but a man, and conſequently not free from blame* [x].

Is generally charged with avarice.

The only fault, with which he is charged by the antients, is his immoderate love of money, which he was not aſhamed to procure by means altogether unworthy of an emperor. He not only revived the old impoſitions and taxes, which had been ſuppreſſed by *Galba*; but loaded the provinces with new tributes; bought commodities, that he might ſell them to advantage; and deſcended to ſome very low and unuſual im-

[x] Suet. c. 8, 9, 11, 12, 14.

(F) One of theſe, by profeſſion a *Cynic*, by name *Demetrius*, meeting him one day out of town, reviled him in a moſt outrageous manner; but the good emperor, inſtead of chaſtiſing him for his inſolent behaviour, contented himſelf with telling him, that he was a *Cynic* indeed.

(G) His friends having one day admoniſhed him to beware of *Metius Pompoſianus*, who was born, they ſaid, under a conſtellation that promiſed him the empire, he immediately named him conſul, adding pleaſantly, *When he is inveſted with the ſovereignty, he will, I hope, remember this good turn, and requite it.*

poſts,

poſts, laying one even upon urine: which gave occaſion to his ſon *Titus* to remonſtrate to him the meanneſs of ſuch an impoſition; but he, preſenting to his ſon the firſt money that thence accrued to him, aſked him, whether the ſmell offended him. Neither did he ſcruple the ſelling of any office, nor pardoning any criminal, however enormous his crimes were, provided he could with a ſum of money redeem himſelf from the deſerved puniſhment. He is ſaid to have preferred to the moſt profitable employments ſuch of his officers as were noted for their avarice and rapaciouſneſs, and to have made uſe of them as ſponges, *by wetting them when they were dry, and ſqueezing them when they were wet* [y]. He often ſtrove to diſguiſe his ſhameful avarice by ſome humorous joke. Thus certain embaſſadors having acquainted him, that, by the council of their nation, a conſiderable ſum of money was decreed for erecting him a ſtatue in the form of a coloſſus, *Here is the baſis*, ſaid he, ſtretching out his hand; *lay the money down here, and the ſtatue is reared* (H).

Several inſtances of it.

Some writers think, that he was covetous by nature; and tell us, that he was upbraided with avarice by an old herdſman, who, earneſtly intreating the emperor, upon his acceſſion to the empire, to grant him his liberty without ranſom, and, being denied it, cried out ſo as to be heard by the whole multitude, *The wolf may change his hair, but not his qualities.* But other authors excuſe him on account of the urgent neceſſities of the ſtate, and the emptineſs of the exchequer, when he firſt came to the government; for he then

Is by many cleared from that blame.

[y] Suet. in Veſp. c. 16.

(H) One of his chief favourites having one day begged of him the ſuperintendence of his houſhold for one, whom he pretended to be his brother, the emperor put him off for the preſent; and, ſending afterwards for the perſon whom he had recommended, he received of him the ſum, which was to have been paid to the other for his intereſt, and beſtowed on him the employment. When the favourſte returned to ſolicit in behalf of his pretended brother, *You muſt find out another brother*, anſwered the emperor; *for the perſon, whom you recommended, proves in the end to be my brother, and not yours.* One day, while he was traveling in a litter, the muleteer ſtopped, under pretence of having his mules ſhoed, but in reality to give an opportunity to one of accoſting the emperor, and craving ſome favour. Of this *Veſpaſian* was appriſed; and therefore, having pleaſantly aſked the muleteer what he had received for ſhoeing his mules, he obliged him to pay to him half the ſum (6).

(6) *Suet. in Veſp. c.* 16.

publicly

publicly declared in the ſenate, that the republic could not poſſibly ſubſiſt without a ſupply of an hundred and forty millions of ſeſterces. This is, by the generality of writers, thought the moſt probable opinion, becauſe he always employed his revenue to great and noble purpoſes, and laid it out with uncommon generoſity. His public works and edifices were very expenſive; his preſents and penſions numerous; his feaſts and entertainments frequent and magnificent, *&c.* He ſupported a great number of poor ſenators; allowed five hundred ſeſterces a year to every decayed conſular; reſtored to their former luſtre a great many towns, that had been ruined by fire or earthquakes; repaired the public roads and aqueducts, *&c.* He was likewiſe a great encourager of learning, and the firſt who ſettled ſalaries upon the profeſſors of rhetoric both *Greek* and *Latin*, to be paid yearly out of the exchequer. He invited to *Rome*, with great allowances, not only the moſt celebrated poets, but ſuch artificers and workmen, as were famous in any part of the world. Of the latter, one well ſkilled in mechanics having offered to convey certain columns of vaſt weight into the capitol at a very ſmall charge, the emperor rewarded him for his invention; but would not employ him, ſaying, We muſt not debar the common people from earning their livelihood [z]. Such was in general the conduct of *Veſpaſian*. We ſhall now proceed to the moſt remarkable actions of his reign, digeſted according to the order of time.

Inſtances of his generoſity.

Tho' *Veſpaſian* had, during his firſt conſulſhip, reſtored *Rome* to her former tranquillity, yet he did not reſign the faſces on the firſt of *January*; but, chooſing for his collegue *M. Cocceius Nerva*, afterwards emperor, continued to diſcharge that office till the calends of *March*, when he was ſucceeded by his ſon *Domitian*, as was *Nerva* by *Q. Pedius Caſtus*. This year *Titus*, having, by the taking of *Jeruſalem*, quite reduced the *Jewiſh* nation, returned to *Rome*; where he was received with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy, and ſoon after honoured with a triumph, which was decreed by the ſenate both to him and his father; for *Veſpaſian* had begun that war with great ſucceſs. They both triumphed about the latter end of *April*, diſplaying on that occaſion all the wealth of the *Jewiſh* nation. To *Titus* was likewiſe decreed a triumphal arch, deſcribing his noble exploits; which continues to this day almoſt intire, as a laſting monument of his victories over the *Jews*. The triumph was no ſooner over, than *Veſpaſian* commanded the temple of *Janus* to be ſhut, a profound peace now reigning in every part of the empire. Soon

Triumphs over the Jews *with his ſon* Titus:

[z] Suet, in Veſp. c. 17, 18.

after,

after, the temple of *Peace* was begun; but not finiſhed, at leaſt not conſecrated, till four years after; when the rich ſpoils of the temple of *Jeruſalem* were depoſited there. *Titus*, before his arrival at *Rome*, had been by his father honoured with the title of emperor, and taken for his collegue in the tribunitial power; ſo that being, in a manner, his partner in the empire, he diſcharged all the functions of ſovereignty. He even took upon him the command of the prætorian guards, by which means that office became, as *Aurelius Victor* obſerves, the moſt honourable employment in the whole empire. It appears from ſeveral antient inſcriptions, that *Veſpaſian* this year built ſome aqueducts, repaired the ſtreets of *Rome*, and at a vaſt charge made highways in *Spain* [a].

to whom he imparts the tribunitial power.

THE following year *Ceſennius Pætus*, whom *Veſpaſian* had appointed governor of *Syria* in the room of *Mucianus*, having written to the emperor, that *Antiochus* king of *Comagene*, and his ſon *Epiphanes*, had held private conferences with *Vologeſes* king of the *Parthians*, and were diſpoſed to revolt from the *Romans*, the emperor, without examining the charge, which *Joſephus* ſuſpects to have been quite groundleſs, allowed *Pætus* to take what meaſures he thought moſt proper. Hereupon *Pætus*, who bore ſome private grudge to *Antiochus*, entered his dominions in an hoſtile manner; and, being joined by *Ariſtobulus* king of *Chalcis*, and *Sohemus* king of *Emeſus*, ſeized *Samoſata*, the metropolis of *Comagene*, defeated *Epiphanes* and *Callinicus*, the two ſons of *Antiochus*, and obliged the king himſelf to take ſhelter in *Cilicia*, where he poſſeſſed ſome domains. The young princes found a ſafe aſylum at the court of *Vologeſes*, who entertained them in a manner ſuitable to their rank; but *Antiochus* was, by *Pætus*'s orders, ſeized in *Cilicia*, and loaded with chains; which *Veſpaſian* no ſooner knew, than he commanded him to be ſet at liberty. His kingdom, however, was reduced to a *Roman* province, known by the name of *Auguſteuphrateſiana*, or *Euphrateſiana*, becauſe it extended along the *Euphrates*. *Antiochus* was allowed to retire to *Lacedæmon*, whence he removed ſoon after to *Rome*; where both he and his two ſons, whom *Veſpaſian* took under his protection, at the recommendation of the *Parthian* king, were ſupported ſuitable to their rank at the public charge [b].

Comagene *reduced to a* Roman *province.*

Veſpaſian *reduces* Greece, *&c.*

THE following year, *Domitian* being conſul the ſecond time, with *Valerius Meſſalinus*, *Veſpaſian* reduced *Greece*, which *Nero* had declared free, and likewiſe *Lycia*, *Rhodes*, *Byzantium*, *Samos*, *Thrace*, and *Cilicia*, to *Roman* provinces,

[a] VORBURG. hiſt. Rom. Germ. p. 350. ONUPH. in faſt. p. 207.
[b] JOSEPH. l. vii. c. 9. & l. vi. c. 29. SUET. l. viii. c. 8. Chron. Alexandr. p. 587.

alleging, that they were no longer capable of liberty, since they only made use of it to undo themselves by their intestine dissensions. *Pausanias* seems to acknowlege the truth of this charge [c] (I). This same year *Vespasian* condemned to ba- Helvidius
nishment the celebrated *Helvidius Priscus*. He was a native Priscus
of *Terracina*, and the son of a centurion; but, by his bright *banished.*
and signal parts, soon distinguished himself in *Rome*. When he was yet very young, he applied himself to the study of philosophy, not, as many did in those days, to disguise indolence under a pompous name, but in order to engage in the public administration with a mind thoroughly fortified against all disasters. Ere he had risen higher than the quæstorship, he was chosen by the famous *Thrasea Pætus* for an husband to his daughter. From the character of his wife's father he copied nothing so studiously, as his undaunted liberty in speaking his sentiments, never to be shaken by fear, and ever unmoveable in what he judged conducing to the public welfare. When *Thrasea* was condemned, he was driven into exile, but recalled by *Galba*, and honoured by *Vespasian* in the first year of his reign with the prætorship. As he was a zealous stickler for liberty, he spoke with great freedom in the senate against the arbitrary proceedings of *Galba*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius*; neither did he spare *Vespasian*, but inveighed against him with as much bitterness, as his father-in-law had ever done against *Nero*. The emperor, however, patiently bore with him, till *His*
he began openly to solemnize the birth-day of *Brutus*, and *strange*
that of *Cassius*, and to encourage the people to follow their *behavi-*
example, and attempt the recovery of their antient liberty: *our.*
then *Vespasian* caused him to be seized; but soon after dismissed him untouched, contrary to the opinion of all his friends. *Helvidius*, forgetful of the kindness the emperor had shewn him, pursued his former course; and was thereupon again accused, and condemned to banishment. As he could not refrain, even in the place of his exile, from inveighing with great bitterness against the emperor, he was at

[c] Paus. in Acha. p. 222.

(I) *Rhodes*, *Samos*, and the other islands, were made one province, called, *The province of the islands*, or, *of the* Cyclades, of which the city of *Rhodes* was the metropolis. *Eusebius* speaks of a sedition, which, according to him, was raised at *Alexandria* in the beginning of this year, by some *Jews*, who had fled from *Jerusalem*. *Vespasian* treated the authors of it with great mildness; but ordered *Lupus*, governor of *Egypt*, to demolish the temple, which the *Jews* had built in the territory of *Heliopolis* (7).

(7) *Euseb. in chron.*

length

Is ſentenced to death by the ſenate, and executed.

length by the ſenate ſentenced to death. *Veſpaſian* ſtrove to ſave him, and ſent to countermand the execution; but his orders came too late, *Mucianus* having detained the meſſengers, under various pretences, till the ſentence was put in execution [d] (K).

The laſt cenſus.

THE following year *Veſpaſian* was conſul the fifth time, and *Titus* the third. Nothing memorable happened during their adminiſtration, except the cenſus, which was performed by them in quality of cenſors, the emperor having aſſumed his ſon for his collegue in that dignity. This is the laſt cenſus we find mentioned in hiſtory [e]. They both retained the faſces till the calends of the *April* of the following year, when *Veſpaſian* reſigned them to *Domitian*, and *Titus* to *Mucianus*. This year the emperor conſecrated the temple of *Peace*, and raiſed a coloſſus of braſs one hundred and ten feet high, which had been deſigned for *Nero*; but inſtead of his head, that of *Titus* was placed upon it, or, as others will have it, the figure of the ſun [f]. The two following years, *Veſpaſian* being conſul the ſeventh and eighth time, and *Titus* the fifth and ſixth, nothing happened at *Rome*, or in any part of the empire, which authors have thought worth tranſmitting to poſterity (L).

Julius Agricola *ſent into* Britain.

THE next year, *L. Ceionius Commodus* and *D. Novius Priſcus* being conſuls, the celebrated *Cneius Julius Agricola* was ſent into *Britain* to govern that province, in the room of *Julius Frontinus*. As we ſhall have frequent occaſion to

[d] DIO, in excerpt. VAL. p. 705. col. 66. p. 750. SUET. c. 15. JUVENAL. ſatir. v. PLIN. l. vii. ep. 19. [e] CENSORINUS de die natali. PLIN. l. vii. c. 43. ONUPH. in faſt. p. 208. [f] SUET. c. 19. PLIN. l. xxxiv. c. 7. DIO, ibid.

(K) *Helvidius*, notwithſtanding this his unaccountable behaviour, is greatly extolled by *Tacitus* (8), *Pliny* the younger (9), and *Juvenal* (1). As many other philoſophers, following the example of *Helvidius*, ſtrove to ſtir up the populace to ſedition, they were all driven out of *Rome* (2).

(L) We read indeed, in the chronicle of *Alexandria*, that, in the eighth conſulſhip of *Veſpaſian*, a woman, by name *Alcippe*, was delivered at *Rome* of an elephant; and, in the chronicle of *Euſebius*, that a plague raged in the city with ſuch violence for ſome time, as to ſweep away above twenty thouſand perſons a day. But neither of that extraordinary birth, nor of ſo dreadful a plague, any notice is taken by the antients, nor even by *Pliny* the elder, who flouriſhed under *Veſpaſian*, and was in great favour with him.

(8) *Tacit. hiſt.* l. iv. c. 4. (9) *Plin. l.* iv. *ep.* 21. (1) *Juvenal. ſat.* v. *ver.* 36. (2) *Suet. c.* 8. *Dio, l.* lxvi. *p.* 751.

ſpeak

ſpeak of this renowned commander, we ſhall here briefly recount his courſe of life and purſuits, before he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his mighty exploits in this iſland. He was born in the colony of *Forojulium*, now *Frejus*, in *Narbonne Gaul*; and both his grandfathers were procurators to the emperors; a dignity peculiar to the equeſtrian order. His father, *Julius Græcinus*, was a ſenator famous for his eloquence and philoſophy, but put to death by *Caligula* for refuſing to accuſe *Marcus Silanus*. His mother, *Julia Agricola*, a woman noted for her modeſty, brought him up in his tender years under her eye, and with great care. In his early youth he ſtudied philoſophy and law in the city of *Marſeilles*, with more avidity, as he himſelf uſed to declare, than became a *Roman*, and a ſenator, till the diſcretion of his mother checked his ardour. Reaſon and age afterwards qualified his heat; ſo that he contented himſelf with a limited meaſure of philoſophy. He learnt the firſt rudiments of war in *Britain*, under *Suetonius Paulinus*, one of the greateſt commanders of his age, by whom he was diſtinguiſhed with particular marks of friendſhip and eſteem. He was not one of thoſe young men, who turn warfare into riot; but ſtudied to acquaint himſelf with the province, to be known to the army, to learn of ſuch as had experience, to follow ſuch as were worthy and brave, to ſeek for no exploits out of oſtentation, to refuſe none through fear. He would not aſſume the title and office of tribune, till he thought himſelf well qualified for that command: neither did he make uſe of it, as many did in thoſe days, to indulge his pleaſures with more liberty, or to abſent himſelf from duty; but to encourage others, by his example, to bear with patience the toils attending the profeſſion of arms. As *Paulinus* was engaged in a mighty war with the *Britons*, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter, *Agricola* had an opportunity of improving himſelf in the knowlege of military affairs under ſo great a maſter.

His birth, education, &c.

DEPARTING from *Britain* to *Rome*, to enter there upon the public offices, he was firſt ſent into *Aſia* as quæſtor, where he had *Salvius Titianus* for proconſul. But neither the province, in itſelf very rich, nor *Titianus*, tho' bent upon all acts of rapine, and ready, upon the ſmalleſt encouragement, to have purchaſed a mutual connivance in iniquity, corrupted his probity. He was afterwards created tribune of the people; but paſſed the year of his tribuneſhip in repoſe and inactivity, being well appriſed, that, under *Nero*, ſloth and heavineſs ſerved for wiſdom. With the like indolence he held the prætorſhip, exhibiting, however, as was incumbent upon the prætors, public ſports, according to the meaſure of his wealth, and in a manner no-way ſavouring of prodigality, but ſtill

His preferments.

deſerving popular applauſe. Being afterwards appointed by *Galba* to ſurvey the gifts and oblations belonging to the temples, by a diligent ſearch, he procured full reſtitution of all, ſave what had been ſacrilegiouſly taken away by *Nero*. The year following, his mother was killed by the ſoldiers of *Otho*, upon her eſtate at *Intemelium*, now *Ventimiglia*; and the eſtate itſelf plundered, with great part of her treaſure, which had proved the cauſe of the murder. As *Agricola* haſtened from *Rome*, to pay her the laſt duty, and ſolemnize her funeral, he had tidings upon the road, that *Veſpaſian* had aſſumed the title of emperor, and inſtantly eſpouſed his party. Upon his return from *Intemelium*, he was employed by *Mucianus* to levy forces; and ſoon after, as he diſcharged that truſt with great uprightneſs and fidelity, preferred to the command of the twentieth legion, then in *Britain*, their own commander being found void of authority to controul them, and keep them to their duty. *Vettius Bolanus* was at that time governor of *Britain*; but, as he ruled with great gentleneſs, *Agricola* had no opportunity of diſtinguiſhing himſelf by any military exploits. *Bolanus* was ſucceeded by *Petilius Cerealis*, who, at his firſt entrance, attacked the *Brigantes*, reckoned the moſt powerful people of the whole iſland; and, after many encounters, ſome of which proved very bloody, held moſt part of their country as his conqueſt, or continued to ravage it by war. Under him *Agricola* had room to diſplay his valour and abilities. For trial of his ſkill and courage, *Cerealis* often committed to his conduct part of the army; and ſometimes, according to the meaſure of his ſucceſs, ſet him at the head of forces ſtill larger, ſharing with him both the dangers and the glory. But *Agricola* was ſo far from vaunting his own exploits, that, on the contrary, he aſcribed to his general, as to the author of all, his ſucceſs and good fortune g.

Raiſed to the rank of a patrician.

Honoured with the conſulſhip.

UPON his return from *Britain*, where he had commanded a legion, he was by *Veſpaſian* raiſed to the rank of a patrician, and afterwards appointed governor of *Aquitain*; which truſt he diſcharged with great uprightneſs, and general ſatisfaction. He was after three years recalled, and honoured with the conſulſhip; which office he diſcharged during the two laſt months of the preceding year. While he was conſul, it was generally ſaid, that, for his province, *Britain* would be aſſigned him, from no words that had dropped from him about it, but becauſe he was deemed equal to that office: and common fame, as *Tacitus* well obſerves, does not always err, but often directs the public choice. Before he ended his conſulſhip, he contracted his daughter to *Tacitus* the hiſtorian, who was yet

g TACIT. vit. Agr. c. 4—9.

very

very young, and gave her to him in marriage, as ſoon as he had reſigned the faſces. He was then forthwith promoted to the government of *Britain*, and at the ſame time honoured with the pontifical dignity [h]. But of his exploits in *Britain*, and the ſucceſsful war he carried on there, we ſhall ſpeak at large in the hiſtory of that iſland.

Promoted to the government of Britain.

VESPASIAN being conſul the ninth time, and *Titus* the ſeventh, *Julius Sabinus*, who, as we have related above, had ſtirred up the *Gauls*, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed *Cæſar*, was at length diſcovered, ſeized, and put to death. After his defeat, he had fled to his country dwelling, and ſet it on fire, in order to raiſe a report, that he had periſhed: and truly he was there believed to have ſuffered a voluntary death; but, in the mean time, lay concealed with his treaſures (for he was immenſely rich) in a cave, which he had cauſed to be dug in a ſolitary place, and which was known only to two of his freedmen, upon whoſe fidelity he could depend. He might have eaſily withdrawn into *Germany*; but could not prevail upon himſelf to abandon his wife, whom he tenderly loved (M). *Sabinus*, that no one might doubt of his death, did not for ſome time even undeceive his wife; who ſolemnized his exequies with great pomp, bewailed him with many tears, and at laſt, no longer able to bear the loſs of an huſband whom ſhe ſo tenderly loved, reſolved not to outlive him, and began to abſtain from all food. Hereupon *Sabinus*, by means of *Martialis*, one of his freedmen, informed her, that he was ſtill alive; and acquainted her with the place where he lay concealed, warning her at the ſame time to ſuppreſs her joy, leſt the ſecret might be thence betrayed. *Empona*, tho' in the utmoſt tranſports of joy, continued to bewail him as dead; but, in the mean time, paſſed great part of the night with him, and ſometimes whole weeks, pretending buſineſs in the country. She had even two children by him, who were born and brought up in the cave. She concealed the whole with exemplary fidelity, and wonderful addreſs; nay, ſhe found means even to convey him to *Rome*, upon what motive we know not, and from thence back to his cave, ſo well diſguiſed, that he was by no one known.

The adventures of Julius Sabinus.

[h] TACIT. vit. Agr. c. 9.

(M) She is called by *Dio Caſſius*, *Peponilla*; by *Tacitus*, *Epponia*; and by *Plutarch*, *Empona*; which name, according to that writer, in the antient language of the *Gauls*, ſignified an heroine.

He is discovered;

and put to death, with his wife.

BUT, after he had paſſed nine years in this condition, he was at length diſcovered by ſome perſons, who narrowly watched his wife, upon her frequently abſenting herſelf from her own houſe, and followed her to the cave, without being diſcovered. *Sabinus* was immediately ſeized, and ſent to *Rome*, loaded with chains, together with his wife, who, throwing herſelf at the emperor's feet, and preſenting to him her two tender children, ſtrove with her tears and intreaties to move him to compaſſion. *Veſpaſian* could not forbear weeping at ſo moving an object; but nevertheleſs condemned both her, and her huſband, and cauſed them to be ſoon after executed. The two children were ſaved, and with great care brought up at the public expence (N).

Cæcina *and* Marcellus *conſpire againſt* Veſpaſian; *but are put to death.*

NOT long after the execution of *Sabinus*, *Alienus Cæcina*, of whom we have often ſpoken in the reign of *Vitellius*, and *Eprius Marcellus*, an abandoned accuſer in the reign of *Nero*, entered into a conſpiracy againſt the emperor, and drew into it great numbers of the prætorian guards. But, before the conſpiracy was ripe for execution, one of the conſpirators betrayed the whole to *Titus*, and even delivered to him a copy of the ſpeech, which *Cæcina* was to pronounce to the ſoldiers after the aſſaſſination, written with his own hand. This was ſufficient evidence; and therefore *Titus*, the night after this diſcovery, having invited *Cæcina* to ſup with him, cauſed him, without any farther inquiry or tryal, to be murdered in the banqueting-room. As for *Marcellus*, he was tried and condemned by the ſenate; but prevented the execution of the ſentence, by cutting his throat with a razor [i]. Before *Veſpaſian* reſigned the conſulſhip, he was ſeized with a pain in his bowels, which obliged him to repair from *Campania*, where he then was, to *Rome*; and from thence to *Cutyliæ*, his paternal eſtate in the neighbourhood of *Reate*, which he uſually

[i] SUET. in Tit. c. 6. DIO, l. lxvi. p. 752. TACIT. hiſt. l. iv. c. 6.

(N) One of them died ſome time after in *Egypt*; and *Plutarch* tells us, that he ſaw the other, named *Sabinus*, at *Delphi*, while he was writing his book *of love*, in which he has inſerted this adventure (3). That writer tells us, that nothing more tragical, nothing more diſpleaſing to the public, happened during the whole reign of *Veſpaſian*, than the death of *Sabinus* and his wife; nay, to this his unſeaſonable ſeverity he aſcribes all the misfortunes which afterwards befel him and his family. What diverted the emperor from exerting his uſual clemency and good-nature, when he might have done it with general applauſe, and univerſal ſatisfaction, we are no-where told.

(3) *Tacit. hiſt. l.* iv. *c.* 67. *Dio, l.* lxvi. *p.* 752. *Plut. amat.*

viſited every ſummer, in order to drink certain waters in great requeſt on account of their extreme coolneſs. Here he was ſeized firſt with a fever, and afterwards with a flux, occaſioned by the immoderate uſe of the cold waters, which brought him to ſuch weakneſs, that all about him began to deſpair of his recovery. However, he ſtill attended the diſpatch of buſineſs, received embaſſadors, and gave audience to his miniſters. Once, as he found himſelf ready to faint away, *If I am not miſtaken*, he cried out, *I am going to be a god*, ridiculing the cuſtom of the *Romans*, who placed their emperors, after their death, in the number of their gods, and honoured them with divine worſhip. Upon the approach of death, he cried out again with his uſual bravery and reſolution, *An emperor ought to die ſtanding:* but, while he endeavoured to riſe, he expired in the hands of thoſe who ſuſtained him. His death happened on the twenty-fourth of *June*, in the ſeventy-eighth year of the Chriſtian æra, after he had lived ſixty-nine years, ſeven months, and ſeven days, and reigned ten years wanting ſix days, from the time he was proclaimed emperor in the city of *Alexandria*.

The death of Veſpaſian. Year of the flood 2428. Bef. Chr. 78. Of Rome 828.

His death was univerſally lamented; and his memory gratefully preſerved by ſuch as were true friends to their country. In war, he was next to *Julius Cæſar*, and to *Auguſtus* in peace; and ſeemed to have been by Providence raiſed on purpoſe to preſerve ſo vaſt an empire from utter deſtruction. Greatneſs and majeſty, ſays *Pliny*, wrought no alteration in him, ſave that of making his power of doing good anſwerable to his will. He was the ſecond *Roman* emperor, if not the firſt, who died a natural death; and the firſt who was ſucceeded by his ſon (O). He is ſaid to have been ſo confident, that the empire was by the laws of fate deſtined to him, and his poſterity, that he affirmed in the ſenate, he ſhould, in

His character.

(O) And here we cannot help obſerving the raſhneſs of ſome blind zealots, in aſcribing to divine vengeance the fate of ſuch as ſlew *Cæſar* the dictator. Not one of the aſſaſſins, they cry, died a natural death. But neither did *Cæſar*, who deſtroyed the ſtate, nor any of his ſucceſſors, except *Auguſtus*, of whom it is alſo doubted, to the preſent emperor. *Tiberius* was ſmothered by *Macro* his favourite, *Caligula* was ſlain by the officers of his guards, *Claudius* was poiſoned by his wife *Agrippina*, *Nero* ſtabbed himſelf, *Galba* was murdered by the ſoldiers, *Otho* fell by his own hand, and *Vitellius* was executed like a common malefactor. *Auguſtus* was thought to have been poiſoned by his wife *Livia* (4). Such was the end of theſe uſurpers; and may the like doom overtake all who tread in their footſteps!

(4) *Vide Tacit. annal.* i. *ſub init. & Dio. l.* lvii.

ſpite of all plots and conſpiracies, retain the ſovereignty to his death, and be ſucceeded in it by his two ſons. His obſequies were performed with extraordinary pomp by *Titus* (P).

His colonies. VESPASIAN founded various colonies in different parts of the empire; to wit, one at *Emmaus*, about ſixty furlongs from *Jeruſalem*, to which place he gave the name of *Nicopolis*, or *The city of victory*; one at *Cæſarea*, which was from him called *Flaviana*, with the addition of *Prima*, as being the firſt in dignity of all the cities in *Palæſtine*. *Develte*, or, as ſome call it, *Deulte*, in *Thrace*, *Sinope* in *Pontus*, and *Flaviobrigia* in *Spain*, now *Bilbao*, are by ſome writers reckoned among the colonies founded by *Veſpaſian* [k]. *Neapolis* in *Samaria*, called formerly *Sichem*, *Samoſata* the capital of *Comagene*, *Tripolis* in *Phœnicia*, *Chalcis* and *Philadelphia* in *Syria*, *Cyrene* in *Libya*, *Critia* in *Bithynia*, and *Eumenea* in *Phrygia*, bore each the name of *Flaviana*; whence ſome writers conclude *Roman* colonies to have been ſettled in all theſe cities, either by *Veſpaſian* himſelf, or one of his children [l]. Several writers flouriſhed in *Veſpaſian*'s time; but of them we ſhall ſpeak in our notes (Q).

VESPASIAN

[k] Vide SPANH. l. vii. & BAUD. p. 291. [l] Vide BAUD. p. 769. & NORIS de epoch. Syro-Macedon.

(P) The *Romans* were at this time ſo prepoſterouſly fond of mimics and farces, that they were exhibited even at the funerals of perſons of quality, when the pantomimes uſed to perſonate the deceaſed, counterfeit their ſpeech, and imitate their actions. At the obſequies of *Veſpaſian*, a celebrated pantomime, by name *Favor*, perſonating the deceaſed emperor, demanded aloud, what the whole expence of the ceremony amounted to; and being told, to one hundred thouſand ſeſterces, *Give me the money*, ſaid he, ſtretching out his hand, and counterfeiting the emperor's ſpeech, *and throw my carcaſe, if you pleaſe, into the* Tiber (5).

(Q) Theſe were, *Suetonius Paulinus*, of whoſe warlike exploits we ſhall ſpeak in the hiſtory of *Britain*. He likewiſe diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the war between *Otho* and *Vitellius*, and was, without all doubt, one of the beſt commanders of his age. He left behind him an account of an expedition, which he undertook beyond mount *Atlas*, in the year 41. of the Chriſtian æra, and the laſt of *Caligula*'s reign, againſt the *Moors*, who took up arms to revenge the death of *Ptolemy* their prince, murdered by *Caligula*, as we have related in the reign of that prince. This account has not reached our times; but is quoted by *Pliny* (6). He outlived *Otho*, whoſe cauſe he had eſpouſed; but from *Pliny* it

(5) *Suet. c.* 19. (6) *Plin. l.* v. *c.* 1.

appears,



C. Grignion Sculp.

VESPASIAN was ſucceeded in the empire by his eldeſt ſon Titus *de-*
Titus, who was born the 30th of *December*, about the time of *clared em-*
the peror.

appears, he was dead in the year 77. that is, in the eighth year of *Veſpaſian*'s reign (7). Some writers, through a ſtrange miſtake, have confunded *Suetonius Paulinus* with *Suetonius Lenis*, the father of *Suetonius* the hiſtorian, who ſerved only as a military tribune in the army of *Otho*, which *Suetonius Paulinus* commanded in quality of general (8). *Licinius Mucianus*, who is often quoted by *Pliny* in what relates to the hiſtory and geography of the eaſtern countries (9). In the year 75. the ſeventh of *Veſpaſian*'s reign, he was buſy in collecting the diſcourſes and letters of the antient *Romans*, and had already publiſhed eleven volumes of ſpeeches, and three of letters (1). He is ſuppoſed to have died in the eighth year of *Veſpaſian*'s reign. *Pliny* tells us, that he always carried about with him a living fly, which he ſuperſtitiouſly looked upon as a preſervative of the ſight (2). *Julius Secundus*, who is one of the perſons introduced in the dialogue of orators commonly aſcribed to *Tacitus*, wrote the life of one *Julius Aſiaticus*, and promiſed the lives of other illuſtrious perſons. He likewiſe publiſhed ſome ſpeeches or orations highly commended by *Quintilian* (3). In the ſame dialogue, *Vipſanius Meſſala* acts the chief part. He was tribune of the ſeventh legion, ſprung from an illuſtrious family, and the only one, as *Tacitus* informs us, who engaged in the civil war between *Veſpaſian* and *Vitellius* upon worthy deſigns. He pleaded with great eloquence in the ſenate, though not yet arrived at the age of a ſenator, in behalf of his brother *Aquilius Regulus*, charged as the accuſer and deſtroyer of many illuſtrious citizens in the reign of *Nero* (4). He wrote, as appears from *Tacitus* (5), an account of the war between *Vitellius* and *Veſpaſian*; and is ſuppoſed to have publiſhed ſome other hiſtories (6). *Modycratus* the *Pythagoric*, a native of *Cadiz*, lived about this time, and publiſhed ſeveral philoſophical tracts (7). St. *Jerom* commends him on account of his eloquence (8); and *Origen*, if *Porphyrius* is to be credited (9), peruſed with attention his writings, and improved by them. *Curiatius Maternus*, a famous civilian and poet, flouriſhed under *Veſpaſian*, and wrote ſeveral tragedies; one of which, intituled *Cato*, made a great noiſe, and would have given great offence to any of the emperors who preceded *Veſpaſian*. He is introduced in the dialogue of orators, ſpeaking in defence of poetry (1). *Saleius Baſſus* wrote ſeveral poems in the reign of *Veſpaſian*, which were highly eſteemed by *Quintilian*, and *Veſpaſian* himſelf, who countenanced, and with great generoſity re-

(7) *Plin. l.* v. *c.* 1. (8) *Vide Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* i. *c.* 26. (9) *Plin. l.* v. *c.* 27. (1) *Tacit. orat. c.* 37. (2) *Plin. l.* xxviii. *c.* 2. (3) *Quint. l.* x. *c.* 1. (4) *Tacit. hiſt. l.* iv. *c.* 42. (5) *Tacit. orat. c.* 14. (6) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* i. *c.* 28. (7) *Jonſius de ſcript. hiſt. philoſoph. c.* 5. (8) *Euſeb. chron.* (9) *Idem hiſt. eccleſ. l.* vi. *c.* 19. (1) *Tacit. orat. c.* 2, 3. 11.

the death of *Caligula*, that is, in the year 40. of the Chriſtian æra; ſo that he was now thirty-nine years of age. He was brought up with *Britannicus* in the court of *Nero*, and is ſaid to have taſted the poiſon which was given to the young prince at the emperor's table. We are told, that an aſtrologer, being conſulted by *Narciſſus*, the celebrated freedman of *Claudius*, about the lot of *Britannicus*, returned anſwer, that, by the laws of fate, the empire was not deſtined to him, but to *Titus*, who happened to ſtand by him. He lived in great friendſhip with *Britannicus*; whence, ſoon after his acceſſion to the empire, he erected two ſtatues to his memory, one of gold in the palace, and another of ivory, which was by his order publicly carried, among other ſtatues, at the *Circenſian* games. *Titus*, from his tender years, followed with great application the ſtudy of rhetoric and poetry, and made great progreſs in both, being commended by the antients as an excellent poet, and an eloquent ſpeaker upon any ſubject whatever, and without premeditation. He ſerved firſt in quality of tribune in *Germany*, and afterwards in *Britain*; and in both provinces gained no leſs reputation by his modeſt and engaging behaviour, than by his courage. Upon his return from *Britain*, he betook himſelf to the bar, and pleaded ſome cauſes of great importance with uncommon applauſe. While he was yet very young, he married *Arricidia Tertulla*, whoſe father was only a *Roman* knight, but had been captain of the prætorian guards. Upon her death, he married *Martia Furnilla*, deſcended of an illuſtrious family; but divorced her after he had one daughter by her named *Julia Sabina*. After his quæſtorſhip, which he diſcharged with great applauſe, he was advanced to the command of a legion, and attended his father into *Judæa* in quality of his lieutenant. In that war he diſtinguiſhed himſelf, as appears from *Joſephus*, in a very eminent manner;

His education, ſtudies, &c. before his acceſſion to the empire.

warded, the poet (2). *Cluvius* wrote the hiſtory of *Nero*'s reign, and of the civil wars preceding that of *Veſpaſian* (3); and is frequently quoted by *Tacitus*. Moſt writers take him to be the ſame perſon with *Marcus Cluvius Rufus*, who governed *Spain* in the reigns of *Galba*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius*. Of him *Tacitus* obſerves, that he was in great favour with *Nero*, and acquired mighty wealth, without injuring any man either in his life or fortune (4). He was, as the ſame writer obſerves, an eloquent man, and well qualified for affairs in time of peace, but void of experience in war (5). None of the writings of theſe authors have reached our times, except ſome ſentences quoted by the antient grammarians.

(2) *Tacit. orat.* c. 5. *Quintil.* l. x. c. 1. (3) *Tacit. annal.* l. xiii. c. 20. (4) *Tacit. hiſt.* l. iv. c. 49. (5) *Idem*, l. i. c. 8.

reduced,

reduced, while he ſerved under his father, ſome ſtrong-holds; and gained the reputation both of a brave and prudent leader. Being ſent by *Veſpaſian* to congratulate *Galba* upon his acceſſion to the empire, and to receive his directions concerning the proſecution of the war againſt the *Jews*, it was rumoured abroad by the populace at *Rome*, that *Galba* had ſent for him in order to adopt him. Ground for this report was adminiſtred, as *Tacitus* obſerves, by the condition of the emperor, antient and childleſs, and the great character of *Titus*, who was judged equal to any degree of fortune, however elevated. But, having received at *Corinth* certain advice of the murder of *Galba*, he returned to his father, and reconciled to him *Mucianus* governor of *Syria*; for, between *Veſpaſian* and him, as the one ruled over *Judæa*, and the other over *Syria*, great animoſities reigned, occaſioned by their governing two neighbouring provinces [m].

Is left by his father to carry on the war againſt the Jews.

He was left by his father in *Judæa*, to proſecute the war againſt the *Jews*. Upon their parting, *Titus* gave a ſignal inſtance of his good-nature and affection towards his brother *Domitian*. For the emperor, being informed that *Domitian* had already abandoned himſelf to all manner of debauchery, and aſſumed more authority than was ſuitable to a ſon only, was highly incenſed againſt him. *Titus* therefore, upon the departure of his father for *Italy*, pleaded with great affection and earneſtneſs in favour of his brother, warning the emperor to beware of being raſhly incenſed by intelligence from ſuch as brought criminal repreſentations. "To "your own ſon (ſaid he) it is but juſt you ſhould bear "a ſpirit of gentleneſs, free from all prejudice. Not from "fleets, not from legions, are ſuch powerful bulwarks found "for the ſupport of the imperial dignity, as from a numerous "iſſue in the imperial houſe. The number of our friends is "diminiſhed with time; they often deſert us, to follow for-"tune, or becauſe we cannot gratify their deſires. But, "from our own blood, we may always promiſe ourſelves "ready aſſiſtance, and unſhaken fidelity. In our good for-"tune many will partake with us; but our neareſt in kin-"dred alone will bear us company in our adverſities. Even "between brothers (added he) concord and unanimity will "not prove laſting, if their common parent ſets them not "firſt an example." *Veſpaſian*, who, by this reaſoning, was not ſo much reconciled to *Domitian*, as charmed with the tender affection of *Titus*, deſired him to be of good chear,

His kindneſs to his brother Domitian.

[m] Tacit. hiſt. l. ii. c. 77. Suet. in Tit. c. 1, 2, 3. 5. Philostr. in vit. Apoll. Ty. l. vii. c. 3. Joseph. bell. Jud. l. iv. c. 29.

and to ſtudy how to aggrandize the commonwealth by war, and the exerciſe of arms; adding, that it ſhould be his taſk to inſure the public peace, and that of his family [n]. Of the conduct and military atchievements of *Titus*, during the war which he carried on with ſtupendous ſucceſs againſt the *Jews*, the reader will find an account in our hiſtory of that nation.

AFTER the reduction of *Jeraſalem*, inſtead of returning to *Rome*, he went to *Alexandria*, where he aſſiſted at the conſecration of the ox *Apis*, wearing a diadem; which, together with his putting off from time to time his journey into *Italy*, and his giving a private audience at *Zeugma* to the embaſſadors of the *Parthian* king, occaſioned a report, as if he deſigned to revolt from his father, and make himſelf emperor of the Eaſt. This rumour obliged him to haſten his departure for *Rome*, where he was received with loud ſhouts of joy, and, a few days after, honoured with one of the moſt magnificent triumphs the city had ever beheld. He was dignified by the ſenate with the title of *Cæſar*, and by his father taken, in a manner, for his collegue in the empire; for, with him, he exerciſed the cenſorſhip, the tribunitial power, ſeven conſulſhips, and managed all the affairs of the empire, writing even letters, and drawing up all edicts, in his father's name.

Returns to Rome, *and triumphs.*

TACITUS tells us, that he was more ſtrict and reſerved in his own reign, than in that of his father; and *Suetonius* charges him with pride, cruelty, and even avarice. When any one, ſays the latter writer, gave him, by his unguarded conduct, the leaſt umbrage, he hired people to demand his doom in the theatre, and in the camp of the prætorian guards, and then condemned him without further proof or tryal. In adminiſtring juſtice, he was eaſily byaſed by preſents, ſold ſeveral employments of great truſt unknown to his father, and indulged himſelf in feſtivity and pleaſures, ſpending great part of the night in riotous banquets, with the moſt diſſolute of the *Roman* youth, with young eunuchs, and a numerous herd of catamites and proſtitutes. His paſſion for *Berenice* the daughter of *Agrippa the Great*, and ſiſter of *Agrippa* II. king of *Ituræa*, was highly cenſured by the *Roman* people, who looked upon him as a ſecond *Nero*; ſo that ſcarce ever any man arrived at the empire with a more ſullied reputation, or more abhorred by the populace [o].

Is charged, while yet a private man, with pride, cruelty, and avarice.

BUT, upon his acceſſion to the empire, all theſe accuſations turned to his praiſe and advantage, no prince having ever governed with greater moderation, humanity, and good-nature.

Governs with great moderation

[n] TACIT. hiſt. l. iv. c. 52. [o] SUET. c. 6, 7. TACIT. ibid.

Soon

Soon after his father's death, he diſmiſſed the beautiful queen *Berenice*, who had followed him to *Rome* with her father *Agrippa*, the laſt king of *Judæa*; and obliged her not only to withdraw from the city, but from *Italy*, though he was paſſionately fond of her; and this merely out of complaiſance to the ſenate and people, who were diſpleaſed to ſee their emperor thus captivated with the charms of a foreign woman [p].

Though his brother *Domitian* pretended to an equal ſhare in the government, and raiſed great diſturbances in the city, by giving out, and arrogantly maintaining, that his father had left him partner in the empire, but that the will had been falſified; yet he could not prevail upon himſelf either to puniſh or baniſh him; but, on the contrary, treated him as his collegue in the empire, conjuring him often in private, with tears in his eyes, not to hate a brother who bore him a ſincere and tender affection, and was willing to allow him a due ſhare in the adminiſtration [q]. *Pliny* obſerves, that *Julius Baſſus* dreaded *Titus*, on account of his intimacy with *Domitian*; but that he received no injury at the hands of the former, whereas he was baniſhed by the latter. The emperors, ever ſince the reign of *Tiberius*, had paid no regard to the ordinances of their predeceſſors granting to cities, or particular perſons, privileges, immunities, or exemptions, till ſuch grants were confirmed by themſelves; which they did with great reſerve, cauſing the charters to be firſt carefully examined, as if they had been firſt granted by themſelves. But *Titus*, without ſuffering any one to apply to him, confirmed them all by one general edict; and his example was followed by moſt of his ſucceſſors. He could not prevail upon himſelf to diſmiſs any, who applied to him, diſſatisfied, or without ſome hopes of ſucceſs; whereupon, being admoniſhed by ſome of his friends, that he promiſed more than he could well perform, he replied, that no man ſhould depart diſſatisfied from the preſence of a prince. It is well known, that, being told one night he had beſtowed no favour that day, he expreſſed his diſſatisfaction and regret with that memorable ſaying, *My friends, I have loſt a day.*

His conduct towards his brother.

Confirms all the grants of his predeceſſors.

He treated the people with extraordinary kindneſs and complaiſance. Having deſigned to exhibit a ſhew of gladiators, he ſignified by a proclamation, that it ſhould be exhibited, not according to his own taſte and pleaſure, but that of the people; and he was ſo far from refuſing what they deſired, that he earneſtly ſolicited them to declare what they liked beſt, complying with their taſte, though diſagreeing with his own. He allowed free acceſs to him, even while he was bathing; and

His complaiſance to the people.

[p] Suet. c. 7. [q] Idem in Dom. c. 2, & 9.

received

received all with great affability and condeſcenſion, yet ſo as to maintain the dignity of his rank, and the majeſty of an emperor. No man's property he ever coveted; nay, he often refuſed the uſual preſents, and ſuch contributions as were due to him; and nevertheleſs, of all his predeceſſors, none was more generous than he, nor expended larger ſums in private bounties, in ſhews, in buildings, *&c.* After he dedicated the famous amphitheatre, and finiſhed with incredible expedition certain baths cloſe to it, he exhibited, at an immenſe charge, a ſhew of gladiators, a naval battle in the old naumachia, and brought into the arena five thouſand wild beaſts of all kinds.

WHEN he entered upon the office of chief pontiff, he ſolemnly declared, he took upon him that dignity in order to preſerve his hands undefiled, and pure from the ſhedding of blood; and truly from that time he never was acceſſory to any man's death, though he might have exerted his revenge with great juſtice; but, however provoked, he ſpared the criminals, declaring, that he had rather die himſelf, than put another to death. Of this his great clemency he gave the following inſtance: Two patricians, having conſpired againſt him, were diſcovered, convicted, and ſentenced to death, by the ſenate. But the good-natured emperor freely forgave them, admoniſhing them only in private, that in vain they aſpired to the empire, which was given by deſtiny, exhorting them to be ſatisfied with the rank in which by Providence they had been placed, and offering them any thing elſe which it was in his power to grant. At the ſame time he diſpatched a meſſenger to the mother of one of them, who was then at a great diſtance, and under deep concern about the fate of her ſon, to aſſure her, that her ſon was not only alive, but out of danger. He invited them the ſame night to his table; and, having the next day placed them by him at a ſhew of gladiators, when the weapons of the combatants were, according to cuſtom, preſented to him, he deſired them to ſurvey them[r].

His clemency.

Aboliſhes the law of majeſty.

The law of majeſty he utterly abrogated, and would not ſuffer any perſon to be proſecuted for ſpeaking diſreſpectfully of himſelf, or the other emperors his predeceſſors; ſaying, "If "they blacken my character undeſervedly, they ought rather "to be pitied than puniſhed; if deſervedly, it would be a "crying piece of injuſtice to puniſh them for ſpeaking truth. "As for my predeceſſors, if they are truly gods, they are in "a condition to revenge, when they think fit, the injuries "done them, and ſtand in no need of my aſſiſtance and "power[s]." The accuſers were the only perſons againſt whom he proceeded with unrelenting ſeverity, cauſing them to be

His levity to-

[r] SUET. c. 9. [s] DIO, l. lviii. p. 354.

publicly

publicly whipped, to be expoſed to open view, and to the inſults of the populace in the forum, the amphitheatre, and the circus, and then to be either ſold for ſlaves, or baniſhed to deſert iſlands [t]. In ſhort, he was a prince, according to *Suetonius*, in whom all virtues centred, without the allay of one ſingle vice. *wards the informers.*

TOWARDS the end of the year 79. of the Chriſtian æra, and firſt of *Titus*'s reign, *Campania* was alarmed with a moſt dreadful and almoſt incredible eruption of mount *Veſuvius*, which laid waſte the country to a great diſtance, and utterly conſumed a great many cities with their inhabitants, and, among the reſt, *Pompeii* and *Herculanum*. The former had ſuffered much by an earthquake in the year 63. of the Chriſtian æra; but had been rebuilt, and embelliſhed with ſeveral ſtately edifices, eſpecially a theatre, in which the people were aſſembled, and intent upon the public ſhews, when the city was ſwallowed up by an earthquake, which attended the eruption of the flames from the mountain. The cities of *Puteoli* and *Cumæ* were greatly damaged, partly by the earthquake, partly by the burning aſhes; which, if the antients are to be credited, reached *Africa*, *Egypt*, and *Syria*, and at *Rome* turned ſuddenly, to the great terror of the inhabitants, day into night. *Pliny* the elder, who was then at *Miſenum*, where he commanded the fleet riding there, having diſcovered this cloud on the firſt of *November*, and not yet knowing whence it iſſued, went immediately on board one of the gallies, and ſailed towards mount *Veſuvius*. He was ſoon met by great numbers of perſons, who, in ſmall boats, were flying from the dreadful conflagration; but nevertheleſs, prompted by his curioſity, he purſued his courſe, though ſtones, aſhes, and earth, began already to ſhower down upon his veſſel; nay, we are told, that, to his great ſurprize, he found a new cape formed by the earth, and huge ſtones thrown out by the mountain. However, he proceeded with great intrepidity; and, reaching *Stabiæ*, between *Pompeii* and *Surrentum*, though the inhabitants had all abandoned the place, paſſed the night there, the better to obſerve, during the darkneſs, the mountain, which ſeemed all on a blaze. The ſame night a dreadful earthquake happened at *Stabiæ*, and ſuch an huge quantity of ſtones fell, that *Pliny* reſolved to put to ſea, but was prevented by contrary winds. At length the fire approaching, he attempted to ſave himſelf by flight; but, though ſupported by two of his domeſtics, he ſoon fell, ſuffocated, as is ſuppoſed, by the thickneſs of the air, and the inſupportable ſtench of ſulphur. His body was found three days after, and interred *A dreadful eruption of mount* Veſuvius. *The death of* Pliny *the elder.*

[t] SUET. C. 10.

By

by his nephew *Pliny* the younger, who was then at *Miſenum*, and narrowly eſcaped the ſame fate, as he himſelf relates at large in his epiſtles [u]. In this calamity the poet *Ceſius Baſſus* was conſumed, with his houſe, by the flames; and likewiſe *Agrippa* the ſon of *Claudius Felix*, formerly governor of *Judæa*, and of *Druſilla* daughter to *Agrippa* the laſt king of the *Jews* [w]. This is the firſt eruption of mount *Veſuvius* we find mentioned in hiſtory.

Agricola's ſecond campaign in Britain.

THE ſame year *Titus* aſſumed the title of emperor with the uſual ſolemnity, on account of the advantages which the brave *Agricola* had gained in *Britain* during his ſecond campaign in that iſland. The following year, *Titus*, now conſul the eighth time, with his brother *Domitian*, the ſeventh, gave many remarkable inſtances of his humanity and good-nature,

Titus repairs the damages done by the eruption of mount Veſuvius.

in repairing, at his own expence, the loſſes which the unhappy inhabitants of *Campania* had ſuffered by the late eruption of mount *Veſuvius*. He ſent into *Campania* two conſulars, with large ſums, to be employed in rebuilding the cities which had been overturned; and applied to the relief of the poor ſufferers the goods and eſtates of ſuch as had periſhed on this occaſion, and left no heirs; nay, went in perſon into *Campania*, and with his own hand diſtributed immenſe ſums among thoſe who ſeemed moſt worthy of his compaſſion [x]. While he was in *Campania*, a dreadful fire broke out in *Rome*, which laſted three days, and as many nights, and reduced to aſhes a great many private and public buildings, the library of *Auguſtus*, with all the books lodged in it, great part of the capitol, the theatre of *Pompey*, &c. *Titus* was no ſooner informed of this calamity, than he haſtened back to the city, and publicly declared, that the whole loſs ſhould fall upon him; and that, at his own charge, he would repair the damage ſuffered by particulars. He was as good as his word; for, though many cities, and foreign princes, by whom he was no leſs beloved than by the *Romans*, offered to bear their ſhare in the expence, he could not by any means be prevailed upon to accept their offers, as *Nero* had done on the like occaſion; but choſe rather to ſell even the ornaments and furniture of his own palace and country-houſes, in order to raiſe money wherewith to defray the immenſe charges he was at in rebuilding the temples, the public edifices, and the dwellings of particulars. This conflagration was followed by the moſt dreadful plague that had ever raged in *Rome*. *Dio Caſſius* aſcribes its riſe to the aſhes of mount *Veſuvius*, which had covered the country all round to a great diſtance [y].

and by a fire at Rome.

[u] PLIN. l. vi. epiſt. 16. 20. [w] JOSEPH. antiq. l. xx. c. 5.
[x] SUET. c. 8. [y] DIO, l. lxvi. p. 756.

TITUS

The Great Circus, begun by Romulus and Finished by Tarquin; as it was afterwards beautify'd and adorned by Julius, Augustus, Titus, and other Cæsars. ex Dominic de Rubeis.

Fig. VIII. ag.st p. 660



The Great Circus, begun by Romulus and Finished by Tarquin; as it was afterwards beautify'd and adorned by Julius, Augustus, Titus, and other Cæsars. ex Dominic de Rubeis.

Fig. VIII. ag.st p. 660



TITUS left no remedy, human or divine, unattempted, to abate the malignity of the diſtemper; exerting at the ſame time all the care and regard of a prince, all the tenderneſs and compaſſion of a father; comforting the diſtreſſed multitude with his edicts, and relieving them with large and daily bounties [z]. Towards the end of this year he finiſhed the famous amphitheatre, which is elegantly deſcribed by *Martial* [a], who likewiſe mentions the baths that were ended about the ſame time (R). The emperor *Titus*, in his eighth conſulſhip, and conſequently this year, repaired ſome antient aqueducts, and at a vaſt expence paved with large ſtones the road from *Rome* to *Ariminum*, croſs the *Apennines*, where is ſtill to be ſeen, not far from the preſent city of *Foſſombrone*, an huge rock cut through on this occaſion [b].

Exerts his good-nature during a plague at Rome.

Finiſhes the amphitheatre.

Year of the flood 2430. Of Chr. 80. Of Rome 830.

THE next conſuls were *Sex. Annius Silvanns* and *T. Annius Verus Pollio.* The latter is by ſome writers ſuppoſed to be the grandfather of the emperor *M. Aurelius*, who was, according to *Capitolinus*, raiſed by *Veſpaſian* to the rank of a patrician, diſcarged twice the office of conſul, and governed *Rome* with general ſatisfaction. This year the ſenate, not out of flattery, but a ſenſe of gratitude, conferred new honours upon *Titus.* What honours theſe were, we are no-where told; but the good emperor lived not to enjoy them, being ſuddenly ſnatched away, to the inexpreſſible grief of the *Roman* people. *Suetonius* tells us, that he exhibited certain ſhews (during which he ſhed many tears in the preſence of the multitude), and retired, as ſoon as they were over, into the country of the *Sabines*, greatly grieved, becauſe the victim, while he was ſacrificing, had broken looſe; and a dreadful clap of thunder had been heard, though the day was quite bright, and not a cloud to be ſeen. The firſt night he lay out of *Rome*, he was ſeized with a burning fever; but nevertheleſs purſued his journey in a litter, being deſirous to end his days

New honours conferred upon Titus.

Is taken ill, and leaves Rome.

[z] DIO, l. lxvi. p. 756. SUET. c. 8. [a] MART. lib. de ſpect. epigr. 1. [b] ONUPH. in faſt. p. 210. GOLTZ. p. 56.

(R) The amphitheatre, whereof the ſtately remains are ſtill to be ſeen, had been begun by *Veſpaſian*, and ſtood, as we learn from *Dio Caſſius*, in the midſt of the city, though its ruins lie in the outſkirts of modern *Rome*. *Titus*, when he dedicated, according to cuſtom, that noble and ſtately edifice, exhibited moſt magnificent ſhews, which laſted an hundred days, and raiſed the ſpirits of the people ready to ſink under the calamities they had ſuffered (6).

(6) *Dio*, p. 757. *Marc. Velſer. monument. Auguſt. lapid.* 35.

in

in the ſame houſe where his father died (S). Having with much ado reached *Cutyliæ*, his paternal eſtate, he expired there ſoon after his arrival, on the thirteenth of *September*, in the forty-firſt year of his age, after having reigned two years, two months, and twenty days (T). He far excelled, in the opinion of the antients, all his predeceſſors, even *Veſpaſian* himſelf, in every virtue becoming a prince; and was equaled by few of his ſucceſſors. He knew no purpoſe of being higher than others, but to do good to all. He was a ſtranger to all parade and oſtentation, chooſing to live with his people rather as a father with his children, than a prince with ſubjects; whence he was deſervedly ſtiled, *The love and delight of human kind.* What pity that ſuch princes, ſuch friends to the world, and protectors of mankind, ſhould ever die! His death was no ſooner known, than a general ſadneſs, an univerſal conſternation, appeared in *Rome*, which in a ſhort time ſpread all over the provinces, to the moſt diſtant bounds of the empire. The ſenators, without being ſummoned according to cuſtom, haſtened to the palace; and, having cauſed the doors of the chapel, where they met, to be ſhut for a while, in order to indulge their grief, they opened them again, and, in the preſence of the multitude, heaped more praiſes upon him after his death, than they had ever done while he lived amongſt them; a plain proof of the ſincerity of their eſteem and affection. *Domitian* cauſed him to be ranked among the gods, and was the firſt who paid him divine honours; but at the ſame

His death. Year of the flood 2431. Bef. Chr. 81. Of Rome 831.

His character.

Is univerſally lamented.

(S) We are told, that, finding himſelf on the road greatly indiſpoſed, and not doubting but his end approached, he lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, complaining, that he was thus to be cut off in the vigour of his age, when, during the whole courſe of his life, he had been guilty of one action only, which ſeemed to require repentance. What action that was, he did not declare; but *Dio Caſſius* is of opinion, that it was his freely forgiving his brother *Domitian*, who had conſpired againſt him; when, by inflicting upon him the deſerved puniſhment, he might have prevented the many evils and calamities which the excellent emperor was well appriſed his brother, when inveſted with the ſovereignty, would bring upon the ſtate (7). Others think, that the criminal converſation he was ſaid to have had with his brother's wife, occurred then to his memory. But *Suetonius* clears him from this aſperſion, upon the ſolemn proteſtation of *Domitia* herſelf, who, had the charge been true, would have rather gloried in it, as ſhe did in all other crimes, than denied it (8).

(T) *Philoſtratus* tells us, that he was poiſoned by his brother

(7) *Dio, l.* lxvi. *p.* 758. (8) *Suet. c.* 10.

Domi-



DOMITIAN.
born at Rome
reigned 15 Years, 5 Days,
kill'd in the Year of CHRIST 96.

C. Grignion Sculp.

ſame time ſtudied, both in private and in public, to revile his memory, and leſſen the eſteem and veneration which all orders of men had for ſo worthy and deſerving a prince [c]. *Titus* left only one daughter, named *Julia Sabina*, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the following reign.

Domitian acknowleged emperor.

TITUS was ſucceeded by his brother *Domitian*, who, without the leaſt oppoſition or contradiction, was immediately acknowleged emperor, notwithſtanding the bad opinion which many entertained of him. He was born on the twenty-fourth of *October* of the year 51. of the Chriſtian æra, his father being then conſul elect, and appointed to diſcharge that office the month following. He is ſtiled, on ſeveral medals, which have reached our times, *Titus Flavius Sabinus Domitianus* [d]. He paſſed his youth in great poverty, and is ſaid to have been a pathic to *Nerva*, who ſucceeded him, for hire, and likewiſe to one *Clodius Pollio*, formerly prætor, who kept a note, under *Domitian*'s own hand, by which he bound himſelf, for a ſum of money, to comply, when required, with his lewd and unnatural deſires. He did not apply himſelf, from his tender years, to the ſtudy of hiſtory, poetry, eloquence, or any other liberal art or ſcience: hence in all his ſpeeches and harangues he made uſe of the eloquence of others.

His education.

He took great delight in archery, in which he was ſo wonderfully expert, that he was frequently ſeen to ſhoot a great number of arrows between the fingers of one of his domeſtics, whom he placed at a great diſtance with his hand expanded, telling before, between which fingers the arrow would paſs, and never miſſing his aim [e]. He was naturally cruel, ſuſpicious, and addicted to revenge; greedy of honours, but impatient of the leaſt toil or labour; affected the reputation of a brave commander, but carefully avoided expoſing himſelf to any danger. *Suetonius* thinks, that his cruelty was chiefly occaſioned by his timorouſneſs, and no-way natural to him. Be-

[c] SUET. in Domit.
[d] GOLTZ. p. 58. SUET. c. 1.
[e] SUET. c. 19.

Domitian (9). *Plutarch* aſcribes his death to the immoderate uſe of baths (1); and adds, that one *Regulus*, who, out of complaiſance, uſed to bathe with him, died of an apoplexy. *Suetonius* writes, that *Domitian*, who had ever ſought the deſtruction of his brother, cauſed the room to be cleared before he was dead, ordering all thoſe, who could afford him any aſſiſtance, to withdraw; but that writer does not charge *Domitian* with any other kind of violence (2).

(9) *Philoſtrat. vit. Apol. Ty. l.* vi. *c.* 14.
(1) *Plut. de ſanit. p.* 2. 4.
(2) *Suet. in Domit.*

ing

ing at *Rome* when his father aſſumed the title of emperor, *Vitellius* placed guards about him; but he might nevertheleſs have eaſily eſcaped, ſeveral meſſengers having, by various diſguiſes and ſhifts, reached him from *Antonius Primus*, and ſhewed him from what place he might fly, and upon what guard and ſecurity depend; nay, even thoſe who guarded him, offered themſelves for companions of his flight; but he, apprehending from thence, that they deſigned to betray him, could not by any means be prevailed upon to make his eſcape [f]. Upon the burning of the capitol, whither he had retired with his uncle *Sabinus*, he concealed himſelf in the room of one of the miniſters of the temple; and the next morning was conveyed, by his freedman, beyond the *Tiber*, in the diſguiſe of one of the prieſts of *Iſis*.

Is ſaluted Cæſar. WHEN *Primus* had made himſelf maſter of the city, and all apprehenſions of hoſtility had ceaſed, he diſcovered himſelf to his father's generals; and was, by the ſoldiers thronging about him, ſaluted *Cæſar* [g]; which title was confirmed to him the day following by the ſenate. From that time, to the arrival of his father, he bore the chief ſway in *Rome*; but gave no attention to the cares of government, abandoning himſelf to all manner of voluptuouſneſs, and making uſe of his power only to indulge his vicious inclinations with more liberty. He took *Domitia Longina*, the daughter of the famous *Domitius Corbulo*, from her husband *L. Ælius Lamia*, married her ſome time after, and had a ſon by her, who was honoured with the title of *Cæſar*, but died an infant, and was, by *Domitian*, ranked among the gods [h] (U).

He reſolves to head the army againſt Civilis. IN the beginning of his father's reign, being jealous of the glory which his brother had acquired in the *Jewiſh* war, he reſolved to go into *Gaul*, and take upon him the command of the army which was employed againſt *Civilis*. *Mucianus* did all that lay in his power to divert him, as he

[f] TACIT. hiſt. I. iii. c. 59. [g] Idem, c. 74. [h] SUET. c. iii. SPANH. p. 650.

(U) That he had other children, tho' not mentioned by any hiſtorian, appears from the epitaph of one *Pierius*, ſtill to be ſeen at *Rome*, who is ſtiled *the emperor's freedman, and preceptor to his children.* The monument was raiſed by *Flavia Nicea*, wife to *Pierius*, with the permiſſion, as is expreſſed in the inſcription, of *Hermas*, the chief freedman of *Domitia Auguſta*; for with this title *Domitius* honoured his wife *Domitia Longina*, in the ſecond year of his reign (3).

(3) *Vide Spanh. p.* 12. & *Suet. c.* 3.

was

was quite unexperienced in military affairs, from ſuch a reſolution: but *Domitian* continuing obſtinately bent upon that expedition, *Mucianus* reſolved to attend him, in order to check his ardour; leſt, following the impetuoſity of his age, and inſtigated by evil counſellors, were he once maſter of an army, he might diſconcert all meaſures, whether for peace or war. After many procraſtinations and delays, they both ſet out at length; but received, ere they reached the *Alps*, tidings of the defeat of the *Treverians*. Hereupon *Mucianus* communicated, as no more than his own ſentiments upon the preſent occaſion, what he had long propoſed and concealed; to wit, that ſince, by the favour of the gods, the forces of the enemy were broken, with an ill grace would *Domitian* proceed, now the war was nigh concluded, and rob another of the whole glory. He added, that, were the empire threatened with danger, it behoved the emperor's ſon to venture his perſon in battle; but to contend with the *Caninefates* and *Batavians*, was beneath him. Let *Domitian*, continued he, retire to *Lyons*, and from thence diſplay the power and fortune of the empire at hand; neither engaging in ſmall hazards, nor failing to meet ſuch as are greater. Thus *Mucianus* prevailed upon him to retire to *Lyons*. From thence *Domitian* was believed to have tried, by ſecret interagents, to corrupt the fidelity of *Cerealis*; and to have propoſed, whether he would commit to him the army and empire, if he came in perſon. It remained uncertain, what deſigns he foſtered; whether he meditated a war againſt his father, or intended to arm himſelf with power and forces againſt his brother; for *Cerealis*, by ſeveral evaſions, eluded his ſuit, as that of one, who, with a childiſh fondneſs, longed for things to which he was not equal.

He attempts to corrupt Cerealis.

DOMITIAN, perceiving that *Cerealis* deſpiſed his youth, relinquiſhed all functions of government, even the ſmalleſt; and, burying himſelf in ſolitude, feigned a zeal for learning, eſpecially for poetry; thence to conceal his ambition, and other paſſions, and to eſcape the jealouſy of his brother [i] (W). But, while he pretended to place his whole delight in ſtudy, and

Retires, and feigns a love for learning and poetry.

[i] TACIT. hiſt. l. iv. c. 86.

(W) Some writers tell us, that, on this occaſion, he applied himſelf in earneſt to the ſtudy of poetry, and with wonderful ſucceſs. *Pliny* the elder ſeems to have admired his poetical compoſitions (4), and likewiſe *Quintilian* (5); for both cry them up; not through flattery, ſays *Voſſius*, as is manifeſt from the

(4) *Plin. in præfat.*

(5) *Quintil. l.* x. *c.* 1.

and affected a fondneſs for ſolitude, the king of the *Parthians* having demanded ſuccours againſt the *Alani*, as we have hinted above, he earneſtly ſolicited his father for the command of thoſe troops; and, when he found the emperor noway inclined to aſſiſt the *Parthians*, he applied to the eaſtern princes, ſoliciting them with promiſes and preſents to deſire ſupplies, and himſelf to lead them. But *Veſpaſian* was too well acquainted with his views and temper, to truſt him with the command of an army. Upon the death of his father, he deliberated a long time with himſelf, whether he ſhould openly revolt, and tempt the fidelity of the prætorian guards, by offering them a larger donative than his brother had promiſed them; but, his courage failing him, he bore no other title, during the reign of *Titus*, but that of Cæſar *prince of the* Roman *youth*; a title now peculiar to the preſumptive heir to the empire [k]. His brother no ſooner expired, than he haſtened to *Rome*; and, repairing to the camp of the prætorian guards, was there, by the ſoldiery, after having promiſed them the uſual donative, ſaluted *emperor*. At the ſame time he aſſumed, as appears from ſeveral antient inſcriptions, all the other titles annexed to the ſovereignty, which other emperors had taken ſucceſſively [l] (X).

Has ſome thoughts of revolting.

DOMITIAN, now inveſted with the ſovereign power, which he had long and impatiently coveted, performed, in the firſt place, the obſequies of the deceaſed emperor, and pronounced himſelf his funeral oration, with an affected concern, bewailing the loſs of a brother ſo dear to him, and by whom he was ſo tenderly beloved: but that his grief was

[k] SUET. c. 2. ONUPH. in faſt. p. 210. [l] Idem ibid.

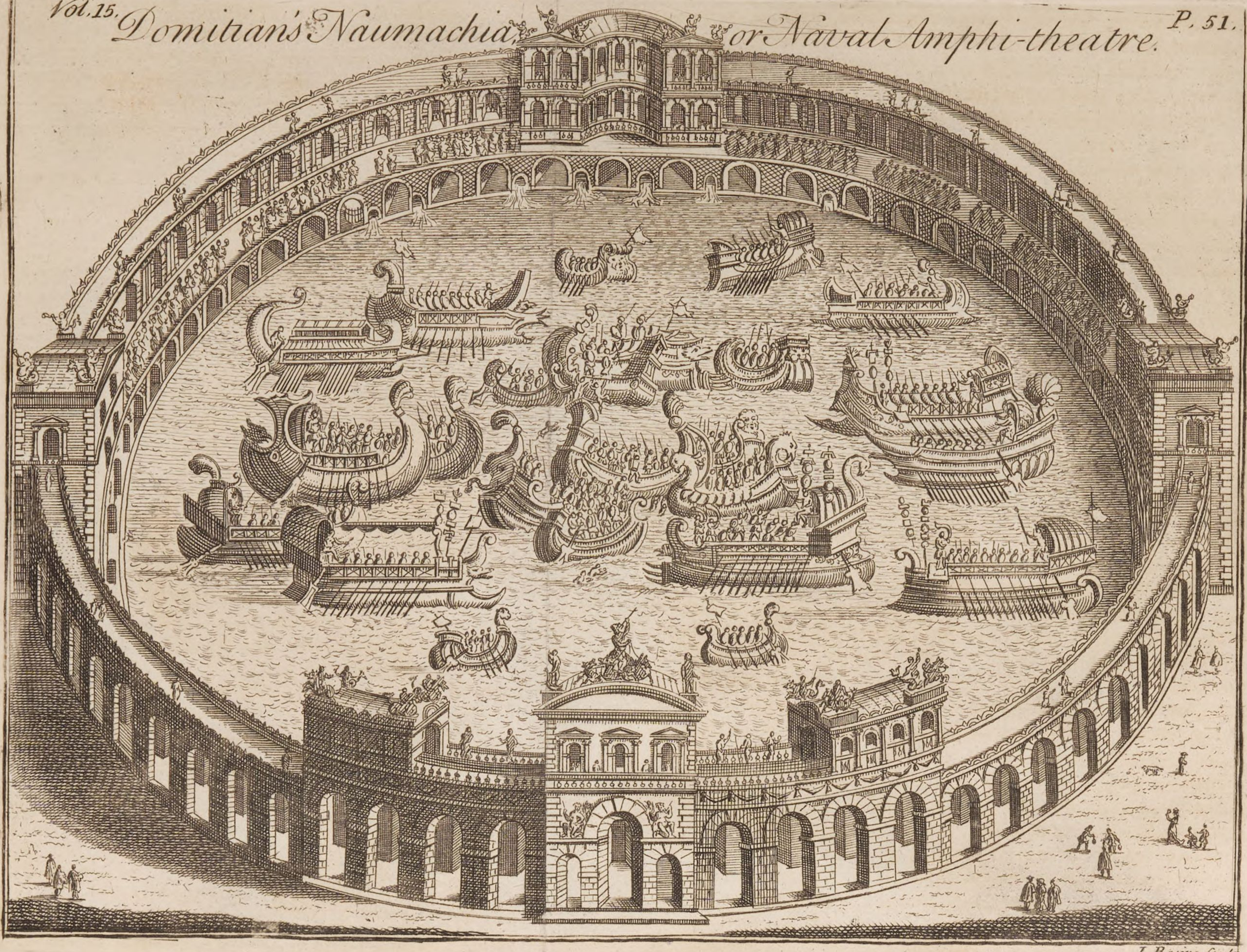
tranſlation of *Aratus*, which has reached us, and was, without all doubt, done by *Domitian* (6). *Lactantius* aſcribes to him the learned comment on that tranſlation (7); but *Voſſius* is of a different opinion (8). *Valerius Flaccus* the poet, who flouriſhed under *Veſpaſian*, ſpeaks of a poem, written by *Domitian*, on the taking of *Jeruſalem* by *Titus* (9). He likewiſe wrote a book in proſe, about the means of preſerving the hair, which is quoted by *Suetonius* (1).

(X) Some medals, which have reached our times, give us room to ſuppoſe, that, in the firſt year of his reign, he took upon him the title of *Germanicus*, probably on account of his journey to *Lyons*, during the revolt of the *Gauls* and *Batavians*; for we know of no other expedition, which could give him, however vain and ambitious, the leaſt colour for aſſuming that ſurname or title (2).

(6) *Voſſ. poet. Lat. c.* 3. (7) *Lact. l.* i. *c.* 22. (8) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. p.* 115. (9) *Val. Flac. l.* ii. *ver.* 12. (1) *Suet. c.* 18. (2) *Vide Biragi numiſ. p.* 131, 132.

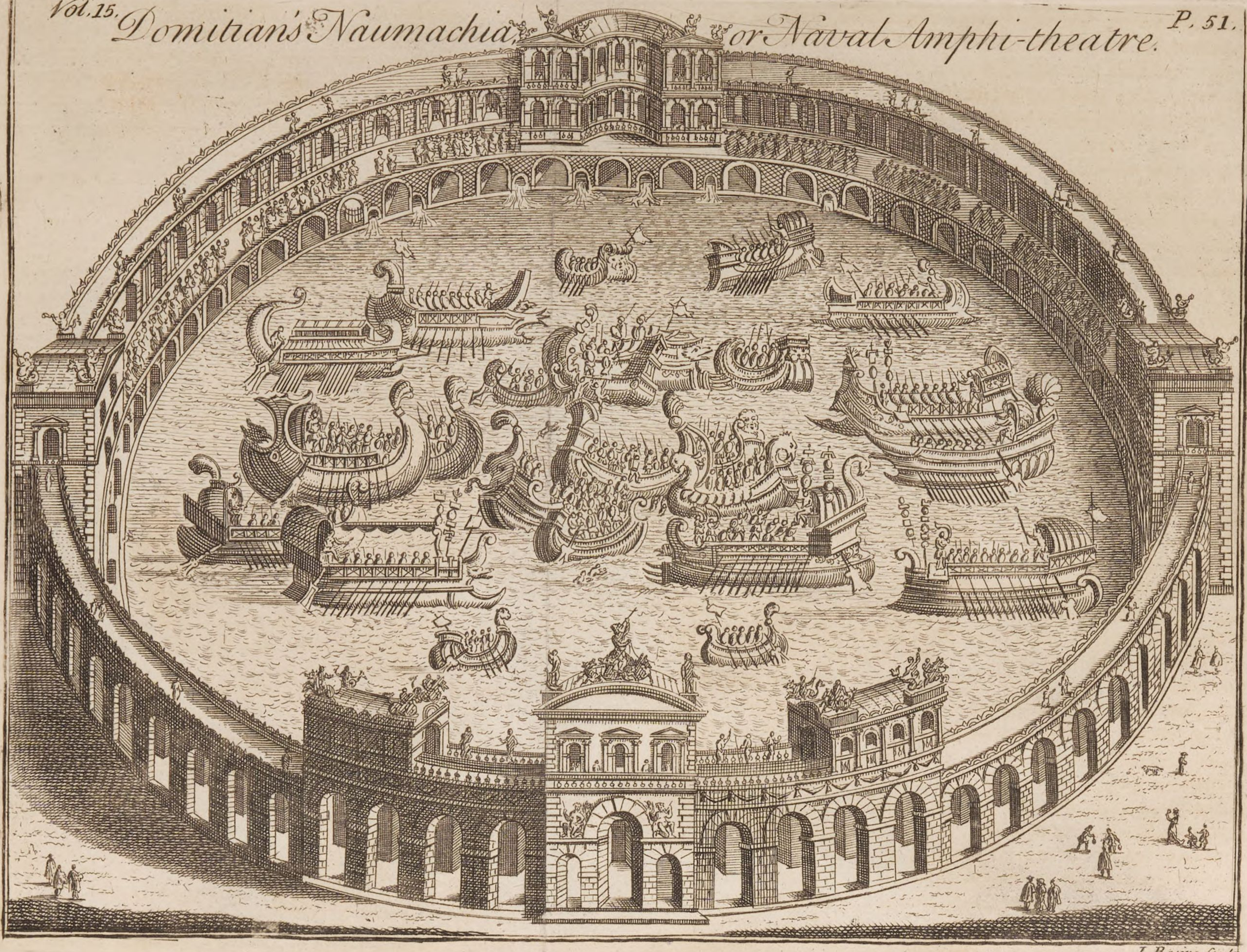
only

Domitian's Naumachia, or Naval Amphi-theatre.



I. Basire sculp.

Domitian's Naumachia, or Naval Amphi-theatre.



I. Basire sculp.

only assumed, he soon made appear, by publicly reviling the memory of that excellent prince, by blaming his conduct, and persecuting all those whom he had distinguished with particular marks of his favour; nay, he openly declared in the senate, that to him both his father and brother were indebted for the empire; and that they had only restored to him what was his own gift. However, in the beginning of his reign, he studied to gain the affections of his people, by a conduct worthy of a great prince, disguising his vices, and affecting the opposite virtues. He shewed such an abhorrence to to all manner of cruelty, that he once resolved, by an express edict, to forbid the sacrificing of oxen, or any living creature. He was so far from betraying any byas to avarice, that, on the contrary, he gave daily instances of a temper truly princely and munificent, presenting his officers and ministers with large sums, in order to raise them above the temptation of accumulating wealth by methods sordid and mean. He could not be prevailed upon to accept such inheritances as were left him by persons who had children: and because one *Ruscius Cæpio*, by his will, obliged his heir to pay a certain sum to every new senator, he declared the will void, and would not suffer it to be executed to the prejudice of his own children. All debts above five years standing, which were owing to the exchequer, he freely forgave; and, after the division of lands amongst the veterans, restored the remainder to the antient proprietors, tho' he might, after the example of other emperors, have appropriated it to himself. He forbad, on pain of banishment, all the officers of the treasury to sue any one for debts that were not clear and undoubted [m]. He confirmed at once, as *Titus* had done, all the grants made by his predecessors, increased the pay of the soldiers, and finished, at an immense charge, all the public buildings, which had been begun by *Titus*.

He reviles the memory of his brother.

His conduct in the beginning of his reign.

PLUTARCH tells us, that he expended above twelve thousand talents only in the gilding of the capitol; and that nevertheless each hall and gallery of his own palace far excelled that stately temple in magnificence [n]. To the antient edifices, which he either repaired or built, he added an incredible number of new ones; having a great passion for building, and seeming desirous, as *Plutarch* expresses it [o], to change every thing into stones and gold. He was assiduous, and quite unbyased, in the administration of justice; punished, with the utmost severity, such judges as were convicted of having received bribes; and kept the magistrates of the city, as well as the governors of the provinces, in such awe, that they were

His magnificence in public buildings.

[m] SUET. c. 9. [n] PLUT. vit. Public. [o] Idem ibid.

never known to have behaved with ſo much modeſty as in his time; tho', after his death, many of them abandoned themſelves, as *Suetonius* informs us, to all manner of rapine and extortion [p]. Tho' after his acceſſion to the empire he utterly neglected all kind of literature, and was never known to have peruſed any book, except the memoirs of *Tiberius*, yet he repaired the libraries which had been burnt in his brother's reign; procuring copies of ſuch as had been conſumed in the flames, and ſending perſons to *Alexandria*, to tranſcribe thoſe that were lodged in that famous library [q]. Authors obſerve, as a thing very remarkable in *Domitian*, that, in the beginning of his reign, he uſed to retire every day, for ſome time, into his room, where his whole employment was to catch flies, and pierce them with a ſharp bodkin; which cuſtom gave occaſion to *Vibius Priſcus*, when he was asked, whether any-body was with the emperor, to anſwer pleaſantly, *Not ſo much as a fly* [r].

Repairs the public libraries.

DOMITIAN, in the firſt year of his reign, took upon him, as other emperors had done, the conſular dignity; and choſe for his collegue *Titus Flavius Sabinus*, his couſin-german, the ſon of *Flavius Sabinus* governor of *Rome*, who was put to death in the reign of *Vitellius*, as we have related above. The emperor reſigned the faſces on the thirteenth of *January*; but to whom, we are no-where told; and aſſumed the title of cenſor; which office he diſcharged with great applauſe, reſtraining, with ſeveral edicts, the licentiouſneſs, which generally prevailed amongſt all ranks of men. He enacted ſevere laws againſt the authors of ſuch writings as any-way reflected on perſons of diſtinction; degraded a ſenator, by name *Cæcilius Rufinus*, for no other reaſon, but becauſe he took great delight in dancing. From ſuch women as led ſcandalous lives, he took away the privilege of being carried in litters, and declared them incapable of enjoying legacies or inheritances. He ſtruck a *Roman* knight out of the liſt of judges, for taking his wife again, after he had divorced her for adultery. One of his freedmen having erected a monument for his ſon, with the ſtones which were deſigned for the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, he cauſed it to be demoliſhed, and the bones and aſhes of the deceaſed to be thrown into the ſea. He would not ſuffer the comedians and pantomimes to act on the public ſtage; but confined them to private houſes and gardens. Many perſons, of both ſexes, convicted of adultery, he puniſhed with death, *&c* [s]. Theſe

Enacts ſeveral wholſome laws.

[p] SUET. c. 8. [q] Idem, c. 20. [r] Idem, c. 3. AUR. VICT. DIO, l. lxvii. p. 766. [s] SUET. c. 7, 8. DIO, p. 765. PLIN. panegyr. ZONAR. p. 197.

regulations, and acts of justice, were received with great applause; but the death of *Flavius Sabinus*, which happened in the end of this, or the beginning of the following year, occasioned an universal dread in the city; for the emperor, without any regard to his own blood, caused him to be assassinated, for no crime of his own, but only because the public crier had, by mistake, instead of consul, proclaimed him emperor in the assembly of the people [t]. *Sabinus* had married *Julia*, the daughter of the emperor *Titus*; which marriage proved the source of *Domitian*'s jealousy, if *Philostratus* is to be credited [u], and the chief cause of *Sabinus*'s death.

Puts Flavius Sabinus *to death.*

Domitian *attacks the* Cattans, *and for his mock-victory is honoured with a triumph.*

Year of the flood 2433. Of Christ 83. Of Rome 833.

DOMITIAN, in the second year of his reign, undertook an expedition against the *Cattans*, whom *Tacitus* describes as the most polite and most warlike nation in *Germany*. *Domitian* attacked them without the least provocation, and while they were quite unprepared for war; laid waste part of their country, took a small number of peasants prisoners, and then, upon advice that the enemy were drawing their forces together, hastened back, and returned to *Rome* with all the pomp and parade of a conqueror [w]. The senate, for this pretended victory, decreed him a triumph; in which were led before his chariot great numbers of slaves, by him bought, and attired like *Germans*. On occasion of this mock-victory he promised to increase the pay of the soldiers; but, not having wherewith to discharge his promise, and at the same time supply his other extravagances, he soon after betook himself to all manner of rapine and violence. From this time forward *Domitian* constantly wore in the senate, and at all public assemblies, the triumphal robe [x].

Domitian *is stung with envy at the news of* Agricola's *conquests.*

IN the mean time *Agricola*, having intirely reduced *Britain*, acquainted *Domitian*, by letters, with the success that had attended his arms there. The account he conveyed to him was plain and modest, without ostentation, or any pomp of words. The emperor received it with joy in his countenance, but with anguish in his heart; being well apprised, that his late mock-triumph over the *Germans* was held in public derision; whereas, now, a true and mighty victory, gained by the slaughter of so many thousands of the enemy, was every-where sounded by the voice of fame, and received with universal applause. He could not brook, that the name of a private man should be exalted above that of the prince: to the emperor alone,

[t] SUET. c. 10. [u] PHILOSTRAT. vit. Apoll. Ty. l. vii. c. 3. [w] Idem, l. lxvii. p. 760. [x] Idem ibid. SUET. c. 12. ZONAR. p. 196.

he thought, properly appertained the glory and renown of being a great general. Tortured with theſe anxious thoughts, and indulging his humour of being ſhut up in ſecret, a certain indication, that he was meditating ſome bloody deſign, he at laſt judged it the beſt courſe, upon this occaſion, to ſmother his rancour, till the fame of theſe conqueſts, and the affection of the army to *Agricola*, were ſomewhat abated.

Yet cauſes triumphal honours to be decreed to him.

To him therefore he cauſed to be decreed by the ſenate the triumphal ornaments, a ſtatue crowned with laurel, and whatever elſe is beſtowed inſtead of a real triumph; heightening theſe honours with many expreſſions full of eſteem and reſpect; but, in the mean time, he reſolved to recal him: and that this might not be aſcribed to jealouſy, or envy, he cauſed a report to be ſpread abroad, that to *Agricola* was deſtined the province of *Syria*, a government then vacant by the death of *Atilius Rufus*, a man of conſular dignity; ſince the ſame was reſerved only for perſons of the firſt rank. There were many who believed, that an imperial freedman, one much truſted with the ſecret deſigns of his maſter, was by him diſpatched to carry the inſtrument appointing *Agricola* governor of *Syria*, with orders to deliver it to him, were he ſtill in *Britain* (for he had already named him a ſucceſſor); that the freedman met *Agricola* croſſing the chanel, and, without ſo much as ſpeaking to him, returned directly to *Domitian*. Whether this account be true, or only a fiction, framed in conformity to the character and genius of *Domitian*, is, according to *Tacitus*, uncertain. *Agricola* had already ſurrendred to his ſucceſſor, probably *Salluſtius Secundus*, the province now ſettled in perfect peace and tranquillity. To avoid all popular diſtinction, and concourſe of people to meet him, he entered *Rome* by night, and by night went, as he was directed, to the palace; where he was received by the emperor with a ſhort embrace, without a word ſaid; and then paſſed undiſtinguiſhed amongſt the croud of courtiers.

He recals him.

From this time forward, to leſſen the reputation he had acquired of a military man, and a gallant commander, a name ever diſtaſteful to thoſe who live themſelves in idleneſs, he reſigned himſelf intirely to inactivity and repoſe. In his dreſs he was modeſt; in his converſation affable and free, and never found accompanied by more than one, or at moſt two of his friends; inſomuch that many, eſpecially ſuch as judge of great men from their retinue and parade, when they beheld and obſerved *Agricola*, could not conceive whence proceeded his mighty fame; and indeed few there were, who could account for the motives of his conduct. Notwithſtanding the retired life he led, he was frequently accuſed in his abſence

Agricola *leads a retired life.*

ſence before *Domitian*, and as often in his abſence acquitted. What threatened his life was no crime of his, nor complaint of any particular for injuries received, nor any thing elſe, ſave the glorious character of the man, and the perverſe diſpoſition of the emperor, hating all excellence, and every virtue. With theſe cauſes concurred the worſt ſort of enemies, ſuch as extolled him, in order to deſtroy him. Beſides, ſuch times afterwards enſued, as would not ſuffer the name of *Agricola* to remain unmentioned; ſo that he was in conſtant danger of being ſacrificed to the jealouſy of the emperor, but nevertheleſs lived nine years longer [y]: whence we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of him again in this reign.

Domitian *unwilling to engage in a war with the* Cattans.

THE ſame year *Cariomerus*, king of the *Cheruſcans*, a *German* nation, being driven out by the *Cattans*, becauſe he had ſubmitted to the *Romans*, and delivered hoſtages to them, had recourſe to *Domitian* for aſſiſtance. But the emperor, not caring to engage in a war with that fierce nation, contented himſelf with conveying to his friend and ally a ſum of money, inſtead of troops, which, he ſaid, he could not at that juncture well ſpare [z]. About the ſame time one *Ganda*, a *German* virgin, and propheteſs, and revered in *Germany* as a deity, arrived at *Rome*; and, being there well received by *Domitian*, after ſome private conferences with him, returned to her own country [a].

The Suevians *invade the* Roman *territories.*

THE year following *Domitian* was conſul the eleventh time; and had for his collegue one *Fulvius*, whom *Onuphrius* takes to be *T. Aurelius Fulvius*, or *Fulvus*, the grandfather of *Titus Antoninus*. He was a native of *Niſmes*, twice conſul, and governor of *Rome*. This year *Domitian* took the title of emperor four times; but for what victories we find no-where recorded. We read indeed in *Dio Caſſius*, that the *Suevians* and *Lygians*, whom that writer places in *Mœſia*, ſolicited *Domitian* for ſuccours, who ſent them only an hundred horſemen; which ſo provoked the *Suevians*, that, joining the *Iazygians*, a people of *Sarmatia*, they advanced, with a deſign to paſs the *Danube*, and lay waſte the *Roman* territories [b]. *Dio Caſſius* does not acquaint us with the iſſue of this bold undertaking; but *Tacitus*, having told us in one place, that the *Sarmatians* and *Suevians* entered into an alliance againſt *Rome* [c], adds in another [d], that, ſoon after the return of *Agricola* out of *Britain*, the *Romans* loſt intire armies in *Mœſia*, in *Dacia*, in *Germany*, and in *Pannonia*, all by the bad conduct of their generals, either altogether cowardly, or fool-hardy. From

[y] TACIT. vit. Agric. c. 38——42. [z] DIO, l. lxvii. p. 760.
[a] Idem, p. 761. [b] Idem ibid. [c] TACIT. hiſt. l. i. c. 2.
[d] TACIT. vit. Agr. c. 41.

ſeveral medals it appears, that *Domitian* returned this year to *Rome* from ſome expedition, of which not the leaſt mention is made by the hiſtorians: perhaps he marched in perſon againſt the *Suevians* and *Iazygians*; at leaſt ſeveral medals were ſtamped this year, in memory of a ſignal victory, real or pretended, gained over the *Germans* [c].

Domitian puts many perſons of diſtinction to death.

THE emperor, after his return to *Rome*, abandoning himſelf to all manner of cruelty, cauſed the nativity to be caſt of all the illuſtrious perſons in the city, and put ſuch of them to death, as were ſaid, by the aſtrologers, to be deſtined to the empire. *Metius Pompoſianus*, againſt whom ſome ill-deſigning perſons had, on the ſame account, endeavoured in vain to ſtir up the emperor *Veſpaſian*, was on this occaſion baniſhed *Italy*, and confined to the iſland of *Corſica*; where he was ſoon after, by *Domitian*'s order, put to death. *Nerva*, who ſucceeded him in the empire, would have ſuffered the ſame doom, had not an aſtrologer aſſured the emperor, that he had no reaſon to be afraid of *Nerva*, who could not live many days. He encouraged informers more than any other prince had done; tho' in the beginning of his reign he had treated them with great ſeverity, and ſolemnly declared, that he would never give ear to their informations (Y).

AUTHORS obſerve, that this year multitudes of ſenators and knights were accuſed of treaſon; and either ſentenced to death by the ſenate, or ordered by *Domitian* to diſpatch themſelves. Of theſe the moſt illuſtrious was *Ælius Lamia*, whom he cauſed to be publicly executed only for a jeſt; for the emperor, who, as we have obſerved above, had taken away his wife, commending one day his voice, *Lamia* anſwered, *Yet, alas! I muſt be ſilent.* *Civicus Cerealis* was murdered during his proconſulſhip of *Aſia*; under colour, that he deſigned to raiſe diſturbances in the ſtate, but, in reality, be-

[c] Vide BIRAG. numiſm. p. 134. & NORIS. ep. conſul. p. 175.

(Y) Amongſt theſe, the moſt famous were *Metius Carus*, *Catullus Meſſalinus*, and *Bebius Maſſa*, three robbers, as *Pliny* calls them (3), who enriched themſelves, and the emperor, with the ſpoils of many thouſand illuſtrious and innocent perſons. *Carus* is often mentioned by the poets *Juvenal* and *Martial*, and by *Pliny*, againſt whom he preſented a memorial to *Domitian* (4). *Catullus Meſſalinus* was blind; but, nevertheleſs, one of the moſt miſchievous informers who frequented the court: he died about the latter end of *Domitian*'s reign; whence it is plain, that *Catanæus* was miſtaken in ſuppoſing him to be the ſame perſon with *Catullus*, governor of *Cyrene*; who died, according to *Joſephus*, in the reign of *Veſpaſian* (5).

(3) *Plin. panegyr.* (4) *Idem, l.* iii. *ep.* 4. (5) *Vide Catan. in not. ad Plin. jun. et Joſeph. de bell. Jud. l.* vii. *c.* 39.

cauſe

cauſe he had accepted the government of *Aſia*, which had fallen to him by lot. Hence *Agricola*, when to his lot the proconſulſhip of *Aſia* or *Africa* was to fall, declined the employment, and preſented a petition to the emperor, begging to be excuſed. *Domitian* not only granted him his requeſt, but ſuffered himſelf to be on that account preſented with formal thanks. Neither to *Agricola* did he give the ſalary which was wont to be paid to proconſuls, and which he himſelf had continued to ſome. *Salvius Coccianus* was put to death for celebrating the birth-day of the emperor *Otho*, who was his uncle by the father's ſide; *Salluſtius Lucullus*, who had ſucceeded *Agricola* in the government of *Britain*, for ſuffering a new kind of lances to be called after his own name; *Junius Ruſticus* for publiſhing a writing in commendation of the celebrated *Thraſea*, and of *Helvidius Priſcus*; *Maternus*, a renowned philoſopher, for having declaimed in public againſt tyranny and tyrants. All the profeſſors of philoſophy, and every laudable ſcience, ſays *Tacitus*, were expelled, and driven into exile; and, that nothing which was worthy and honeſt might any-where be ſeen, not only againſt perſons, but againſt books, commending virtue or patriotiſm, a new kind of cruelty was exerted; for, in the forum, the works of men famous for their genius and parts were publicly burnt [f].

The deplorable condition of Rome.

EVERY thing gave the jealous tyrant fear and offence. Was a man nobly born, and popular? he withdrew the affections of the people, rivaled the prince, and threatened a civil war. Was he afraid of popularity, and lived retired? he gained fame by ſhunning it, was ſtill an eye-ſore, and his beſt fate was, to leave his country. Was he virtuous, and his life and morals without blame? he was another *Brutus*, and, by the purity of his manners, upbraided the vicious behaviour of the emperor. If a man ſeemed dull and inactive, he only put on the diſguiſe of ſtupidity and ſloth, till he found room for ſome bloody purpoſe. If he had a different character, and was a lively and active man, then it was plain he did not ſo much as feign a deſire of private life and receſs, but avowed a buſtling republican ſpirit. If he was rich, he was too wealthy for a ſubject; and great wealth in private hands boded ill to princes: if he was poor, he was thence the more enterpriſing and deſperate. In ſhort, no man could poſſeſs any advantage or quality that rendered him acceptable to his fellow-citizens, and a bleſſing to his country, to his friends, or to himſelf, but ſuch quality and advantage were ſure to awaken the jealouſy and vengeance of the tyrant, and

[f] SUET. c. 20. TACIT. vit. Agr. c. 2.

procure

procure his doom. Hence *Tacitus*, ſpeaking of theſe unhappy times; "Mighty (ſays he) was the teſtimony which we "gave of our patience; for, as our forefathers had beheld "the ultimate perfection of liberty, ſo did we of bondage; "ſince, through dread of informers, we were bereft of the "common intercourſe of ſpeech. Nay, with our utterance, "we had likewiſe loſt our memory, had it been equally in "our power to forget, as to be ſilent [g]. Againſt the defence "of innocence accuſed, againſt the moſt evident truth and "juſtice, the ears of the emperor were ever ſhut; but ca-"lumny, whiſpered by any informer, had equal weight with "real crimes proved by authentic witneſſes." "Falſhood "and flattery (ſays *Dio Caſſius*), envy and rapaciouſneſs, "paſſed for evidence; juſtice was converted into cruelty, "and judgment into rage; the tribunals erected for juſtice, "and preſervation of life and property, were turned into "ſhambles; and what had the names of pains and penalties, "were, in truth, robbery and aſſaſſination."

Encou-rages informers.

THE perſons of the accuſers were conſidered as ſacred and inviolable; the more they were deteſted by the public, the more they were protected by the emperor; and, in proportion as they deſerved death and ignominy, had countenance and preferment. Their vileſt forgeries, convicted and owned, againſt the lives and fortunes of the greateſt men, drew down no puniſhment upon them [h]. In the midſt of his cruelties, he abandoned himſelf to all manner of lewdneſs and debauchery, and was on that ſcore no leſs infamous than the moſt vicious of his predeceſſors. His avarice was equal to his lewdneſs and cruelty; not that he had any natural byas to that vice, ſays *Suetonius*; but, having exhauſted his treaſury by the many buildings he raiſed, by the magnificent ſports and ſhews which he exhibited, by increaſing the pay of the ſoldiers, and by other wild and extravagant expences, he betook himſelf to all ſorts of rapine and extortion, ſeizing, upon the leaſt information, the eſtates of the moſt wealthy citizens: the leaſt action or word againſt the majeſty of the prince, was made uſe of as a pretence for ſtripping them of whatever they poſſeſſed. He confiſcated inheritances, appropriating to himſelf all the effects of perſons whom he never knew, if he could find but one witneſs to depoſe, that he had ever heard the deceaſed ſay, that *Cæſar* was his heir. With theſe, and ſuch-like artificial contrivances, he reduced to beggary the moſt opulent perſons, not only in *Rome* and *Italy*, but in all the provinces of the *Roman* empire. His officers and procurators exacted the tributes and taxes with the greateſt rigour and ſe-

Abandons himſelf to all manner of lewd-neſs.

His ava-rice and extortions.

[g] TACIT. vit. Agr. c. 2. [h] DIO, l. lxvii. p. 759.

verity

verity imaginable; but, above all, he oppreſſed the *Jews* in a moſt cruel manner, not excepting even ſuch of them as had renounced their religion; and with the like ſeverity treated thoſe, ſays *Suetonius* (meaning, no doubt, the Chriſtians), who lived in *Rome* after the manner of the *Jews*, and ſeemed to profeſs the ſame ſuperſtition [i].

THE heavy tributes, and the rigour uſed by the officers in exacting them, occaſioned great diſorders, and frequent revolts, in the diſtant provinces. In *Africa*, the *Naſamonians*, whom moſt geographers place in the province of *Cyrenaica*, no longer able to bear the heavy impoſts with which they were loaded, and the inſults and extortions of the collectors, roſe up in arms this year, defeated *Flaccus* governor of *Numidia*, ſtormed his camp, and put great numbers of his men to the ſword. But *Flaccus* was ſoon revenged on them; for, being informed, that, elated with their ſucceſs, they had abandoned themſelves to jollity and carouſing, he rallied his men, and, coming unexpectedly upon them, while they were intoxicated with the wine they had found in the *Roman* camp, he cut them all off to a man (Z). *Domitian*, elated with the victory gained by his lieutenant over the *Naſamonians*, bragged in the ſenate, that he had cut off the whole nation; for to himſelf he aſcribed, as *Dio Caſſius* obſerves [k], all the advantages gained by his officers, though he bore not the leaſt ſhare in them, and to others every miſcarriage, however occaſioned by a ſtrict obſervance of his orders. As he hated and ſuſpected every man of parts, eſpecially ſuch as had acquired any military renown, the commanders of the armies, to recommend themſelves to his favour, carefully avoided ſignalizing themſelves by any military exploits, chooſing rather to bear the inſults of the enemy, than to expoſe themſelves to the dangers ariſing from the jealouſy of the prince [l]. The ſame year he firſt aſſumed, accordiug to *Euſebius*, the title of *Lord*, and that of *God*, not being aſhamed, in dictating an ordinance to one of his

The Naſamonians *revolt*; *but are utterly cut off.*

Domitian *aſſumes the title of*

[i] SUET. c. 12. [k] DIO in excerpt. VAL. p. 709. [l] PLIN. l. viii. epiſt. 14.

(Z) *Zonaras* ſeems to inſinuate, that he extirpated the whole nation, without any regard to ſex or age (6); and *Ariſtides* tells us, that, by an order from one of the emperors, the whole race of the *Naſamonians* was cut off (7). However, that ſome of that race outlived this dreadful ſlaughter, is evident from *Ptolemy* the geographer, who places them, as people ſtill in being, to the ſouth of *Libya Marmarica* (8).

(6) *Zonar. p.* 197. (7) *Ariſt. p.* 194. (8) *Ptol. l.* iv. *c.* 5.

ſecretaries,

Lord, *and that of* God.

secretaries, to begin it thus; *Our Lord and our God orders and commands*, &c. About the same time he enacted a law, obliging all to pay him divine worship; and from that time forward no man dared to call him by any other name but that of *Lord*, and of *God*[m]; nay, some writers[n] tell us, that, by an express law, all other titles, either in speaking or writing to him, were to be suppressed (A).

The institution of the Capitoline *sports.*

THE following year, *Domitian* entered upon his twelfth consulship, having *Servius Cornelius Dolabella* for his collegue. This year were instituted the *Capitoline* sports, so much spoken of by the writers of those days, according to whom they were to be exhibited once in five, but, according to our way of reckoning, once in four years; for they were celebrated, as the *Olympic* sports, at the end of four years complete, and in the beginning of the fifth. As they were exhibited in honour of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, the emperor presided at them in person, attended by the priest of *Jupiter*, and the college of the *Flavian* priests[o]. To this year *Eusebius* fixes the war with the *Dacians*, the most bloody and dangerous which the *Romans* sustained during the reign of *Domitian*. The *Dacians* were

Year of the flood 2837. Of Chr. 87. Of Rome 837.

[m] SUET. c. 13.
[n] AUR. VICT. & ORDS. l. vii. c. 10.
[o] SUET. c. 4.

(A) Of this impious flattery we have many instances in the poets *Juvenal* and *Martial*. *Pliny* complains, that all the streets leading to the capitol were constantly crouded with droves of victims to be sacrificed before his statues (9). He pretended to be, and would be called, the son of *Minerva*, for which goddess he professed a particular veneration. He would not suffer any statues to be erected to him in the capitol, but such as were of pure gold or silver, and of a fixed weight. He filled the city with triumphal gates and arches, and, by an immense number of monuments, raised at a vast charge, endeavoured to transmit to posterity the memory of his pretended victories (1). He was the first who was ever known to have been seventeen times consul. Not satisfied to have assumed the title of *Germanicus*, on account of his pretended victory over the *Cattans*, he caused the month of *September* to be distinguished with the same name, and the month of *October* with that of *Domitian*; because in the latter he was born, and in the former declared emperor. In short, before the end of the fourth year of his reign, he surpassed, if *Dio Cassius* is to be credited, all his predecessors, *Nero* not excepted, in pride, cruelty, rapaciousness, and all other vices which complete the character of an accomplished tyrant (2).

(9) *Plin. paneg. p.* 99. *Val. p.* 710.
(1) *Suet. c.* 13.
(2) *Dio in excerpt.*

looked

looked upon by the *Romans* as the moſt warlike nation they were then acquainted with. They were not only men for the moſt part of great ſtrength, but of equal courage, deſpiſing death, which they conſidered as the end of a tranſitory, and the beginning of an happy and laſting life; whence with much intrepidity they braved the greateſt dangers. This doctrine they had learnt of an antient philoſopher, by name *Zamolxis*, whom ſome ſuppoſe to have been the diſciple of *Pythagoras*; others, to have flouriſhed long before his time[p] (B). At this time one *Duras* ruled over the *Dacians*; but, after having for ſome time held the ſovereignty, by an inſtance of moderation hardly to be matched in hiſtory, reſigned it of his own accord to one *Decebalus*, whom he judged better qualified than himſelf for the diſcharge of ſo great a truſt; for *Decebalus* was a man of great proweſs, and experience in war, and equally ſkilled in affairs of ſtate[q] (C).

Some account of the Dacians.

As to the iſſue of the war which he maintained againſt *Rome*, *Tacitus* ſpeaks thus, without deſcending to any particulars: "In the commonwealth there enſued ſuch times, as "would not permit the name of *Agricola*, lately returned "from *Britain*, to remain unmentioned; ſo many were the

They make war upon the Romans.

[p] Strabo, l. vii. p. 297. Suid. Phot. c. 166. [q] Dio in excerpt. Vales. p. 709—761.

(B) *Dio Caſſius* obſerves, that theſe people were by ſome *Greek* writers called *Getæ*; but by the *Romans Daci*, which was their proper appellation; for the *Getæ* dwelt beyond mount *Hæmus*, near the mouth of the *Danube*, and the *Euxine* ſea; but the *Dacians* more to the weſt, and nearer *Germany*; that is, according to the opinion of moſt modern geographers, in the countries now known by the names of *Moldavia*, *Valachia*, and *Tranſylvania*. But, the emperor *Aurelian* having afterwards placed them on this ſide the *Danube* (we ſpeak with reſpect to *Rome*), they gave their name to that part of *Illyricum* which they poſſeſſed; and this is the province, which, in the fourth and fifth centuries, was known by the name of *Dacia*. As for the antient *Dacia*, it was then held by the *Goths*, whom *Jornandes*, throughout his hiſtory, confounds with the *Dacians* (3).

(C) He is by *Jornandes* (4), and *Oroſius* (5), called *Dorpanæus*, and *Diurpanæus*; for a prince of that name reigned, according to them, in *Dacia*, when the defeat of *Fuſcus* happened, of which we ſhall ſpeak anon; and, on the other hand, we are told by *Dio Caſſius*, that *Fuſcus* was overthrown in battle by *Decebalus*.

(3) *Vide Lloyd. dict. hiſtoric. p.* 405. *Baud. p.* 237. *Jornand. Get. c.* 12, 13, &c. (4) *Jornand. c.* 13. (5) *Oroſ. l. vii. c.* 20.

" armies we had loſt in *Mœſia*, *Dacia*, *Germany*, and *Pan-*
" *nonia*, all by the miſconduct of our generals. The que-
" ſtion and conteſt were not now about maintaining the limits
" of the empire, and guarding the rivers which ſerved for its
" boundaries, but about defending the ſtanding encampments
" of the legions, and preſerving our own territories. Thus,
" when public calamities were following one another, and
" each year was become ſignal for ſlaughters and misfortunes,
" *Agricola* was, by the common voice of the populace, re-
" quired for the command of our armies; for all men were
" comparing his vigour, his reſolution, and experience in war,
" with the ſloth and timidity of the others. The beſt of *Domi-*
" *tian*'s freedmen adviſed and preſſed him to this choice, out
" of pure affection and duty; as did the worſt, out of viru-
" lence and envy, hoping by that means to compaſs the de-
Domitian *jealous of* Agricola. " ſtruction of *Agricola*. But that jealous and diſtruſtful
" prince dreaded nothing ſo much, as to ſee a man of cou-
" rage and reputation at the head of an army [r]." Thus much *Tacitus* in general of the war with the *Dacians*, in which the *Romans*, according to that hiſtorian, ſuſtained great loſſes, and had many armies ſlaughtered, many brave officers killed, and many taken priſoners. For a more particular and diſtinct account of this deſtructive war, we muſt recur to, and depend upon, *Jornandes*.

The Romans *defeated by the* Dacians, *and their general killed.* ACCORDING to him, the *Dacians*, dreading the effects of the emperor's avarice, broke the alliance which they had made with his predeceſſors, croſſed the *Danube*, drove away the troops ſtationed on the banks of that river; and, falling upon *Appius*, or *Oppius Sabinus*, governor of *Mœſia*, defeated and killed him, committing every-where moſt dreadful devaſtations, and ſeizing all the forts and caſtles raiſed in their neighbourhood by the *Romans*. Hereupon *Domitian*, having with all poſſible expedition raiſed a formidable army, marched himſelf at the head of it into *Illyricum*. Upon his approach, *Decebalus* diſpatched embaſſadors to him, declaring, that he was ready to put an end to the war, and renew the former treaties. But *Domitian*, inſtead of returning any anſwer to the deputies, ordered the flower of his forces to advance againſt the *Dacians*, under the conduct of *Cornelius Fuſcus*, captain of the prætorian guards. He was, according to *Tacitus* [s], of an illuſtrious deſcent, and had in his early youth, from a paſſion for ſolitude and repoſe, diveſted himſelf of the ſenatorial dignity. Upon the death of *Nero*, he declared for *Galba*, by whom he was created procurator of *Illyricum*. Afterwards he

[r] TACIT. vit. Agric. c. 41. [s] TACIT. hiſt. lib. ii. c. 86.

embraced the party of *Veſpaſian* againſt *Vitellius*, and to the flame of war added, to uſe the expreſſion of *Tacitus*, freſh fuel; for he took not ſo much delight in the rewards of perils, as in the perils themſelves. He was ſecond in the command of the forces under the famous *Antonius Primus*, and honoured by the ſenate, after the death of *Vitellius*, with the ornaments of the prætorſhip. *Domitian* conferred upon him the command of the prætorian guards. But, after all, he was not, if *Juvenal* is to be credited [t], ſufficiently qualified for the chief command of an army. Hence *Decebalus*, deſpiſing ſuch a general, ſent a freſh embaſſy to *Domitian*, offering to conclude a peace with him, upon condition that each *Roman* paid him yearly two *oboli*; and threatening, if they rejected his propoſal, to purſue the war with vigour, and deſtroy their territories with fire and ſword. The *Romans* were ſo provoked with the inſolence of this propoſal, that they demanded to be led forth with againſt the enemy. Accordingly *Fuſcus*, having cauſed his army to paſs the *Danube* on a bridge of boats, entered the *Dacian* territories, where, after ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, *Decebalus* and *Fuſcus* agreed to put the whole to the iſſue of a general engagement. Both armies fought with equal bravery and reſolution, and the victory continued long doubtful; but in the end the *Romans* were utterly routed, and *Fuſcus* himſelf ſlain. The *Dacians* took one eagle, a great quantity of arms, all the engines of war, and a vaſt number of captives, who were afterwards found in the enemy's caſtles, and releaſed by the emperor *Trajan* [u].

They are defeated a ſecond time, and Fuſcus *their general killed.*

THE news of this defeat alarmed *Domitian*, who was already returned to *Rome*, where he made a no leſs dreadful havock of the ſenate and people, than the *Dacians* had done of the ſoldiery. He ſtrove at firſt to ſmother the diſmal tidings; but, finding they were by common fame divulged all over the city, and even magnified, he left *Rome* a ſecond time, giving out, that he would head the army in perſon. But, arriving in *Mæſia*, he ſtopped in a city of that province, and ſent forward his generals againſt the enemy. Many bloody battles were fought with various ſucceſs, fortune being ſometimes favourable to the *Romans*, ſometimes to the *Dacians* [w]. *Julianus*, one of the *Roman* commanders, gained a ſignal victory, by obliging his ſoldiers to write their names on their bucklers, that he might by that means the more effectually encourage or upbraid each particular [x]. On this occaſion *Vezinas*, who,

The Dacians *receive a great overthrow.*

[t] JUVEN. ſat. iv. ver. 112. [u] JORNAND. de reb. Goth. c. 13. OROS. l. vii. c. 8. DIO, l. lxviii. p. 773. JUV. ſat. iv. ver. 111. [w] TACIT. hiſt. l. i. c. 2. [x] DIO, l. lxvii. p. 762. & in excerpt. VAL. p. 709.

among

among the *Dacians*, was next in authority to *Decebalus*, finding no other means to make his escape, concealed himself amongst the dead, and in the night retired undiscovered. *Decebalus*, apprehending the *Romans* might, after their victory, lay siege to his capital, felled, during the night, a great number of trees in a neighbouring wood, covered the trunks of them with armour, and, by that contrivance, prevented the *Romans*, who mistook them for soldiers, from pursuing the advantages of their victory. However, *Decebalus* was at length reduced to great streights, and obliged to sue for peace; which *Domitian* would not grant him upon any terms whatsoever. But, instead of pursuing the war with vigour, and forcing him, as he might easily have done, to submit at discretion, he turned his arms against the *Quadians* and *Marcomanians*, because they had sent him no succours during the war with the *Dacians*.

THESE two nations, though signal in force and renown, declining to involve their respective countries in an unnecessary war, sent deputies to the emperor, begging him to forbear hostilities, which they were not conscious to themselves to have provoked. But *Domitian*, instead of hearkening to their intreaties, caused their embassadors, in defiance of the right of nations, to be murdered; which so provoked those warlike people, that, drawing together all their youth, they took the field, engaged *Domitian*, and put him to flight. Then the cowardly prince, now no less dejected upon his defeat, than lately elated with his victory, dispatched embassadors to *Decebalus*, with offers of peace upon very advantageous terms; which the *Dacian* thought it adviseable to accept, since his army had been greatly weakened by the many battles he had fought. However, he refused to go in person to *Domitian*; but sent his brother to treat with the emperor, whom *Domitian* received with particular marks of friendship and esteem, delivering to him a diadem for *Decebalus*, and by that means acknowleging him for king. Besides the diadem, he presented him with large sums; sent to him, at his request, a great number of artificers and workmen of all professions; and engaged to pay him yearly a certain sum, which, to the reign of *Trajan*, was punctually conveyed to him; but that prince would not submit to the payment of so shameful a tribute, saying, That he had never been overcome by *Decebalus*[y]. *Domitian*, upon the conclusion of such an opprobrious peace, acquainted the senate by letters, that he had at length

Domitian defeated by the Marcomanians.

Concludes a dishonorable peace with the Dacians.

[y] DIO, l. lxvii. p. 762. & l. lxviii. p. 771. MART. lib. v. epigr. 3.

obliged

obliged the *Dacians* to ſubmit to the *Roman* yoke; and at the ſame time diſpatched to *Rome* the embaſſadors of *Decebalus*, with a letter written to him by that prince, or, as was moſt commonly believed, feigned by the emperor himſelf, wherein the *Dacian* owned himſelf conquered, and no longer able to withſtand the gallantry of the *Roman* troops, led on by ſo brave and valiant a commander as *Domitian*.

Is honoured with a triumph.

HEREUPON the ſenate decreed him a triumph, which he enjoyed upon his return, triumphing at the ſame time over the *Dacians*, of whom he had, with an annual tribute, purchaſed a peace, and over the *Quadians* and *Marcomanians*, by whom he had been utterly defeated, and driven out of the field [z]; for his triumphs, ſays *Pliny* [a], were ever certain proofs of ſignal advantages gained by the enemy. However, the poets who flouriſhed under him, extol theſe mock-victories, and compare them to thoſe gained by the *Scipio's* and *Cæſars*: *Domitian*, before he left *Dacia*, cauſed a ſtately monument to be erected to the memory of *Cornelius Fuſcus* [b] (D).

He celebrates the ſecular games.

THE following year *Domitian* was conſul the thirteenth time with *L. Saturninus*; but nothing happened, during their adminiſtration, which authors have thought worth tranſmitting to poſterity. But, the following year, when *Domitian* was conſul the fourteenth time, with *L. Minutius Rufus*, is remarkable for the celebration of the *ſecular games*, ſo called, becauſe they were to be ſolemnized once in an age. They had been celebrated but forty-one years before by *Claudius*; but *Domitian* computed the time from their being exhibited by *Auguſtus* [c]. They ended, as appears from ſeveral medals which have reached our age, ſome time after the ides of *September*, in the eighth year of *Domitian*'s reign [d], while *Tacitus* the hiſtorian was prætor [e]. *Domitian*, purſuing this year the carnage he had begun before he left *Rome* to wage war with the *Dacians*, filled the city with funerals, putting all

[z] DIO, p. 761. SUET. c. 6. EUSEB. in chron. [a] PLIN. paneg. p. 21. [b] MART. l. vi. ep. 76. [c] SUET. c. 4. [d] ONUPH. lud. [e] TACIT. annal. l. xi. c. 12.

(D) *Pliny* complains, that *Domitian*, in his marches and journeys, behaved more like an enemy than a prince, exacting immenſe ſums from the inhabitants of the countries through which he paſſed, pillaging their houſes, laying waſte their fields, and obliging them to ſupply, at a vaſt charge, with all manner of proviſions, both him and his numerous retinue (6).

(6) *Plin. paneg. p.* 35, 36.

thoſe to death, who, on account of their birth or virtue, gave him the leaſt umbrage[f].

The revolt of L. Antonius,

THIS general ſlaughter was, in all likelihood produced by the revolt of *L. Antonius*, which happened this year. *L. Antonius* was governor of *Upper Germany*, where he had two legions under his command. Being provoked with the tyrannical conduct of the emperor, and depending upon the fidelity of his ſoldiers, whoſe affections he had gained by his mild and obliging behaviour, he at once took upon him the imperial title, and, as ſuch, was acknowleged by the forces he commanded, and likewiſe by moſt of the *German* nations, who promiſed him powerful ſuccours, not from any eſteem or kindneſs they had for him, but through hatred to *Domitian*. The news of this revolt no ſooner reached *Rome*, than *Domitian*, quitting the city, haſtened to ſuppreſs it, leading with him the prætorian bands, and the flower of the troops quartered in *Italy*, all the ſenators, and the greater part of the *Roman* knights, even ſuch as had abſented themſelves from the city, and long led a retired life, leſt they ſhould be afterwards accuſed of having abandoned the emperor in time of danger; a charge which might have coſt them their lives. But he had not proceeded far on his march, ere he received certain account of the total overthrow of *Antonius*, whoſe army was intirely cut off, and he himſelf ſlain, by *L. Maximus*, according to ſome writers, or, as others will have it, by *Appius Norbanus*[g] (E). While the armies of *Antonius* and *Maximus* were engaged on the banks of the *Rhine*, the river ſwelled on a ſudden to ſuch an height, that the *Germans*, who came to the aſſiſtance of *Antonius*, could not croſs it; ſo that his army was intirely deſtroyed. *Antonius* himſelf being killed in the battle, his head was cut off, and ſent to *Rome*[h] (F). *Maximus* on this occaſion

Year of the flood 2439. Of Chr. 89. Of Rome 839.

who is defeated, and killed.

[f] EUSEB. in chron. [g] DIO, l. lxvii. p. 764. Idem in excerpt. VAL. p. 709. PLUT. in vit. Æmil. [h] SUET. c. 6. DIO, in excerpt. VAL. p. 709.

(E) Perhaps theſe four names belonged to one and the ſame perſon; at leaſt, a letter written by *Domitian* to *L. Appius Maximus* has reached our times (7); and one *Appius Maximus* is ſaid, in an antient inſcription, to have happily ended the war in *Germany* (8).

(F) *Suetonius* tells us, that, the very day on which the battle was fought, an eagle, placing herſelf upon one of the emperor's ſtatues at *Rome*, covered it with

(7) *Vide Onuph. in faſt. p.* 216. (8) *Idem ibid.*

her

ſion diſplayed no leſs prudence after the victory, than he had done courage in gaining it; for, upon the death of *Antonius*, he ſeized and burnt all his papers, that the emperor might not make uſe of them to the prejudice of any man.

DOMITIAN, however, made a diligent ſearch after his accomplices, torturing in a moſt cruel manner perſons of all ranks and conditions, upon the leaſt ſuſpicion of their having been privy to the conſpiracy, or having lived in friendſhip and intimacy with *Antonius*. On this occaſion great numbers of perſons were executed or baniſhed, and their eſtates ſeized. Of the many who were accuſed, two perſons only eſcaped unpuniſhed, to wit, a tribune of ſenatorial dignity, and a centurion, who ſaved their lives at the expence of their reputation, by making it appear, that they had been pathics, and conſequently incapable of engaging in any hazardous enterprize, or having any intereſt in matters of this nature, either with the general, or the army [i]. After this revolt, *Domitian* would not ſuffer two legions to be quartered in the ſame camp during the winter; but kept them all ſeparate, and at ſome diſtance from each other, leſt, depending upon their ſtrength, they ſhould form dangerous deſigns, and raiſe new diſturbances [k]. This year another counterfeit *Nero* appeared in *Aſia*; and having, with a great multitude of followers, ſtruck terror into the neighbouring provinces, retired to the court of the *Parthian* king, who received him with great marks of diſtinction, ſupplied him with a choſen body of troops, and ſeemed inclined to quarrel, on his account, with the *Romans*. But in the end he was prevailed upon by *Domitian* to deliver him up to the governor of *Syria* [l] (G).

Great numbers of perſons executed.

A counterfeit Nero *in* Aſia.

THE following year, *T. Aurelius Fulvius* and *L. Atratinus* being conſuls, *Domitian* took the title of emperor three times; Domitian *takes the*

[i] SUET. c. 10. [k] DIO, p. 764. [l] TACIT. hiſt. l. i. c. 2. SUET. c. 6.

her wings, making a noiſe which expreſſed a kind of joy; and that at the ſame time a report prevailed all over the city, that *Antonius* was overcome, and utterly defeated; nay, that he was killed, and that his head was brought to *Rome*; which ſeveral perſons affirmed they had ſeen (9).

(G) This, without all doubt, is what gave occaſion to the poet *Silius* to celebrate the emperor's triumphs, and extol his victories over the *Ganges*, the *Bactrians*, and, in ſhort, over all the countries of the Eaſt (1).

(9) *Plut. in Æmil. p.* 489. *Suet. c.* 6. (1) *Sil. l.* iii. *p.* 51.

title of emperor three times.

but for what exploits, we know not (H). The next conſuls were *Domitian* the fifteenth time, and *M. Cocceius Nerva*, who was afterwards raiſed to the empire, the ſecond time; for he had been conſul in the ſecond year of *Veſpaſian*'s reign (I). Nothing happened this year, either at *Rome*, or in the provinces, which the few hiſtorians who have written of theſe times, and whoſe works have reached us, thought worth recording. The conſuls of the following year were *M. Ulpius Trajanus*, who ſucceeded *Nerva* in the empire, and *Acilius Glabrio*. As *Glabrio* was a man of great ſtrength and activity, the emperor obliged him to fight in the arena with an huge lion, whom he overcame and killed. The people with loud ſhouts applauded his victory; which rouſed the jealouſy of the emperor, who thereupon, under colour of ſome crime or other, baniſhed him, and ſoon after cauſed him to be murdered in the place of his exile, as if he had attempted to raiſe diſturbances in the ſtate [m] (K). This year *Domitian* exhibited a great many ſhews, both in the amphitheatre, and the circus, which are celebrated by the writers of thoſe times as the moſt coſtly and magnificent that *Rome* had ever beheld. Near the *Tiber* he cauſed a vaſt lake to be dug, in which a

Acilius Glabrio *put to death.*

Domitian *exhibits magnificent ſhews.*

[m] Dio, p. 766. Suet. c. 10.

(H) Some writers, and, among the reſt, the learned cardinal *Noris*, are of opinion, that *Domitian* this year undertook a ſecond expedition againſt the *Germans* (2); the more, becauſe the poet *Statius* ſuppoſes the *Germans* to have been by *Domitian* twice conquered (3). But theſe triumphs were in all likelihood only for pretended victories, and real overthrows. Thus we have ſeen him triumph over the *Dacians*, of whom he had purchaſed a peace, by engaging to pay them an annual tribute; and over the *Marcomanians* and *Quadians*, by whom he had been ſhamefully put to flight.

(I) Some modern writers (4) tell us, that, having been baniſhed by *Domitian* the year before, in this he was recalled, and honoured with the conſulſhip. They quote *Dio Caſſius*; but in that writer we find no ſuch account. *Philoſtratus* indeed writes, that *Nerva*, who ſucceeded *Domitian*, was baniſhed to *Tarentum*; but from his words it is manifeſt, that *Nerva* did not incur the diſpleaſure of *Domitian*, till he had finiſhed his ſecond conſulſhip (5).

(K) A modern writer would fain perſuade us, that he was put to death for profeſſing the Chriſtian religion (6); but the arguments he makes uſe of are deſtitute of all ſolidity, and quite trifling.

(2) *Noris, ep. conſ. p.* 175. (3) *Stat. Theb. l.* i. *ver.* 19. (4) *Petav. elron. & Calviſ.* (5) *Philoſt. vit. Apoll. Ty. l.* vii. *c.* 3. (6) *Baron. ad ann.* 74.

ſea-

ſea-fight was repreſented, with ſuch numbers of ſhips as amounted to complete fleets. In the combats of gladiators, not only men, but women, entered the liſts. In the amphitheatre two great combats were exhibited, one of horſe, the other of foot: with the former, which was quite new, the populace were ſo taken, that, forgetting the emperor's cruelties, they beſtowed upon him higher encomiums than they had ever given either to *Veſpaſian* or *Titus*. During the ſea-fight, a violent ſhower fell; but nevertheleſs the emperor continued till the fight was ended, often changing his cloaths, and would not ſuffer any of the ſpectators to retire; whence, as the ſhower laſted ſome hours, many were ſeized with diſtempers, and ſome even died [n] (L).

[n] Suet. c. 4. Dio, l. lxvii. p. 762, 763.

(L) *Dio Caſſius* deſcribes at large an entertainment, to which the emperor invited the principal men among the ſenators and knights; an entertainment, ſays that writer, which, more than any thing elſe, diſplays his tyrannical temper, and how wantonly he abuſed his power. At the entrance of the palace, the gueſts were received with great ceremony, and conducted to a ſpacious hall hung round with black, and illuminated with a few melancholy lamps, which were only ſufficient to diſcover the horror of the place, and the ſeveral coffins, upon which were written, in capitals, the names of the ſeveral ſenators and knights invited. Great was their fright and conſternation at the ſight of ſo diſmal a ſcene; for the emperor had often publicly declared, that he could not think himſelf ſafe ſo long as one ſenator was left alive, and that amongſt the knights there were few whom he did not look upon as his enemies. After they had long waited, expecting every moment their laſt doom, the doors were at length all on a ſudden burſt open, when a great number of naked perſons, having their bodies all over dyed black, entered the hall, with drawn ſwords in one hand, and flaming torches in the other. The gueſts, at this dreadful appearance, giving themſelves up for loſt, already felt all the agonies of death; but thoſe whom they looked upon as their executioners, having for ſome time danced round them, at once ſet open the doors, and acquainted them, that the emperor gave the company leave to withdraw. Thus did *Domitian* inſult theſe two illuſtrious orders, ſhewing, ſays *Dio Caſſius*, how little he feared them, and at the ſame time with how much reaſon they might dread his reſentment, ſince it was in his power to cut them all off, without expoſing himſelf to the leaſt danger (7).

(7) *Dio, l.* lxvii. *p.* 769.

THE next conſuls were, *Domitian* the ſixteenth time, and *Q. Voluſius Saturninus.* This year the emperor obſerving a vaſt plenty of wine, and as great a ſcarcity of corn, concluded from thence, that the huſbandmen neglected the tillage of the earth to attend the cultivating of their vines. To prevent therefore this inconvenience for the future, he publiſhed an edict, forbidding any more vines to be planted in *Italy*, and commanding half the vines in the provinces to be immediately rooted up. Hereupon the cities of *Aſia* ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to him, begging he would ſuſpend the execution of the edict with reſpect to their lands, ſince their chief revenues accrued from wine, and the neighbouring provinces abounded with corn. At the head of this embaſſy was *Scopelianus*, profeſſor of eloquence at *Smyrna*, who, inſinuating himſelf with wonderful addreſs into the emperor's favour, prevailed upon him, if *Philoſtratus* is to be credited [o], to repeal the edict, and allow all nations ſubject to *Rome* full liberty of planting and cultivating what vines they pleaſed (M).

His edict againſt planting of vines.

THE following year *Pompeius Collega* and *D. Priſcus* were conſuls. *Pliny* names the former among the conſulars, who were ſtill living in the reign of *Trajan* [p] (N). This year was remarkable for the death of the celebrated *Agricola*. His end proved afflicting to his family, ſays *Tacitus*, ſorrowful to his friends, and matter of trouble even to foreigners, and ſuch as knew him not. The common people, during his ſickneſs, were not only frequent in their viſits to his houſe; but in all public places, in all private companies, made him the ſubject of their converſation: nor, when his death was divulged, was there a ſoul found, who did not lament it as a public misfortune. What heightened the general concern was a

The death of Agricola.

[o] PHILOSTR. vit. Apol. Ty. c. 17. [p] PLIN. l. ii. epiſt. 11.

(M) *Suetonius* tells us, that to this he was chiefly prompted by the general diſcontent, which his edict produced amongſt perſons of all ranks, both in the city, and the provinces, where many lampoons were publiſhed; one among the reſt, importing, that, in ſpite of all edicts, wine would not be wanting for the ſacrificing of *Cæſar* (8). But, after all, *Eutropius* (9) and *Vopiſcus* (1) ſpeak of this edict as continuing in full force in moſt provinces of the empire, till the reign of the emperor *Probus*, that is, for the ſpace of almoſt two hundred years.

(N) From an antient inſcription it appears, that both conſuls reſigned the faſces on the thirteenth of *July*; the former to *M. Lollius Paulinus Valerius Aſiaticus*; and the latter to *C. Antius Julius Quadratus.*

(8) *Suet. c.* 14. (9) *Eutrop. p.* 240. (1) *Vopiſc. p.* 245.

pret

prevailing rumour, that he was diſpatched by poiſon. That there was any proof of this, *Tacitus*, his ſon-in-law, will not take upon him to aver. However, he tells us, that, during the whole courſe of his illneſs, *Domitian* cauſed frequent viſits to be made him, indeed much more ſtequent than princes are wont to make, both by his favourite freedmen, and his moſt truſty phyſicians; whether from real concern for his health, or eagerneſs to learn the probability of his death, our hiſtorian will not determine. It is certain, that, on the day in which he expired, continual accounts were by meſſengers, purpoſely placed, every inſtant tranſmitted to the emperor, informing him how faſt his end was approaching; and no one believed he would have been thus eager to hear tidings, had he been to feel any ſorrow from hearing them. However, upon the news of his death, he affected to ſhew in his countenance ſome grief and concern; for, being now ſecure againſt the object of his hatred, he could more eaſily diſſemble his preſent joy, than lately his fear. It is incredible how great was the ſatisfaction which he expreſſed, when, upon reading the laſt will of *Agricola*, he found himſelf left joint-heir with his excellent wife, and tender daughter. This he took to have been done out of judgment and choice; ſo blinded he was by continual flattery, as not to know, that to no prince, but a tyrant, did ever any good father bequeath his fortune [q].

Domitian ſuſpected of having cauſed him to be poiſoned.

Year of the flood 2443. Of Chr. 93. Of Rome 843.

AGRICOLA was born, according to *Tacitus*, on the thirteenth of *June*, during the third conſulſhip of the emperor *Caligula*, and died on the twenty-fourth of *Auguſt*, during the conſulſhip of *Collega* and *Priſcus*, in the fifty-ſixth year of his age, the ninety-third of the Chriſtian æra, and twelfth of *Domitian*'s reign (N).

TACITUS delivers the following glorious and affecting character of him: "If poſterity deſires to know his make and "perſon, he was rather genteel and well-proportioned, than "tall: in his aſpect there was nothing terrible; his looks "were extremely gracious and pleaſing: a good man you

His character.

[q] TACIT. vit. Agr. c. 44.

(N) *As to the time of Agricola's* birth, ſome miſtake has certainly crept into the text of *Tacitus*, there being but fifty-three years, two months, and ſome days, from the thirteenth of *June*, of the year of the Chriſtian æra 40. when *Caligula* was the third time conſul, to the twenty-fourth of *Auguſt*, in the year 93. *Agricola* therefore either died in the fifty-fourth year of his age, or was born in the ſecond conſulſhip of *Caligula*, that is, in the year 38. of the Chriſtian æra.

" would have readily believed him, and been glad to have
" found, that he was a great man. The' he was ſnatched
" away, while his age was yet in full vigour; yet, if his life
" be meaſured by his glory, he attained to a great length of
" days. For every true felicity, namely, ſuch as ariſes from
" virtue, he had already enjoyed to the full. As he had
" been likewiſe diſtinguiſhed with the conſular and triumphal
" honours, what more could fortune add to his luſtre and re-
" nown? Exceſſive wealth he coveted not; an honourable
" ſhare he poſſeſſed. As behind him he left ſurviving his
" daughter and his wife, he may be even accounted happy,
" ſince, by dying while his credit was no-way ſtained, while
" his fame was in its full ſplendor, and his relations and
" friends in a ſtate of ſecurity, he eſcaped the evils to come,
" and the miſery of the latter times." We ſhall cloſe our account of this great commander, this virtuous citizen, with the tender and affecting words of *Tacitus*, who thus addreſſes him after his death: " Happy therefore art thou, *Agricola*,
" not only as thy life was glorious, but as thy death was
" ſeaſonable! Thou didſt, as I am informed by thoſe who
" heard thy laſt words, accept thy fate chearfully, and with
" firmneſs; as if, for thy part, thou wouldſt have ſaved the
" credit of the prince. But to myſelf, and thy daughter,
" beſides the grief of having our father ſnatched from us, it
" proves a further acceſſion of ſorrow, that we had not an
" opportunity of attending thee in thy ſickneſs, of cheriſhing
" thy drooping ſpirits, and pleaſing ourſelves with ſeeing and
" embracing thee. We ſhould greedily have received thy
" inſtructions and precepts, and engraved them for ever in
" our hearts. This is our grief, this our unſpeakable misfor-
" tune, that, by our long abſence from thee, thou waſt al-
" ready loſt to us four years before thy death. Thou waſt,
" no doubt, abundantly ſupplied with whatever thy condition
" required, by thy loving wife, the beſt of mothers, who
" attended thee. Yet fewer tears were ſhed at thy funeral,
" and at thy laſt hour ſomewhat was wanting to ſatisfy thine
" eyes. If for the manes of good men any place be allotted;
" if, as philoſophers hold, the ſpirits of great men periſh
" not with their bodies; pleaſing be thy repoſe! Recal us,
" thy family, from this our weakneſs in bewailing thee, to
" the contemplation of thy virtues, for which it were unjuſt
" to lament or to mourn. Let us rather adorn thy memory
" with immortal praiſes, and by following, as far as our
" weakneſs will allow, and adopting, thy excellencies. This is
" true honour, this the duty incumbent upon every near re-
" lation. Thus I would have thy daughter and wife to re-
" verence the memory of a father and huſband, and to be

Tacitus's affecting addreſs to him after his death.

" ever

" ever ruminating upon all his doings and ſayings; and rather
" to adore the image of his mind, than that of his perſon.
" Not that I mean to condemn the uſe of ſtatues in marble
" or braſs; but, as the perſons of men are frail and periſh-
" ing, ſo are likewiſe the images of them: the form of the
" mind is eternal, and cannot be repreſented or preſerved by
" art or materials foreign to its nature, nor otherwiſe but by
" a conformity of manners. What we loved in *Agricola*,
" what we admired, remains, and will for ever remain, im-
" printed in the minds of men, and conveyed through a con-
" tinual ſucceſſion of ages by the voice of fame to the lateſt
" poſterity. Many of the antients lie buried in an obſcure
" and inglorious oblivion; but *Agricola* ſhall live recom-
" mended to future ages, and his fame continue for ever [r]."
Thus far *Tacitus*, who wrote the life of *Agricola* in the reign of the emperor *Trajan*; without which, and a ſhort paſſage in *Dio Caſſius*, the memory and exploits of one of the greateſt commanders, and beſt citizens, *Rome* ever bred, would have been buried in oblivion (O).

THE ſame year *Bebius Maſſa*, an infamous accuſer, was himſelf accuſed of extortion by the *Bithynians*, whom he had plundered and oppreſſed in a moſt tyrannical manner, while he governed that province. The ſenate appointed *Pliny* the younger, and *Herennius Senecio*, originally a *Bithynian*, and formerly quæſtor in the ſame province, to plead the cauſe of the *Bithynians*; which they did ſo effectually, that *Bebius* was condemned by the ſenate, and the conſuls were ordered to ſeize his eſtate and effects. But as they, taken up with more preſſing affairs, put off from day to day the execution of the judgment, *Senecio*, fearing the delinquent might in the mean time privately convey away part of his goods, reſolved to apply to them for an immediate execution of the ſentence, and begged *Pliny* to act therein in concert with him. *Pliny* at firſt declined engaging in an affair, which he thought foreign to the profeſſion of a pleader; but *Senecio*

Bebius Maſſa, *a noted accuſer, arraigned.*

[r] TACIT. vit. Agr. c. 45, 46.

(O) *Tacitus*, as he himſelf informs us, had, together with his wife, been four years abſent from *Rome*, when his father-in-law died; but where, or on what account, we are no-where told. Some writers, without the leaſt foundation, ſuppoſe him to have been baniſhed by *Domitian*; but *Lipſius* is of opinion, that he retired of his own accord from the city, not being able, as he was a man of a virtuous and humane ſpirit, to behold the ſufferings of the *Romans* under ſo cruel and bloody a tyrant (2).

(2) *Lipſ. vit. Tacit.*

continuing obſtinate in his reſolution, he at length conſented to ſolicit jointly with him the conſuls, to ſeize without delay the effects of *Bebius*, that reparation might thence be made of the loſſes ſuſtained by the *Bithynians*. Accordingly they went together to the conſuls, where they found *Bebius*, who, upon hearing their ſuit, was ſo provoked againſt *Senecio*, that he ſummoned him before the emperor, as guilty of treaſon. The very name of treaſon ſtruck the whole aſſembly with terror. But *Pliny*, without betraying the leaſt fear, addreſſing *Bebius*, told him, he was ſorry he did not charge him with the ſame crime, ſince, by his not accuſing him, as well as *Senecio*, of treaſon, men might believe, that he had not acted againſt him with equal zeal; and that he ſhould be grieved, if he knew, that any one entertained of him ſo bad an opinion. This firmneſs and intrepidity in *Pliny* was by all highly applauded; and *Nerva*, who was at that time in exile at *Tarentum*, congratulated him by letters upon his ſteady conduct. *Pliny* himſelf wrote to *Tacitus*, acquainting him with what had paſſed, and begging him to inſert it in his hiſtory, which he looked upon as a work that would never die; but the letter of *Pliny* has outlived that part of *Tacitus*'s hiſtory [s].

The conſtancy and firmneſs of Pliny.

Domitian's *expedition againſt the* Sarmatians.

This year *Domitian* undertook an expedition againſt the *Sarmatians*, who had cut in pieces a whole legion, with the officer who commanded them [t]: but, as to the iſſue of this war, we are quite in the dark: all we know is, that, on this occaſion, he quarreled likewiſe with the *Marcomanians*; and, on his return, aſſumed the title of emperor for the twenty-ſecond and laſt time. He returned to *Rome* in the month of *January*, and, inſtead of triumphing, contented himſelf with preſenting a crown of laurel to *Jupiter Capitolinus* [u]. *Statius* [w] and *Martial* [x] make frequent mention of this war, extolling, with their uſual flattery, the ſuppoſed exploits, and pretended victories, of their hero.

THE following year, *L. Nonnius Aſprenas* and *Sextilius Lateranus* being conſuls, *Domitian* began to rend the commonwealth with cruelties without all reſpite, as *Tacitus* expreſſes it [y], and to put in execution the deſign, which he had long ſince formed, of utterly extirpating the ſenate, and deſtroying all who were any-way conſiderable either for their birth or virtue. That hiſtorian deſcribes the miſeries of theſe calamitous times in general terms thus: "The iſlands were "peopled with exiles; the rocks contaminated with murder

The calamity of the times.

[s] PLIN. l. vii. epiſt. 33. & l. iii. epiſt. 4. [t] SUET. c. 6. [u] Idem ibid. [w] STAT. ſyl. l. iii. p. 398, &c. [x] MART. l. vii. epigr. 1, 4, 7. & l. viii. epigr. 8, 15, &c. [y] TACIT. vit. Agr. c. 44.

"and

" and blood. But more hideous ſtill were the ravages of " cruelty at *Rome*. It was treaſonable to be noble; capital " to be rich; criminal to have borne honours, criminal to " have declined them; and the reward of worth and virtue " was quick and inevitable deſtruction. Nor were the iniqui- " ties of the informers more ſhocking, than their great and " diſtinguiſhing rewards; for upon ſome were beſtowed, as " the ſpoils of the ſtate, the pontifical dignities, and thoſe of " the conſulſhip; others were ſent with the character of pro- " curators into the provinces; ſome were made prime mi- " niſters and confidents at home; and in every ſtation exert- " ing all their terrors, and purſuing their hatred, they con- " trouled and confounded all things. Slaves were ſuborned " againſt their maſters, freedmen againſt their patrons; and " ſuch as had no enemies were betrayed and undone by their " friends. The age, however," continues our hiſtorian, " was not ſo utterly deſtitute of all virtue, as not to afford " commendable examples of friendſhip and magnanimity. " There were mothers, who accompanied their baniſhed ſons; " wives, who followed their huſbands into exile; in relations " were found reſolution and ſuccour; in ſons-in-law con- " ſtancy and duty; in ſlaves ſuch fidelity, as baffled all the " menaces and horrors of the torture; illuſtrious men ſtrug- " gling under the greateſt diſtreſs, ſupporting it with con- " ſtancy, and diſplaying a fortitude in death equal to that of " the moſt celebrated antients [z]." The ſame writer, after having recounted the death of *Agricola*; " He ſaw not," adds he, " the court of the ſenate beſieged, nor the ſenate " incloſed with armed men, nor the butchery of ſo many " perſons of conſular dignity, nor the flight and exile of ſo " many women of the prime nobility, all effected in one " continued havock. Even *Nero* with-held his eyes from " ſcenes of cruelty: he indeed ordered murders to be per- " petrated, but ſaw them not. The principal part of our " miſeries under *Domitian* was to be obliged to ſee him, and " be ſeen by him, at a time when all our ſighs and ſorrows " were watched and marked down for condemnation; when " that cruel countenance of his, always covered with a ſettled " red, whence he hardened himſelf againſt ſhame and bluſh- " ing, ſerved him to obſerve all the pale horrors at once poſ- " ſeſſing ſo many illuſtrious men [a]." Thus *Tacitus* deſcribes in general terms the calamities of thoſe unhappy times.

Helvidius, Senecio, *and* Ruſticus, *put to death.*

THE perſons whom he mentions in particular to have been this year put to death by *Domitian*, are *Helvidius*, *Ruſticus*, and *Senecio*. *Helvidius* was the ſon of the celebrated *Helvi-*

[z] TACIT. hiſt. l. i. c. 2. [a] Idem, vit. Agr. c. 44.

dius

dius Priſcus, of whom we have ſpoken above. He had been raiſed to the conſulſhip, in what year we know not; and was, on account of his extraordinary virtue, abilities, and accompliſhments, in great credit with perſons of all ranks, tho' he endeavoured, through fear of giving the emperor umbrage, to ſhun the applauſes of the multitude, and conceal his talents in ſolitude and retirement. However, he was accuſed of treaſon; and it was pretended, that in a poem, by him compoſed, he had, under the borrowed names of *Paris* and *Oenone*, reflected on the emperor for divorcing his wife *Domitia*. When the accuſed appeared to plead his cauſe before the ſenate, one of the judges, by name *Publicius Certus*, formerly prætor, ſeized him with the aſſiſtance of ſome other ſenators, and, without allowing him to ſpeak in his own defence, dragged him to priſon, where he was, by the emperor's order, ſoon after executed [b]. As for *Certus*, he was named for the conſulſhip, which he ſeems to have diſcharged four years after, that is, in the ſecond year of *Nerva*'s reign, when *Pliny* demanded leave of the ſenate to arraign him as a criminal, in order to clear his friend *Helvidius*, and make his innocence appear, at leaſt after his death, ſince no one had been allowed to ſpeak in his favour while living. The ſenate put a ſtop to all proſecutions of this nature, but yet degraded *Certus*, and deprived him of the conſular dignity; whence he died a few days after in great agonies and terror, imagining, as he himſelf owned, that *Pliny* purſued him with a drawn ſword. *Pliny* publiſhed the ſpeech, which he pronounced againſt him in the ſenate; but it has been long ſince loſt [c]. *Herennius Senecio* was, as we have related above, accuſed of treaſon by *Bebius Maſſa*, whom he had accuſed of extortion at the ſuit of the *Bithynians*. The charge alleged againſt him was, that he had written the life of *Helvidius Priſcus*, at the requeſt of *Fannia* his widow, and made uſe of the memoirs with which ſhe had furniſhed him. Tho' *Senecio* had, with all poſſible care, avoided ſuch expreſſions as might ſeem in the leaſt to reflect on the emperor, yet, becauſe he could not help commending a man whom the prince had condemned, *Domitian* cauſed him to be ſentenced to death, and the ſentence to be without delay put in execution.

Fannia, *the wife*

FANNIA owned, of her own accord, that ſhe had perſuaded *Senecio* to write the life of her huſband, and ſupplied him with materials for it. For this crime ſhe was, by a decree of the ſenate, confined to a deſert iſland, whither ſhe

[b] SUET. c. 10. PLIN. l. ix. epiſt. 13. [c] PLIN. l. ix. epiſt. 13. & l. vii. epiſt. 33.

carried

carried with her, as her only comfort, the history of her husband's actions, which had been the cause of her banishment, tho' it was declared capital to read or keep it. *Arria*, her mother, the widow of the famous *Pætus Thrasea*, was likewise banished; but they were both called home in the beginning of the reign of *Nerva* [d]. The emperor, as *Tacitus* informs us [e], did not content himself with condemning *Senecio* for celebrating the praises of *Helvidius Priscus*, and *Arulenus Rusticus*, of whom anon, for those of *Pætus Thrasea*; but ordered the magistrates to commit their books to the flames, imagining, that, in the same fire, he should abolish the voice and utterance of the *Roman* people, with the liberty of the senate, and all the ideas and memory of mankind. The third person, mentioned by *Tacitus* to have been sacrificed by *Domitian* this year, was *Lucius Junius Arulenus Rusticus*. He professed the philosophy of the *Stoics*, was tribune of the people when *Pætus Thrasea* was condemned by a decree of the senate in the reign of *Nero*, and, as such, would have interposed against it, had not *Thrasea* himself restrained him [f]. He was prætor in the short reign of *Vitellius*, by whom he was sent to *Petilius Cerealis*, one of *Vespasian*'s commanders, to mediate an accommodation. On which occasion he was wounded by the soldiery, who sternly rejected all terms of peace; and, notwithstanding the character of an embassador, altogether sacred, would have been massacred, had it not been for the protection of a guard appointed by *Cerealis* [g]. The crime laid to his charge by *Domitian* was his having, in a book published by him, commended *Thrasea*, and likewise *Helvidius Priscus*, as men of honour and integrity. He was accused by one *Marcus Regulus*, who even published a book filled with most bitter invectives against him [h] (P).

of Senecio, *and her mother* Arria, *banished.*

JUNIUS

[d] Plin. l. vii. epist. 19, & l. ix. epist. 13. Dio, l. lxvii. p. 765. Suet. c. 10. [e] Tacit. vit. Agr. c. 2. [f] Tacit. annal. l. xvi. c. 26. [g] Idem, annal. l. iii. c. 80. [h] Tacit. vit. Agr. c. 2. Suet. c. 10. Dio, l. lxvii. p. 765. Plin. l. i. epist. 5.

(P) *Pliny* seems to have entertained a mighty opinion of his accomplishments and integrity (3); as does likewise *Plutarch*, who tells us, that he was, by *Domitian*'s orders, put to death for no crime of his own, but merely to remove from the emperor's sight one, who, by his exemplary life, seemed to reproach him with his debaucheries. That writer adds, that, while he himself was

(3) *Plin. l.* i. *epist.* 14.

one

Several illuſtrious perſons baniſhed.

JUNIUS MAURICUS, the brother of *Ruſticus*, who is highly commended by *Pliny* [i], was baniſhed; as was likewiſe *Pomponia Gratilla*, the wife of *Ruſticus*; but they were both recalled by the emperor *Nerva* [k]. At the ſame time was executed, by the emperor's orders, one *Hermogenes* of *Tarſus*, being accuſed of ſpeaking diſreſpectfully of the emperor, under borrowed names, in an hiſtory which he compoſed: all thoſe, who were concerned in tranſcribing or ſelling it, were condemned to be crucified [l]. The ſame year, and chiefly out of hatred to *Ruſticus*, who, as we have hinted above, profeſſed the philoſophy of the *Stoics*, all philoſophers were, by a decree of the ſenate, driven out of *Rome*, and every laudable ſcience expelled *Italy*, that nothing, which was worthy and honeſt, ſays *Tacitus*, might any-where be ſeen [m]. *Epictetus*, the famous *Stoic*, was, in virtue of this decree, obliged to abandon the city [n]. *Lucius Teleſinus*, who had been conſul in the reign of *Nero*, choſe rather to retire from his native country, as a philoſopher, than to maintain his dignity there by renouncing that profeſſion [o]. *Pliny* beſtows mighty encomiums upon the philoſopher *Artemidorus*, who, on this occaſion, left *Rome*. He had contracted great debts, but for laudable purpoſes, ſays *Pliny*, who ſupplied him with money to diſcharge them, when his other friends, tho' poſſeſſed of great wealth, abandoned him in his diſtreſs. The philoſopher would afterwards have reimburſed *Pliny*; but he generouſly preſented him with the ſum which was owing to him [p]. *Pliny* went frequently to viſit him in the place of his retirement; by which means he expoſed himſelf to no ſmall danger, his actions and conduct being the more narrowly obſerved, as he was at that time prætor.

All philoſophers driven out of Rome.

[i] PLIN. l. i. epiſt. 14. [k] PLIN. ibid. & l. v. epiſt. 13.
[l] SUET. c. 10. [m] TACIT. vit. Agr. c. 2. [n] GELL. noct. Attic. l. xv. c. 11. [o] PHILOSTR. vit. Apol. Ty. l. vii. c. 5.
[p] PLIN. l. iii. epiſt. 11.

one day declaiming in public, a ſoldier, entering the aſſembly, preſented to *Ruſticus*, who was hearkening to him with great attention, a letter from the emperor. Hereupon he immediately interrupted his diſcourſe; but *Ruſticus*, putting the letter, without even opening it, into his boſom, deſired him to purſue his ſpeech, and would not open the letter till *Plutarch* had done (4). *Dio Caſſius* writes, that *Domitian*, not long before he was killed, dreamt, that *Ruſticus* was purſuing him with a drawn ſword (5).

(4) *Plut. curioſ. p.* 927. (5) *Dio, l.* lxvii. *p.* 767.

HE

He was himſelf well appriſed, that *Domitian* ſuſpected him, as he had lived in great intimacy with *Senecio*, *Helvidius*, and *Ruſticus*. And truly, had not *Domitian* been ſeaſonably cut off, *Pliny* would have undergone the ſame doom which moſt of his friends had ſuffered: for, after the emperor's death, a memorial was found among his papers, preſented to him againſt *Pliny* by the celebrated informer *Metius Carus* [q]. Some philoſophers, dreading the reſentment of the emperor, renounced their profeſſion, and increaſed the herd of informers. Some, abandoning *Italy*, fled to the moſt weſtern coaſts of *Gaul*; and others to the deſerts of *Libya* and *Scythia*. *Dio Chryſoſtomus*, a celebrated ſophiſt, took ſhelter in the country of the *Getæ*, where he earned a livelihood by tilling the ground, and carrying water, having always with him, to comfort him in his diſtreſs, a treatiſe of *Plato*, and an oration of *Demoſthenes* [r]. In the height of this perſecution, *Apollonius Tyaneus* came to *Rome*, if *Philoſtratus* is to be credited [s]; and was there received with great marks of eſteem and veneration by *Caſperius Ælianus*, commander of the prætorian guards.

Pliny ſuſpected by Domitian.

Apollonius Tyaneus comes to Rome.

He had not been long in the city, ere he contracted a ſtrict friendſhip with *Nerva*, *Rufus*, and *Salvidienus Orfitus*, whom he ſolicited to conſpire againſt *Domitian*, and to deliver the world from ſo bloody a tyrant. The author of his life tells us, that the conſpiracy was actually formed; but that the conſpirators putting off, for want of courage, the execution of it, the emperor, in the mean time, ſuſpecting their deſign, accuſed them of treaſon before the ſenate: the charge was not proved; but nevertheleſs *Rufus* and *Orfitus* were confined to the iſlands, and *Nerva* to the city of *Tarentum* [t]. *Orfitus* was ſoon after put to death [u] in the place of his exile. Of *Rufus* we find no farther mention made by the writers of thoſe times. As for *Nerva*, if he was baniſhed, as *Philoſtratus* writes, he returned home the ſame or the following year; for he was at *Rome*, as is plain from *Dio Caſſius* [w], when *Domitian* was murdered: nay, that writer takes no notice of the baniſhment of *Nerva*; which makes us ſuſpect the truth of what *Philoſtratus* writes, who is often guilty of very conſiderable miſtakes (Q).

Encourages Nerva, and others, to conſpire againſt the emperor.

The

[q] Plin. l. vii. epiſt. 27. [r] Philost. vit. Apol. Ty. l. vii. c. 2.
[s] Idem ibid. c. 4. [t] Idem ibid. c. 3, 4. [u] Suet. c. 10.
[w] Dio, l. lxvii. p. 767.

(Q) *Sulpitia*, a *Roman* lady of great diſtinction, wrote a poem upon the expulſion of the philoſophers; wherein ſhe inveighs with

THE following year *Domitian* entered upon his ſeventeenth and laſt conſulſhip, having for his collegue *Flavius Clemens*, of whom we ſhall ſpeak anon. This conſulate of *Domitian* is the ſubject of one of the poet *Statius*'s poems [x]. In the beginning of the year was diſcovered a dangerous conſpiracy againſt the emperor; at the head of which was *Juvenius Celſus*, whom ſome writers take to be the celebrated civilian *Publius Jubenius Celſus*, who was prætor in the reign of *Trajan*, and conſul in that of *Adrian*, and is highly commended by *Pliny* [y]. Be that as it will, *Celſus*, finding himſelf betrayed, begged and obtained a private audience of the emperor; in which, throwing himſelf at his feet, and accoſting him as a deity with the titles of *Lord* and of *God*, he proteſted, that, as to himſelf, he was quite innocent of the crime laid to his charge; but would, provided he was allowed a ſhort reſpite, diſcover all thoſe who were concerned in the plot, and produce undeniable proofs of their guilt. Hereupon the emperor diſmiſſed him untouched; but *Celſus*, putting off, under various pretences, from time to time, the promiſed diſcovery, eſcaped by the death of *Domitian*, which happened the following year, the danger that threatened him [z]. *Dio Caſſius* obſerves, that *Domitian*, about this time, cauſed the road to be paved leading from *Sinueſſa* to *Puteoli* [a]; and *Statius* ſpeaks of another road by him repaired at a vaſt expence, that, as we conjecture from the poet's word, which led from *Rome* to *Baiæ* [b].

The conſpiracy of Juvenius Celſus.

THIS year, the fourteenth of *Domitian*'s reign, and 95th of the Chriſtian æra, is remarkable for the cruel perſecution, which was, by the bloody tyrant, raiſed againſt the Chriſtians, of whom infinite numbers were put to death both at *Rome*, and in the provinces, the emperor having diſpatched letters and edicts into the moſt remote provinces of the empire, commanding all thoſe, who profeſſed that religion, to be treated as declared enemies to the ſtate [c] (R).

The ſecond general perſecution.

Year of the flood 2445. Of Chr. 95. Of Rome 845.

AMONG

[x] STAT. ſyl. l. iv. c. 1. [y] PLIN. l. vi. epiſt. 5. [z] DIO, ibid. p. 765. [a] Idem, p 766. [b] STAT. ſyl. l. iv. c. 3. [c] OROS. l. vii. c. 10. TERTULL. apol. c. 5. LACTAN. perſ. c. 3. EUSEB. chron. c. 17.

with great bitterneſs againſt *Domitian*, and even threatens him with death. She is highly commended by *Martial* for the purity of her manners, and the elegance of her compoſition (6); for ſhe publiſhed ſeveral other pieces; but was not, as ſhe ſeems to boaſt, the firſt *Roman* of her ſex known to the muſes (7).

(R) This perſecution is taken notice of by *Suetonius*, who tells

(6) *Mart. l.* x. *epig.* 35.

(7) *Vide Voſſ. poet. Lat. c.* 2, 3.

us,

AMONG the many illuſtrious perſons, who ſuffered in ſo good a cauſe, we may deſervedly reckon the emperor's own relations; to wit, *Flavius Clemens*, his couſin-german, and collegue in the conſulſhip, and the two *Flaviæ Domitillæ*, the one the wife, the other the niece, of *Flavius Clemens*. He was the ſon of *Flavius Sabinus*, the brother of *Veſpaſian*, who was killed by the ſoldiers of *Vitellius*, while he was governor of *Rome*, as we have related above. His eldeſt ſon, named likewiſe *Fl. Sabinus*, was conſul with *Domitian* in the firſt year of his reign, and ſoon after, by the emperor's order, put to death. *Fl. Clemens* married, in compliance with the emperor's deſire, *Fl. Domitilla*, who was nearly related to *Domitian*, but not his ſiſter, as *Philoſtratus* writes [d]; *Domitilla*, his only ſiſter, being dead before *Veſpaſian* was raiſed to the empire [e]. *Flavia Domitilla* was, as appears pretty plain from *Dio Caſſius* [f], and *Quintilian* [g], the daughter of *Domitilla*, and the niece of *Domitian*. By her *Clemens* had two ſons, to whom *Domitian*, as he had no iſſue of his own, reſolved to leave the empire; and therefore changed their names, cauſing one of them to be called *Veſpaſian*, and the other *Domitian*. *Quintilian* tells us, that he was charged with the care of inſtructing and educating the two grandſons of the emperor's ſiſter; which is a convincing proof, that *Flavia Domitilla*, the wife of *Clemens*, was daughter to *Domitilla*, the emperor's ſiſter; for theſe two youths were, without all doubt, the ſons of *Clemens* by *Flavia Domitilla* [h]. *Clemens* was this year conſul; but had ſcarce reſigned the faſces, when he was, upon a ſlight and groundleſs ſuſpicion, ſays *Suetonius* [i], cut off by the emperor's orders. *Dio Caſſius* tells us, that he was accuſed of impiety or atheiſm; a crime, ſays that writer, for which many others were at that time condemned, who had adopted the manners of the *Jews* [k]. Thus the Chriſtians are conſtantly deſcribed by the pagan writers, as is evident

The death of Flavius Clemens.

Some account of that illuſtrious perſon.

[d] PHILOST. vit. Apol. Ty. l. viii. c. 10. [e] SUET. vit. Veſp. c. 3. [f] DIO, l. lxvii. p. 766. [g] QUINTIL. l. iv. p. 105. [h] DIO, ibid. [i] SUET. c. 15. [k] DIO, l. lxvii. p. 760.

us, that he obliged thoſe, who lived at *Rome* after the manner of the *Jews*, to pay the ſame taxes, as if they were really *Jews*, and treated them with no leſs rigour and ſeverity (8). That *Suetonius* meant the Chriſtians, is evident; for all the pagan hiſtorians, whether *Greek* or *Latin*, conſtantly ſpeak of them as reſembling the *Jews* in their manners, tho' not originally of that nation.

(8) *Suet. c.* 12.

from *Origen*, and other Chriſtian writers of the primitive times [l]. As for the crime of impiety or atheiſm, this was one of the charges commonly brought againſt the Chriſtians, on account of their refuſing to pay any worſhip to the pretended deities of the gentiles [m]. *Suetonius*, ſpeaking of *Flavius Clemens*, ſays, he was no-way to be feared, in reſpect of his ſloth and inactivity; which was another charge, as *Tertullian* obſerves [n], brought againſt the Chriſtians, on account of the retired life they led, and their deſpiſing the dignities, which by others were ſo ambitiouſly coveted. It is therefore, in our opinion, pretty plain, that the only crime alleged againſt *Flavius Clemens* was his profeſſing the Chriſtian religion; and conſequently, that he ought to be ranked among thoſe illuſtrious heroes, who have ſealed their faith with their blood (S).

Flavia Domitilla *baniſhed*.

FLAVIA DOMITILLA, wife to *Flavius Clemens*, was likewiſe arraigned of impiety; and, beſides, refuſed to comply with the orders of the emperor, commanding her to marry another perſon a few days after the death of her huſband [o]. She was therefore baniſhed to the iſland of *Pandataria*, in the bay of *Puteoli*, now known by the name of *Santa Maria* (T). As

[l] ORIG. in Celſ. l. i. p. 5. [m] Vid. JUST. apol. i. p. 56.
[n] TERT. apol. c. 42. [o] PHILOST. vit. Apol. Ty. l. viii. c. 10.

(S) A modern writer of great note ſuppoſes St. *Clement*, who at this time was biſhop of *Rome*, to have been of the imperial family (9); but therein confounds him, as we conjecture, with *Clement* the conſul, aſcribing to the former what he muſt have read of the latter.

(T) *Euſebius* mentions another *Flavia Domitilla* confined at the ſame time, and for the ſame cauſe, to the iſland of *Pontia*, near that of *Pandataria*; and ſuppoſes her to have been the daughter of *Clemens*'s ſiſter (1). *Scaliger* takes this *Domitilla* to be the ſame with the wife of *Flavius Clemens*, not aware that *Euſebius* follows therein and quotes a *Roman* hiſtorian, by name *Brutius*, who flouriſhed in thoſe times, and whom ſome writers take to be *Præſens*, named alſo *Brutius*, to whom one of *Pliny*'s letters is inſcribed (2). To theſe two illuſtrious women *Tacitus* perhaps alluded, when he wrote, that *Domitian*, towards the latter end of his reign, drove into exile ſeveral ladies of the prime nobility (3). St. *Jerom* mentions *Domitilla* in particular, whom he honours with the title of *ſaint*, and tells us, that ſhe ſuffered a long martyrdom in the iſland of *Pontia*, to which ſhe was

(9) *Pearſon epiſc. Ceſtrien. annal. Paulin. p.* 215. *Scal. in chron. p.* 205.
(1) *Euſeb. in chron. p.* 205.
(2) *Plin. l.* vii. *epiſt.* 3. *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* iii. *p.* 698.
(3) *Tacit. vit. Agr. c.* 45.

confined

As to *Clemens*'s two ſons, to whom *Domitian* deſigned, as we have obſerved above, to bequeath the empire, we find no farther mention made of them by the antient hiſtorians; but we ſuppoſe, that, if they were not put to death by *Domitian*, the excellent princes *Nerva* and *Trajan*, who were enemies to all bloodſhed and ſlaughter, ſuffered them to live unmoleſted (V).

DURING this perſecution St. *John* was confined to the iſland of *Patmos* in the *Archipelago*, where he wrote the *Apocalypſe*; and a great many illuſtrious champions of the Chriſtian faith, mentioned by the eccleſiaſtic writers, ſuffered, in the ſame glorious cauſe, death or baniſhment, with a conſtancy and firmneſs worthy of the religion which they profeſſed (U). This ſame year *Domitian* cauſed *Epaphroditus*, formerly freedman and ſecretary to *Nero*, to be put to death for having aided that prince in diſpatching himſelf, when he ought to have defended him. By this inſtance of ſeverity, he hoped to deter his own freedmen from any attempts upon his life; and this, as *Dio Caſſius* obſerves, was the only motive, which prompted him to exert ſuch rigour againſt one, whom he had admitted to his confidence, and honoured with the ſame employment which he had enjoyed under *Nero*[p] (W).

Many Chriſtians put to death, or baniſhed.

THE

[p] DIO, p. 766. PLIN. panegyr. SUET. c. 14.

confined by *Domitian* for profeſſing the Chriſtian religion (4).

(V) *Gruter* proves, from an antient inſcription, that *Clemens* had likewiſe a daughter, named *Flavia Domitilla*, who was married to one *T. Flavius Oneſimus* (5); but no hiſtorian ſpeaks either of her, or her huſband. *Trebellius Pollio*, in his hiſtory of the thirty tyrants, under the emperor *Gallienus*, mentions a celebrated commander, by name *Domitian*, deſcended from *Flavius Clemens*, and the niece of the emperor *Domitian* (6); whence it is plain, that the children of *Clemens* had iſſue.

(U) *Lactantius* will have this cruel perſecution to have ended with *Domitian*'s life, and not before; for then all his acts were annulled by the ſenate, and conſequently the edicts, which he had enacted againſt the Chriſtians (7). But two of the moſt antient eccleſiaſtic writers, to wit, *Hegeſippus* quoted by *Euſebius* (8), and *Tertullian* (9), tell us, in expreſs terms, that *Domitian*, before his death, put a ſtop to the perſecution, which he had raiſed againſt the church, and recalled all thoſe, whom he had baniſhed on the ſcore of their religion.

(W) This is, as is commonly believed, the *Epaphroditus*, to

(4) *Hier. epiſt.* xxvii. c. 1. (5) *Gruter. p.* 245. (6) *Treb. Poll. hiſt. trig. tyr. c.* 11. *p.* 191. *edit. Pariſ.* (7) *Lact. perſ. c.* 3. (8) *Euſeb. l.* iii. *c.* 20. (9) *Tert. apol. c.* 5.

THE next conſuls were *Caius Fabius Valens*, and *Caius Antiſtius Vetus*, of whom the former was ninety years old when he entered upon his conſulſhip, and ſeems to have died before it expired [q]. Many prodigies are ſaid to have happened this year at *Rome*, and in the provinces. The city was for eight months together almoſt daily alarmed with dreadful claps of thunder, and flaſhes of lightning: the capitol, the temple of the *Flavian* family, and the emperor's own chamber, were thunderſtruck; the inſcription upon one of the emperor's triumphal ſtatues was beaten off, and, by the violence of the ſtorm, carried into a neighbouring monument; the tree, which had been thrown down in *Veſpaſian*'s time, as we have related above, and roſe up again, fell down the ſecond time; the oracle at *Præneſte*, which had always returned favourable anſwers, and promiſed him good fortune and ſucceſs at the beginning of each year, preſaged nothing now but calamities and ſlaughter; *Domitian* himſelf dreamed, that *Minerva*, to whom, as his tutelar deity, he paid a particular worſhip, and whoſe feaſt he annually celebrated on the *Alban* mount, had withdrawn herſelf from the chapel, which he had conſecrated to her; telling him, that *Jupiter* had diſarmed her, and that ſhe could protect him no longer. But nothing terrified him ſo much, as the anſwer of an aſtrologer, by name *Aſcletarion*, and what enſued thereupon; for, he being accuſed of having foretold the death of the emperor, and not denying the charge, *Domitian* aſked him, Whether he knew what would be his own doom. The aſtrologer anſwered, He was to be, and that in a ſhort time he ſhould be, devoured by dogs. Hereupon the emperor, to convince the world of the falſhood of his art, ordered him to be immediately put to death, and his body to be burnt. The firſt part of the ſentence was put in execution; but, before the body was half conſumed by the flames, it was blown down, together with the funeral pile, by a violent ſtorm, and devoured, purſuant to the prediction, by the dogs [r]. Another aſtrologer, by name *Larginus Proculus*, foretold publicly in *Germany*, that the eighteenth of *September* would prove the laſt day of *Domitian*'s life. Hereupon he was apprehended by the governor of the province, and ſent to the emperor, in whoſe preſence he maintained the truth of his prediction, and was, on that ac-

The death of Domitian *foretold by ſeveral prodigies.*

[q] DIO, p. 766. ONUPH. p. 313. IDAT. in faſt. &c. [r] SUET. c. 5. DIO, p. 767. Chron. Alexand. p. 590.

wh[illegible] inſcribed, at leaſt then in great favour with the
t[illegible]re, his *antiqui-* emperor.
[illegible]of, that he was

count,

count, condemned to be executed on the nineteenth of the aforesaid month; but *Domitian* being murdered the day before, as *Proculus* had foretold, he was not only dismissed unhurt, but presented by *Nerva* with a large sum, and ever after had in great esteem [s].

No wonder, therefore, that *Domitian*, terrified with these predictions and prodigies, and moreover alarmed by his own guilty conscience, lived in continual disquiet: there was no accident so trivial, no person so contemptible, as not to dismay him, and put him upon sanguinary precautions. Of the eminent persons, either of the senatorial or equestrian order, he was under perpetual apprehensions, and making daily victims: their wealth and race, their poverty, names, and quality, frightened him: he feared friends and enemies: those who advised him in council, those who diverted him at his leisure-hours, his most intimate friends and confidents, were all martyrs to his jealousy and fury: he dreaded all men, and every thing: several of his freedmen he put to death, deposed the commander of the prætorian guards, discharged great numbers of officers, &c. But the more he made others suffer, the faster he multiplied his own torments. At length he would not permit any criminal, however loaded with chains, to plead before him, till he had first secured his chains in his hands [t]. A young child, with whom he used to divert himself, having one day, while the emperor was asleep, taken a paper from under his head to play with it, the empress, happening to meet him, desired to see it; when, to her great surprize, she found it contained the names of several illustrious persons destined to slaughter, and her own name at the head of them, with those of *Norbanus*, of *Petronius Secundus*, captains of the prætorian guards, and of *Parthenius*, the emperor's chamberlain. *He lives in contiguous agonies and apprehensions.*

To these *Domitia* immediately communicated the whole, and by them a resolution was, without further deliberation, taken, to dispatch the tyrant, before he had time to put his bloody design in execution [u]. Of this *Suetonius* takes no notice; but nevertheless tells us, that *Domitian* perished by a conspiracy of his friends and freedmen, not without the privity of his wife [w]. The death of *Clemens* hastened, according to the same writer, his own ruin [x], either because the cruelty he exercised towards those of his own family, occasioned a general dread and despair, or because it provoked *Stephanus*, who was freedman and procurator to *Domitilla*, *A conspiracy formed against him.*

[s] Dio, p. 767. Suet. c. 16. [t] Dio, p. 766. [u] Idem, ibid. [w] Suet. c. 14. [x] Idem, c. 15.

the wife of *Clemens*, and, beſides, was at that time accuſed of having embeziled part of her effects [y]. Be that as it will, *Stephanus* not only joined the conſpirators, but, as he was a man of great ſtrength, took upon him to diſpatch the tyrant [z]. *Domitian* had, if *Suetonius* is to be credited, long before, an apprehenſion, not only of the year and day, but of the hour and manner of his death, having been forewarned of what in the end befel him, when he was but a child. One night his father *Veſpaſian*, who gave great credit to the predictions of aſtrologers, and retained one of them, by name *Seleucus*, conſtantly about him, obſerving that *Domitian* at ſupper abſtained from muſhrooms, derided him as one ignorant of his own fate, ſince he ſeemed to be under greater apprehenſion of poiſon, than of the ſword. This *Domitian* ever after remembred, and was thence ſtrangely affected by the bare ſight of a drawn ſword, or any other weapon. From this diffidence and fear it was, that, however ambitious, he refuſed the new and extraordinary honour that was decreed for him; namely, that, as often as he was conſul, a certain number of *Roman* knights, choſen by lot, ſhould walk before him amongſt his lictors, in their robes, with lances in their hands. When the time, which he chiefly dreaded and ſuſpected, drew near, his jealouſy increaſed to ſuch a degree, that he cauſed the gallery, in which he uſually walked, to be ſet round with a certain ſtone called *phengites*, by which images were reflected as in a looking-glaſs; ſo that he could diſcover what was done behind him [a].

His jealouſy.

He ſeems to have ſome knowlege of his death.

THE day before he was murdered, he ordered ſome choice fruit, which were preſented to him, to be reſerved againſt the next day, adding, *If it be my fortune to uſe them:* then turning to thoſe about him, *To-morrow*, ſaid he, *the moon will appear bloody in* Aquarius, *and ſomething will happen, which will be much talked of.* About midnight he was ſo terrified, that he leaped out of his bed. However, he went the next morning to the forum to adminiſter juſtice, and returned to the palace an hour before mid-day, the time which he chiefly dreaded. Having therefore aſked, what time of the day it was, one of the conſpirators, on purpoſe to deceive him, told him, it was noon. Whereupon overjoyed, as if he had happily eſcaped all danger, he thought of nothing but abandoning himſelf to mirth and jollity. As he was going to bathe, according to the *Roman* faſhion, before dinner, *Parthenius*, his chief chamberlain, accoſting him, told him, he had ſomething of great importance to impart to him,

[y] PHILOST. vit. Apol. Ty. l. viii. c. 10. [z] DIO, p. 766. SUET. c. 17. [a] SUET. c. 14.

and ſuch as could not be deferred. Hereupon the emperor, ordering all his attendants to withdraw, retired to his chamber, where *Parthenius* introduced *Stephanus* to him, who, the better to diſguiſe his deſign, had appeared for ſome days with his left arm wrapped up, and in a ſling, as if it had received ſome hurt. He preſented to *Domitian* a memorial, wherein he pretended to diſcover a dangerous conſpiracy formed by his couſin *Flavius Clemens*, whom he averred to be ſtill alive; and by ſeveral others, whoſe names were all ſet down, with the places of their abode. While the emperor was reading the memorial with great attention, *Stephanus*, drawing ſuddenly a dagger, which he kept concealed, ſtruck it into his belly. The emperor, finding himſelf wounded, called to a boy, who happened to be in the room, to reach him a dagger which lay under his pillow, and to run for aſſiſtance; but under his pillow was found only the ſcabbard, and the doors were all locked, and well ſecured. *Domitian*, notwithſtanding his wound, ſtruggled ſome time with *Stephanus*, and even threw him with great violence to the ground, ſtriving to wreſt the dagger out of his hand, and with his fingers, tho' all cut and mangled, to thruſt out his eyes. At length *Parthenius*, who had withdrawn when *Stephanus* came in, fearing ſome of the guards might, in the mean time, hearing the noiſe, come to his relief, opened the door of the chamber; and, falling upon the emperor with *Claudianus*, *Maximus*, *Satureius*, and a celebrated gladiator, diſpatched him with many wounds. Many, who were not privy to the conſpiracy, alarmed at the noiſe, haſtened to the emperor's apartment; and, finding him wallowing in his blood, killed the brave *Stephanus*. The other conſpirators made their eſcape as ſoon as the murder was perpetrated [b].

He is wounded by Stephanus,

and diſpatched by him, and the other conſpirators.

THUS died *Domitian*, notwithſtanding all his precautions, and his pretended divinity, after having lived forty-four years, ten months, and twenty-ſix days, and reigned fifteen years, and five days. For his death the common people ſhewed neither grief nor joy; but the ſoldiers, whoſe pay he had increaſed, and with whom he often ſhared his rapines, bewailed him more than they had done either *Veſpaſian* or *Titus*; and would have raiſed great diſturbances, had not their officers, as moſt of them were concerned in the conſpiracy, reſtrained them. The troops quartered in the country of the *Getæ* were ready to revolt, when they underſtood he had been aſſaſſinated; but the philoſopher *Dio Chryſoſtomus*, who had retired to that province, as we have related above, checked their fury,

Year of the flood 2446. Of Chr. 96. Of Rome 846.

He is regretted by the troops.

[b] SUET. c. 17. DIO, p. 676. PHILOST. in vit. Apol. Ty. p. 485.

by a ſpeech which he made to the mutinous legion upon the guilt of tyrants, and puniſhments due to ſuch as abuſe their power to the oppreſſion of the people committed to their care [c]. But, on the contrary, the ſenate could not diſguiſe their joy: they aſſembled in haſte, and after having, in the moſt opprobrious manner imaginable, reviled his memory; they commanded ladders to be immediately brought, in order to pull down, and tear to pieces, all his images. An infinite number of ſtatues of gold and ſilver, erected to him in the different quarters of the city, were, by their orders, broken and melted down; his triumphal arches were overturned, and his name declared infamous; nay, they enacted a decree, commanding all inſcriptions, in which he was mentioned, to be raſed, his name to be ſtruck out of the conſular tables, his body to be thrown into the *Tiber*, and his memory to be aboliſhed for ever [d]. Several antient inſcriptions are ſtill to be ſeen, in which the name of *Domitian* is raſed [e]. All his acts were annulled, and thoſe whom he had baniſhed recalled. A woman, by name *Phyllis*, who had been charged with the care of his education, while he was yet an infant, cauſed his body to be privately conveyed upon a bier, as that of a perſon of the meaneſt condition, to a country-houſe ſhe had at a ſmall diſtance from the city; where ſhe burnt it, and, carrying the aſhes, without being obſerved, to the temple, which he had built for the *Flavian* family, mixed them with thoſe of *Julia* the daughter of *Titus*, whom ſhe had likewiſe brought up. *Domitian* was the laſt emperor of the *Flavian* family, and likewiſe the laſt of thoſe princes, who are commonly ſtiled the twelve *Cæſars*.

The joy of the ſenate.

His ſtatues broken, and his acts annulled.

Some account of the celebrated philoſopher Apollonius Tyaneus.

As the celebrated philoſopher *Apollonius Tyaneus* acted a chief part in the late revolutions of the *Roman* empire, and made at this time a great figure in the world, a ſuccinct account of his life and actions cannot be looked upon as foreign to the preſent ſubject, nor be ill received by our readers. Of the other writers, who flouriſhed under *Domitian*, we ſhall ſpeak in our notes (X). *Apollonius* was born three or four years

[c] Suet. c. 22. Philost. vit. Apol. Ty. p. 492. [d] Suet. ibid. Dio, l. lxviii. p. 769. Macrob. Saturn. l. v. c. 12. Lact. perſec. c 3. [e] Goltz. p. 234.

(X) Theſe were *Quintilian*, *Valerius Flaccus*, *Martial*, *Statius*, *Juvenal*, *Silius*, &c. *Marcus Fabius Quintilianus* was, according to St. *Jerom* and *Auſonius*, a native of *Calagorina*, now *Calaborra*, in *Old Caſtile*. What profeſſion his father followed, we find no-where recorded; for all we know of him is, that he wrote ſome

years before the common Chriſtian æra; for he is ſaid to have lived an hundred years, and died ſoon after the acceſſion of *Nerva*

ſome declamations, which are quoted by his ſon (1). Our *Quintilian* ſtudied rhetoric under *Domitius Afer*, who was advaneed in years when *Quintilian* was very young (2); and died, as is plain from *Tacitus* (3), in the fifth year of *Nero*'s reign. Hence it is manifeſt, that *Quintilian* did not come firſt to *Rome* with the emperor *Galba*, as St. *Jerom* ſuppoſes (4); neither can we conclude, as ſome have done (5), from his having ſtudied at *Rome*, while he was very young, that he was born there. He pleaded ſeveral cauſes at *Rome* before queen *Berenice* (6), and conſequently under *Veſpaſian*; for in his reign *Berenice* came to *Rome*, and was by *Titus* ſent back to her own country, in the very beginning of his reign. *Veſpaſian* having ſettled a ſalary upon the profeſſors of eloquence, to be paid yearly out of the exchequer, *Quintilian* was the firſt who opened a free ſchool at *Rome*. He diſcharged that important office with great reputation, and to the ſatisfaction of all, for the ſpace of twenty years; during which time he acquired great wealth, both by his ſalary, and by the preſents made him by the parents of the children whom he inſtructed (7). Both *Juvenal* and *Martial* ſpeak of him as an able orator; and *Pliny* the younger, who was one of his diſciples, ſeems to have entertained an high opinion of him. After he had taught publicly for twenty years, he reſigned his charge, and wrote a book about the cauſes of the decay of eloquence (8). Whether this be the dialogue which is commonly aſcribed to *Tacitus*, we will not take upon us to determine, there being, as to this particular, great diſagreement amongſt authors. When *Quintilian* had finiſhed this treatiſe, he was prevailed upon by his friends to undertake a more laborious work; to wit, his twelve books of rhetoric, which will be ever admired by all perſons of taſte and judgment. This performance coſt him two years labour, and it was much againſt his will, that he publiſhed it before he had kept it by him for ſome time, in order to examine it as the work of another. It is inſcribed to one *Marcellus Victorius*, and filled with commendations of *Domitian*, altogether unworthy of a man of *Quintilian*'s character (9). While he was employed in compoſing this work, *Domitian* charged him with the education of his ſiſter's grandſons, as we have related above (1). He was afterwards honoured with the conſular ornaments, at the recommendation of *Flavius Clemens*, then in great favour with the emperor. *Auſonius* (2) ſeems to inſinuate, that, after having acquired conſiderable wealth at *Rome*, he was, by what misfortune we know not,

(1) *Quint. l.* ix. *c.* 3. (2) *Idem, l.* v. *c.* 7. (3) *Tacit. annal. l.* xiv. *c.* 19. (4) *Hier. chron.* (5) *Vide P. Pagi, p.* 432. (6) *Quint. l.* iv. *c.* 1. (7) *Martial. l.* ii. *epig.* 90. *Auſon. de Moſ. p.* 268. *Sidon. car.* ix. *ver.* 318. (8) *Quint. præfat. & l.* vi. *p.* 177. (9) *Idem, l.* iv. *præfat.* (1) *Idem ibid.* (2) *Auſon. conſ. p.* 387.

reduced

Nerva to the empire, which happened in the ninety-ſixth year of the Chriſtian æra. The ſurname of *Tyaneus* he borrowed

reduced to earn a livelihood by teaching rhetoric at *Beſancon* and *Lyons*. Perhaps, upon the death of *Clemens*, who was his chief patron, he was baniſhed *Rome* (3). Whether it was to him, or to another of the ſame name, that *Pliny* the younger preſented, in a moſt genteel and obliging manner, a conſiderable ſum, on occaſion of the marriage of his daughter with *Nonius Celer*, has, by ſome writers, been queſtioned (4). *Sidonius Apollinaris* beſtows high encomiums upon *Quintilian*, and equals him to the moſt elegant writers of antiquity (5). As for the declamations, which paſs under the name of *Quintilian*, and are frequently mentioned by the antients, it is evident they were not written by him, but either by his father, or, as a modern author conjectures (6), by his grandfather, ſince *Seneca* the elder, the father of *Seneca* the philoſopher, who flouriſhed in the reign of *Auguſtus*, ſpeaks of the author of theſe declamations, as a perſon more antient than himſelf (7). This is the opinion of *M. Pithou* concerning the declamations aſcribed to our *Quintilian*, which he publiſhed in 1580. and inſcribed to the celebrated *Thuanus*. Beſides theſe, there are nineteen declamations more, commonly thought to have been written by *Quintilian*; but by *Voſſius* aſcribed to *Poſthumus* the younger, who, as we ſhall relate in the ſequel of this hiſtory, aſſumed the name of *Cæſar*, and that of *Auguſtus*, in *Gaul*, about the year 260 (8).

C. Valerius Flaccus Setinus Balbus was a native of *Padua*, as is evident from *Martial* (9), and not of *Setia* in *Campania*, as ſome have conjectured from the name of *Setinus*. He wrote an epic poem on the voyage of the *Argonauts*, divided into eight books, which he began in the reign of *Veſpaſian*, to whom it is inſcribed, and continued under *Domitian*; for he was, according to *Voſſius*, prevented by death from putting the laſt hand to it (1). He died while *Quintilian* was writing his books of rhetoric, that is, in the latter end of *Domitian*'s reign. *Quintilian* (2) and *Martial* (3) commend his performance; but the moſt able critics amongſt the modern writers ſpeak of it with the utmoſt contempt, diſcover in it a great many material faults, and few, if any, beauties (4).

The poet *M. Valerius Martialis*, ſo famous for his epigrams, was a native of *Bilbilis* (5), which ſtood at a ſmall diſtance from the preſent city of *Calataïud*, in the kingdom of *Arragon* (6). He was born in the reign of *Claudius*, came to *Rome* in that of

(3) *Auſon. conſ.* p. 387. (4) *Plin. l.* vi. *epiſt.* 32. P. *Pagi*, p. 247. (5) *Sid. Apollin. l.* v. *epiſt.* 10. & *l.* ii. *car. ver.* 190. & *l.* ix. *ver.* 318. (6) *M. Pithou, in præfat. ad Thuan.* (7) *Sen. declam. l.* x. *p.* 105. (8) *Voſſ. rhet. c.* 15. (9) *Mart. l.* i. *epigr.* 62, 77. (1) *Voſſ. poet. Lat.* p. 46. (2) *Quint. l.* x. *c.* 1. (3) *Mart. ibid.* (4) *Vide Bail. poet. c.* 1162. *p.* 396. (5) *Mart. l.* xii. *epig.* 18. (6) *Baudr.* & *Bail. poet. p.* 412.

Nero,

rowed from the city of *Tyana* in *Cappadocia*, the place of his nativity. His birth was foretold, and accompanied, if the

Nero, being then twenty years old, and lived there thirty years (7), favoured by the emperors, eſpecially by *Domitian*, whom, on all occaſions, he flatters in a moſt ſhameful manner. Upon that prince's death he left the city, and retired to his own country; where, after three years, which he paſſed without writing, he was prevailed upon by *Terentius Priſcus* to compoſe his twelfth book, in which he ſpeaks of the emperors *Nerva* and *Trajan* (8). *Pliny*, in whoſe commendation he had written an epigram, had a particular kindneſs and eſteem for him; whence he preſented him, upon his departure from *Rome*, with a ſum of money to defray the expences of his journey (9). As to his writings, the emperor *Lucius Verus* uſed to call him his *Virgil* (1); but few, either before or ſince that prince's time, ſeem to have entertained ſuch a mighty opinion of his compoſitions. *Scaliger* approves of what he himſelf wrote of his epigrams; to wit, that ſome of them were good, ſome indifferent, and ſome bad. Moſt critics have found fault with his thoughts, his ſtile, and, above all, with his puns, which are often very low, and with his pretended witticiſms (2). Beſides, ſome of his epigrams are, for their lewdneſs, infamous, perhaps beyond any thing written in the *Latin* tongue. His epigrams are compriſed in fourteen books; beſides which, that *de ſpectaculis* is commonly aſcribed to him, tho' *Voſſius* takes it to be a collection of verſes written partly by *Martial*, and partly by other poets of that time, upon the ſhews which *Titus* exhibited in the eightieth year of the Chriſtian æra (3). *Martial* died, as we conjecture from *Pliny*'s letters, about the end of the firſt century. He is by *Lampridius* (4) ſurnamed *Cocus*, perhaps becauſe his father, or he himſelf in his youth, followed that mean profeſſion.

Statius flouriſhed at the ſame time; but is never mentioned by *Martial*, which ſome aſcribe to jealouſy, *Statius* being highly eſteemed by *Domitian*, on account of his making, with extraordinary eaſe, extemporary verſes upon any ſubject whatever; which *Martial* durſt not attempt. He wrote two epic poems; to wit, the *Thebais*, compriſed in twelve books, and the *Achilleis*, which conſiſts only of two, the poet being prevented by death from accompliſhing that work (5). They are both inſcribed to *Domitian*. Beſides theſe two poems, he wrote ſeveral other pieces upon various occaſions, which have likewiſe reached us, under the title of *ſylvæ*, and are comprehended in five books. His compoſitions were mightily eſteemed at *Rome* in his own time, and are ſtill admired by the young poets; nay, *Julius Scaliger* is of opinion, that, of all the antient

(7) *Voſſ. poet. Lat. p.* 46. (8) *Mart. l.* xii. *præf. epig.* 18, 4, 6, 8. & *l.* x. *epig.* 34. (9) *Plin. l.* iii. *epiſt.* 21. (1) *Lamprid. vit. Ver. p.* 15. (2) *Vide Bail. poet. p.* 412. (3) *Voſſ. poet. Lat. c.* 3. (4) *Lamp. in v t. Alex. p.* 126. (5) *Bail. ibid. p.* 425.

poets,

the author of his life is to be credited [f], by many prodigies. When he was but fourteen years old, he applied himſelf to the

[f] PHILOST. vit. Apoll. Ty. l. i. c. 3.

poets, he comes neareſt to the inimitable *Virgil*. But better judges look upon *Statius* rather as a bad hiſtorian, than a good poet, and deſpiſe his bombaſt ſtile, and odd expreſſions. His *ſylvæ*, which were for the moſt part written off-hand, and without premeditation, are by moſt critics more eſteemed than his epic poems, there being in them ſome very good thoughts, mixed with ſuch as are quite trivial and common (6). Some writers have confounded *P. Statius Papinius*, who was a native of *Naples*, with *Statius Surculus*, or rather *Uſſulus*, who was born in *Toulouſe*; and, in the reign of *Nero*, taught rhetoric in *Gaul* (7). *Statius* acquired great fame by his *Thebais*, but no wealth; whence he was obliged to write pieces for the theatre, and ſupport himſelf by that means (8). One *Placidus Lactantius*, who flouriſhed in the ſixth century, wrote a learned comment upon *Statius*, which has not reached our times (9).

Decius Junius Juvenalis was cotemporary with *Statius* and *Martial*, and continued to write under *Nerva* and *Trajan*; for he ſpeaks of the baniſhment of *Marius Priſcus*, who was condemned in the third year of *Trajan*'s reign, and the hundredth of the Chriſtian æra (1). He was born at *Aquinum*, whence he came to *Rome* while he was yet very young, and there gained great credit by his ſatires, which were read by many *Romans*, who peruſed no other book (2). It were much to be wiſhed, that, in cenſuring the manners of others, he had not ſhewed himſelf quite deſtitute of modeſty, nor inveighed againſt the abuſes which prevailed in his time, in a manner rather calculated to teach his readers to be vicious, than to inſpire them with averſion to vice. From his life, written many ages ſince, and quoted by *Sidonius Apollinaris* (3), it appears, that a player, in great favour at court, offended at ſome verſes of his ſeventh ſatire, had intereſt enough with the emperor to get him removed from *Rome*, and ſent into *Egypt*, to command a legion quartered in the utmoſt bounds of that province; where he died ſoon after of grief, being fourſcore when he was obliged to undertake that journey. Some writers conjecture this player to have been one *Pylades*, who was highly favoured by *Trajan*. *Quintilian*, in all likelihood, alluded to *Juvenal*, when he wrote, that in his time lived ſome poets, authors of ſatires, who would one day be ranked amongſt the beſt writers (4). *Salmaſius* is of opinion, that the antient ſcholiaſt of *Juvenal* was cotemporary with *Spartianus*, who flouriſhed under *Dioclesian*, and *Conſtantine the*

(6) *Bail. poet. p.* 426. (7) *Voſſ. poet. Lat. p.* 45. (8) *Juv. ſat.* vii. *ver.* 83. (9) *Voſſ. ibid.* (1) *Juv. ſat.* iv. (2) *Ammian. l.* xxviii. *p.* 374. (3) *Sid. Apoll. carm.* ix. *ver.* 274. (4) *Quint. l.* x. *c.* 1.

Great.

the ſtudy of the *Pythagoric* philoſophy, firſt at *Tarſus*, the capital of *Cilicia*, and afterwards at *Ægæ*, another city of the

He applies himſelf to the ſtudy of the Pythagoric *philoſophy.*

Great (5). *Julius Scaliger*, and ſome other critics, prefer *Juvenal* to *Horace*; but now-a-days few, if any, men of taſte, acquieſce to their judgment, thinking they ſufficiently honour *Juvenal*, by placing him amongſt the *Latin* ſatiriſts next to *Horace*, but next at a great diſtance.

Caius Silius Italicus wrote a poem, highly commended by *Martial* (6), on the ſecond *Punic* war. Before he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of poetry, he had pleaded many years at the bar, and had even been conſul; which office he diſcharged the year that *Nero* was killed. He is not, by our modern critics, much eſteemed as a poet; but greatly commended for the purity of his ſtile, wherein he is thought to excel all the writers of his time (7). He adheres with great exactneſs to truth, and relates ſome events, which we read no-where elſe (8). He died in the ſecond year of the reign of *Trajan*, by abſtaining from all food, being no longer able to bear the pain occaſioned by an impoſtume, which the phyſicians could not cure (9). He died the laſt of all thoſe who had been conſuls under *Nero*, and was himſelf the laſt conſul under that prince (1). From what he ſays of *Domitian* (2), it is plain, that he wrote after the war with the *Dacians*. Moſt writers have ſuppoſed him to be a native of *Italica*, and thence called *Italicus*; but *Italicus* was, as appears from the letters of *Pliny*, and the conſular tables, not an epithet, but his name; and, beſides, had he been born in *Italica*, he would have thence been called *Italicanus*, or *Italicenſis* (3).

Voſſius is of opinion, that *Terentianus*, who, in *Martial*'s time, governed *Syene* in *Egypt* (4), is the ſame perſon with *Terentianus Maurus*, who wrote a poem on the meaſure of verſes, which has reached our times, and is greatly eſteemed by all perſons of taſte; but others aſcribe that excellent performance to *Poſthumius Terentianus*, to whom *Longinus*, about the year 270. inſcribed his book *on the ſublime*. Several other poets are mentioned by *Martial*, as flouriſhing at this time; namely, *Curtius Montanus*, *Turnus*, and *Scæva Memor*, who were brothers; *Aruntius Stella*, *Cordrus* or *Cordus*, *Paceius*, *Fauſtus*, *Rubrenus Lappa*, *M. Unicus*, *Ligurinus*, *Theodorus*, *Canius*, *Licinianus*, *Voconius Victor*, and *Paſſienus Paulus* (5). *Turnus* acquired, it ſeems, great reputation by his ſatires; and was, tho' of a mean deſcent, very powerful at court under the emperors *Titus* and *Domitian* (6). *Scaliger* aſcribes to *Scæva Memor*, upon what grounds he has not thought fit to impart to us, the tragedy intituled

(5) *Salmaſ. in Spartian. p.* 162. (6) *Mart. l.* iv. *epig.* 14. (7) *Vide Bail. poet. p.* 392. (8) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* i. *c.* 29. (9) *Plin. l.* iii. *epiſt.* 7. (1) *Idem ibid.* (2) *Silius Ital. l.* iii. *p.* 51. (3) *Vide Voſſ. poet. Lat. p.* 42, & *Bail. poet. p.* 388. (4) *Mart. l.* i. *epig.* 87. & *Voſſ. poet. Lat. p.* 47. (5) *Vide Voſſ. ibid.* (6) *Juv. ſat.* i. *Mart. l.* vii. *epig.* 96.

the ſame province, under the direction of one *Euxenes*, whoſe manners did not anſwer his profeſſion. But *Apollonius*, following his precepts, without regarding his manners, retired

The auſterity of his life,

at the age of ſixteen to an houſe in the country, led there a life of great auſterity, abſtaining, purſuant to the maxims of his ſect, from all manner of fleſh, ſuffering his hair to grow, going barefoot, and clad only in linen, that he might uſe nothing proceeding from any living creature. From his country-houſe he removed, after ſome time, to the temple of *Æſculapius* in the city of *Ægæ*, where he ſoon became known, great numbers of votaries flocking daily to the temple of that pretended deity, for the preſervation or recovery of their health. There *Apollonius* began to ſet up for a cenſor and reformer of manners, having already, it ſeems, a mighty opinion of his own virtue g.

His father dying about the time that *Archelaus* king of *Cappadocia* was accuſed of having betrayed the *Romans*, that is, about the ſeventeenth year of the Chriſtian æra, he

and diſintereſtedneſs.

took poſſeſſion of his inheritance; but reſerved a ſmall ſhare of it for himſelf; the greateſt part of it he yielded to his brother, who led a vicious and diſſolute life, from which he was by this means retrieved; the reſt, ſave a very ſmall portion, he divided amongſt his neceſſitous relations. Being thus diſengaged from every thing that could divert him from the ſtudy of philoſophy, and the practice of virtue, he paſſed five years in ſilence, agreeably to the cuſtom of the *Pythagorics*; wherein he found, as he himſelf owned, great difficulty. During that time, he appeaſed, ſays the author of his life, ſeveral tumults and ſeditions in *Cilicia* and *Pamphylia*, eſpecially at *Aſpenda*, one of the chief cities in the latter province, where the populace roſe, and were ready to burn the chief magiſtrate alive, for not obliging ſome of the wealthy inhabitants to produce their corn during a famine, and ſell it at a reaſonable price. He went afterwards to *Antioch*, to *Epheſus*, and to ſeveral cities, where he took upon him to revive the worſhip of ſome deities or idols, which

g Philost. vit. Apoll. Ty. l. i. c. 6–9.

tituled *Octavia*, which is commonly believed to have been written by *Seneca* (7). *Suidas* mentions one *Epaphroditus*, author of ſeveral books upon the *grammar*; which have been long ſince loſt. He was a native of *Bœotia*, had been ſlave to *Modeſtus* governor of *Egypt*; but afterwards became famous at *Rome* in the reign of *Nero*, and died in that of *Nerva*, in the ſeventy-fifth year of his age (8).

(7) *Voſſ. poet. Lat. p.* 48.

(8) *Suid. p.* 966.

now

now began to be neglected. He practiſed every-where ſecret myſteries, to which thoſe alone were admitted, who had obſerved ſilence for the ſpace of four years. He took upon him the character of legiſlator, pretending to require nothing of others, but what he had performed himſelf: he even boaſted a thorough knowlege of all languages, without ever having learnt them; and had the impudence to give out, that the moſt ſecret receſſes of mens hearts, and their moſt private thoughts, lay open to him [h]. However, he had yet but ſeven diſciples; and theſe too abandoned him, as ſoon as he had declared his intention of traveling as far as *India*, to viſit the philoſophers there, known by the name of *Bramans*, or *Bracmanes*; ſo that he left *Antioch*, attended only by two domeſtics; but at *Nineve* was joined by *Damis*, a native of that place, who, of all the diſciples he ever had, proved the moſt addicted to him; for he obſerved with great attention, and carefully regiſtred, not only his moſt minute actions, but even his words. Theſe memoirs of *Damis* falling afterwatds into the hands of *Julia Auguſta*, the wife of the emperor *Severus*, ſhe imparted them to *Philoſtratus*, who chiefly copied from them what he wrote of his pretended hero. *Apollonius*, on his journey from *Nineve* to *Babylon*, learned, as he paſſed through *Meſopotamia*, what to his time had been a great ſecret, namely, that of underſtanding the anſwers of oracles delivered by birds. Thus this wiſe philoſopher adopted the follies peculiar to each country through which he paſſed.

His impudence and preſumption.

His favourite diſciple Damis.

UPON his arrival at *Babylon*, he was received by the mages of the place, with whom he often conferred in private (Y). He

He arrives at Babylon.

[h] PHILOST. vit. Apoll. Ty. l. i. c. 10——25.

(Y) *Philoſtratus* deſcribes *Babylon* as a city above ſeventy miles in compaſs, with walls of an extraordinary height and breadth, as if it had been no leſs mægnificent and beautiful in the time of *Apollonius*, than formerly in that of *Nebuchadonoſor*; whereas it is plain from *Pliny*, who was cotemporary with *Apollonius*, that *Babylon* then lay in ruins, and ſcarce any building remained, except the temple of *Belus* (9). *Trajan*, who, not many years after, was prompted by a commendable curioſity to viſit ſo celebrated a place, found it quite buried in its ruins (1); and *Pauſanias*, who wrote in the reign of *Marcus Aurelius*, tells us, that *Babylon*, the greateſt city the ſun ever ſaw, had, in his time, nothing left but its walls. Theſe remained long after, the ſpace within being made a park by the *Parthian* kings

(9) *Plin. l.* vi. c. 26.

(1) *Dio, l.* lxviii. *p.* 785.

for

He travels to India.

He ſoon left *Babylon*, and, taking leave of the king, ſet out for *India*; where he was received with great marks of eſteem by a king named *Phraothes*, of whom *Philoſtratus* relates wonders; and by him introduced to *Hiarchus*, the chief of the *Bramans*, who at that time was but eighteen years old (Z). *Apollonius* paſſed four months with them, held frequent conferences with the chief men amongſt them, to which not even *Damis* was admitted, and ever after entertained a mighty opinion of their ſect. After he had learnt all the myſteries of their profeſſion, he left *India*, and, returning by ſea, landed at the mouth of the *Euphrates*, or rather the *Tigris*; went from thence by land to *Babylon*, then to *Nineve*, and from *Nineve* to *Antioch*. He was not, it ſeems, much admired at *Antioch*; for, after a ſhort ſtay in that city, he removed to *Ionia*, and ſettled in that country, reſiding ſometimes at *Epheſus*, and ſometimes at *Smyrna* [i].

Returns to Aſia, *and there undertakes the reformation of manners.*

He is ſaid to have undertaken with incredible ſucceſs the reformation of manners, firſt at *Epheſus*, and afterwards in the other cities of *Ionia*; reclaiming, partly by his precepts, partly by his exemplary life, ſuch as were intirely abandoned to all manner of lewdneſs and iniquity [k]. From *Ionia* he went to *Ilium*, where he embarked for *Leſbos*, and from thence ſailed to *Athens*; in which city he reformed innumerable abuſes, and utterly aboliſhed the inhuman ſpectacles of

[i] Philost. vit. Apol. Ty. l. iii. c. 15, 16. [k] Idem, l. iv. c. 1, 2.

for the keeping of wild beaſts, and the diverſion of hunting. It is therefore plain, that *Philoſtratus* was no leſs miſtaken in his deſcription of *Babylon*, than he is in ſuppoſing, that the kings of *Parthia*, in the time of *Apollonius*, reſided there, it being plain from *Strabo*, that they then paſſed the winter at *Cteſiphon* near *Seleucia*, and the ſummer at *Ecbatana* (2). He tells us, that the king's name, who then reigned, was *Vardanes*; and that, two years and two months before, he had recovered his kingdom, which had been unjuſtly ſeized by his brother *Gotarzes*; adding, that *Apollonius* paſſed 20 months at the court, and found, about ſix months after, the ſame prince ſtill on the throne (3); ſo that, according to *Philoſtratus*, *Vardanes* muſt have reigned four years, and upwards; whereas it is plain from *Tacitus* (4), that *Vardanes* began to rule over the *Parthians* in the ſeventh year of *Claudius*'s reign, and was dead ſome time before the end of the ninth.

(Z) If what *Philoſtratus* relates of theſe philoſophers be true, they were far from being gods, though they impiouſly paſſed themſelves for ſuch upon the undiſcerning multitude (5).

(2) *Strabo, l.* xvi. *p.* 743.
(3) *Philoſt. vit. Apol. Ty. l.* i. *c.* 15. 19.
(4) *Tacit. annal. l.* xi, *c.* 8, 9, 10.
(5) *Philoſt. ibid. l.* iii. *c.* 6, & 9.

gladiators,

gladiators. He traveled all over *Greece*, reviving every-where the antient ſuperſtition of the *Greeks*, and eſtabliſhing the idolatrous worſhip of the gods. The *Eleans* invited him to the ſports, which were to be celebrated on occaſion of the CXth *Olympiad*, ſeven years before *Nero* undertook the cutting of the iſthmus, and conſequently in the year of the Chriſtian æra 61. He complied with their invitation, and, by his warm exhortations, inſpired many, both *Greeks* and foreigners, with the love of virtue, and abhorrence of vice. At *Corinth* he was kindly received, and ever after admired, by *Demetrius*, the moſt celebrated *Cynic* of thoſe days, and his diſciple *Menippus*. At *Lacedæmon*, where he paſſed great part of the winter, he is ſaid to have perſuaded the inhabitants to reſume their antient manner of living [1]. But of this great and remarkable reformation no notice is taken by any other writer. In the beginning of the ſpring he ſailed from *Lacedæmon* to *Crete*, and from thence to *Rome*, where he ſtaid, performing wonderful things, related at large by the author of his life, till he was obliged to quit the city, in virtue of an edict enacted by *Nero*, driving all philoſophers out of *Rome*.

He then retired to *Cadiz*, where, in a private conference with *Galba*, he encouraged him to revolt from *Nero*, and aſſume the ſovereignty. From *Cadiz* he croſſed over to *Africa*, from *Africa* to *Hetruria*, and thence to *Sicily*, where he received the tidings of *Nero*'s death. However, he would not return to *Rome*, but ſailed to *Achaia* or *Greece*, where he remained the winter, and early in the ſpring paſſed over into *Egypt*, where he was followed by vaſt crouds, the ſuperſtitious *Egyptians* flocking from all quarters to hear and ſee him. *Philoſtratus* would fain perſuade us, that *Veſpaſian* went into *Egypt* for the ſame purpoſe; but of the true motive of his journey, we have ſpoken elſewhere. However, *Veſpaſian*, who was not exempt, as *Tacitus* obſerves, from ſuch ſuperſtition, while he was in *Egypt*, went to viſit *Apollonius*, and ſeemed to entertain a mighty opinion of him. He conſulted him in private about the ſtate of his affairs, and paid great deference to his judgment. *Dio* and *Euphrates*, two celebrated philoſophers, adviſed *Veſpaſian* to renounce the ſovereignty, after he had overcome *Vitellius*, and reſtore the republic to its former liberty. But *Apollonius* oppoſed their ſentiments, which occaſioned a warm debate, *Apollonius* being, it ſeems, impatient of all contradiction. *Veſpaſian* followed the opinion of *Apollonius*, who thereupon took the liberty to inſtruct him how to govern with equity and

He encourages Galba *to revolt from* Nero.

Is conſulted by Veſpaſian.

[1] Philost. l. iv. c. 3—11.

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moderation. *Veſpaſian* would have rewarded him with great generoſity for his excellent precepts; but the philoſopher would not accept the leaſt acknowlegement [m].

Travels into Ethiopia.

FROM *Alexandria Veſpaſian* departed for *Rome*, and *Apollonius* ſoon after for *Ethiopia*, with a deſign to viſit the philoſophers of that country, whom *Philoſtratus* calls *Gymnoſophiſts*; a name by all other writers given to the philoſophers of *India*. Of the thirty diſciples he had at this time, ten only accompanied him in this journey, the others chooſing to remain at *Alexandria*. He was at firſt received very coldly by the *Ethiopian* philoſophers, who had been prejudiced againſt him by *Euphrates*; but they were ſoon reconciled to each other, and held ſeveral private conferences, which *Apollonius* interrupted to view the ſources of the *Nile*; but he did not go beyond the third cataract. He returned to *Egypt*, about the time that *Titus* took the city of *Jeruſalem*, which he entered on the eighth of *September* of the year 70. The next year *Titus* returned to *Rome*, and was met by *Apollonius* at *Argos*, who the ſame year traveled all over *Phœnicia*, *Ionia*, *Cilicia*; viſited ſeveral cities of *Greece*; and, if *Codinus* is to be believed, went to *Byzantium*, and there ſet up ſeveral taliſmans, or magical figures, which remained till the year 870. when the emperor *Baſilius* cauſed them to be removed [n].

Goes to Rome.

From *Byzantium* he returned to *Greece*, and from thence to *Rome*; where he endeavoured to ſtir up the people againſt the emperor *Domitian*, and exhorted *Nerva*, who was afterwards emperor, to head them. *Domitian* was informed of his private practices, and, at the ſame time, told, that in the neighbourhood of *Rome* he had ſacrificed a child, in order to diſcover, by viewing its entrails, what ſucceſs would attend *Nerva*, if he engaged in the conſpiracy. Hereupon the emperor wrote to the governor of *Aſia*, whither *Apollonius* was already retired, ordering him to ſeize him, and ſend him in chains to *Rome*. But *Apollonius*, before the order arrived, had left *Aſia*, in order to return to *Rome*. At *Puteoli* he found *Demetrius* the celebrated *Cynic*, who acquainted him with the emperor's edict, ordering all the philoſophers to depart *Rome*; and, at the ſame time, exhorted him to retire, leſt he ſhould fall a ſacrifice to the rage of *Domitian*, who bore an irreconcileable hatred to all philoſophers, and to him in particular. *Apollonius* replied, that he could not follow his advice, without betraying *Nerva*; and that he was very ſure it was not in the power of the tyrant to put him to death. He therefore purſued his journey to *Rome*, in the

[m] PHILOST. l. v. c. 3—14. [n] GEORG. CODIN. origines Conſtantinop.

habit

habit peculiar to philoſophers; but obliged *Damis*, his only companion, to quit it, leſt he ſhould be diſcovered and ſeized [o].

He no ſooner arrived at *Rome*, than the emperor ordered *Caſperius Ælianus*, captain of the prætorian guards, to ſeize him. *Caſperius*, who had a particular veneration for him, under pretence of examining him in private, inſtructed him how to make his defence, when ſummoned before the judges; and then, as he durſt not diſmiſs him, committed him to priſon; where *Apollonius* comforted his fellow-priſoners, fifty in number, and encouraged them to bear their confinement, and the miſeries attending it, with conſtancy and patience. After he had been thus confined for the ſpace of ſix days, he was brought before the emperor, who examined him concerning the deſigns of *Nerva*. *Apollonius* anſwered, That *Nerva* had never entertained the leaſt thought of conſpiring againſt him, or aſſuming the ſovereignty; though he was at that time actually contriving, according to *Philoſtratus*, the means of depoſing the emperor, and ſeizing the empire, being inſtigated thereunto by *Apollonius* himſelf [p]. *Domitian*, finding he could draw no ſatisfactory anſwer from him, ordered his beard to be ſhaved, a great affront to a philoſopher; and commanded him to be led back to priſon, loaded with chains, from which however he was two days after diſcharged, at the requeſt of *Caſperius*. While he was in bonds, he aſſured *Damis*, who attended him even in priſon, that the emperor, notwithſtanding his great power, could not hurt him; and, in ſo ſaying, drew, with great eaſe, his leg out of the chain. He was a few days after brought again before the emperor; who, after having examined him in the preſence of many perſons of diſtinction, declared him innocent, and afterwards had a private conference with him, in which *Apollonius* diſplayed to him the great evils that muſt neceſſarily enſue from the prince's giving ear to informers. *As for myſelf*, ſaid he, *I am not under the leaſt apprehenſion: you may cauſe me to be ſeized; but put me to death you cannot: that the laws of fate, and my deſtiny, will not allow.* *Apollonius*, having thus ſpoken, diſappeared, and was ſeen that evening at *Puteoli*, three days journey diſtant from *Rome* [q].

Where he is ſeized and impriſoned by Domitian's order.

Is brought before the emperor, and by him declared innocent.

From *Puteoli* he paſſed over into *Sicily*, and from thence into *Greece*, where he remained two years, followed and admired by vaſt crouds, and perſons of all ranks and ages, whom, by his precepts and example, he animated to deſpiſe wealth, and place their whole happineſs in the purſuit of vir-

[o] Philost. l. vii. c. 2—6. [p] Idem ibid. c. 3, 12, 14.
[q] Idem ibid. c. 17.

tue. From *Greece* he returned to *Ionia*, reſiding partly at *Smyrna*, and partly at *Epheſus*; but frequently viſiting all the cities of that province. While he was diſcourſing to a numerous aſſembly at *Epheſus*, the ſame minute that *Domitian* was ſlain, he began, all on a ſudden, to lower his voice, as if he had been ſeized with fear; but, nevertheleſs, purſued his diſcourſe for ſome time, though faintly, and often ſtopping, as if he had been intent upon ſomething elſe. At length he quite gave over ſpeaking; fixed his eyes ſtedfaſt on the ground; and, after a ſhort ſilence, *Strike home*, he cried, *ſtrike the tyrant home.* As the numerous aſſembly was greatly ſurpriſed, he no ſooner returned to himſelf, than he bid them be of good chear, and rejoice; *For the tyrant*, added he, *is dead*; *he is juſt now expired*[r]. The ſame thing is related by *Dio Caſſius*, as an event not to be doubted; nay, he adds, that *Apollonius*, during his trance, as he calls it, named *Stephanus*, crying out ſo as to be heard by the whole aſſembly, *Courage, brave* Stephanus! *courage! diſpatch the tyrant*[s].

Is acquainted with Domitian's *death the very minute it happens.*

Is invited to Rome *by* Nerva; *but refuſes to go thither.*

Nerva, who ſucceeded *Domitian*, had no ſooner taken poſſeſſion of the empire, than he wrote to *Apollonius*, inviting him to *Rome*. The philoſopher returned anſwer, That, by the decrees of fate, they were never more to ſee one another. However, ſome time after, he wrote to the emperor a letter filled with excellent precepts for governing with equity and moderation. This letter he ſent by *Damis*, whom he charged to deliver to the emperor ſeveral rules of government by word of mouth in his name.

He diſappears.

WHILE *Damis* was at *Rome*, he received advice, that *Apollonius* had diſappeared; whence he concluded, that he had ſent him to *Rome*, on purpoſe that he might not be preſent at his death: hence he is generally thought to have died this year, the firſt of *Nerva*'s reign, and ninety-ſixth of the Chriſtian æra (A). In the epitome of *Dio Caſſius* by *Xiphilin*,

[r] PHILOST. l. viii. c. 10. [s] DIO, p. 768.

(A) *Damis*, in his memoirs, made no mention of his death; and *Philoſtratus* declares, that in his time no one could give any probable account of it. Some pretended he died at *Epheſus*; others related, that he went into a temple at *Lindus* in the iſland of *Rhodes*, and was never afterwards ſeen. *Philoſtratus* aſſures us, that though he had traveled into ſeveral countries, he could no-where find his tomb, nor hear any certain account of the manner of his death (6). This ſuccinct account of the life of *Apollonius* is ſwelled by *Philoſtratus* with a great number of miracles

(6) *Philoſt. l.* viii. *c.* 13.

and

Xiphilin, we read, that the wicked emperor *Caracalla* had a particular eſteem for *Apollonius*, whom he looked upon as the moſt accompliſhed impoſtor and ſorcerer the world had ever ſeen. No one can peruſe his life, though written with the utmoſt partiality, without diſcovering in all his actions a great deal of pride, arrogance, and preſumption, and an extraordinary opinion of his own virtue. Before his journey to *India*, when the image of the *Parthian* king was ſhewn him, and he commanded to adore it, according to the cuſtom of the country, he returned to the king's officers this arrogant and haughty anſwer; *The prince, whom you adore, may reckon himſelf happy, if he deſerves by me to be only eſteemed and commended* [t]. He imagined himſelf poſſeſſed of all virtues in an eminent degree; took upon him every-where the character of cenſor, legiſlator, inſtructor, *&c.* pretended to know every

His pride, arrogance, and preſumption.

[t] PHILOST. l. i. c. 14, 15, 19.

and predictions, upon which he makes long deſcants. Amongſt other miracles wrought by his hero, he tells us, that he reſtored to life a young woman of a conſular family; but, at the ſame time, ſeems to doubt, whether or no ſhe was quite dead: and truly, had he ever wrought ſuch a miracle, he would have been, as *Euſebius* rightly obſerves (7), more famous than he ever was. His prodigies are atteſted only by *Philoſtratus*, who, as *Lipſius* obſerves (8), is guilty of many groſs miſtakes, and often contradicts himſelf in what relates to the *Roman* hiſtory. What can ſeem leſs probable, than his account of what paſſed at the interview between *Apollonius* and *Domitian*? *Euſebius* calls his book a *romance*; and *Photius* looks upon it as an heap of inconſiſtent fables (9). Moſt of the fathers ſpeak of it in the ſame ſtile (1); as do likewiſe *Suidas* (2), and the moſt judicious among the modern writers, to wit, *Scaliger* (3), *Vives* (4), *Voſſius* (5), *Caſaubon* (6), *&c.* Many of the pagans themſelves ſeem to have entertained but a very indifferent opinion of *Apollonius*, notwithſtanding his boaſted virtue and miracles. Even thoſe who bore him no hatred, looked upon him as a magician, and ſcrupled admitting him to their myſteries (7); nay, the ſame opinion ſtill prevailed in the time of his panegyriſt *Philoſtratus*, as he himſelf witneſſes (8). *Lucian*, ſpeaking of one of his favourite and moſt faithful diſciples, calls him *a celebrated and profeſſed magician* (9).

(7) *Euſeb. in Hier. p.* 461. (8) *Lipſ. Tacit. hiſt. l.* iii. *n.* 80. (9) *Euſeb. ibid. Phot. c.* 44. *p.* 29. (1) *Vide Aug. epiſt.* xlix. *Chryſ. in Jud. hom.* iii. (2) *Suid. p.* 376. (3) *Scaliger in Euſeb. chron.* (4) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 15. (5) *Idem ibid.* (6) *Caſaub. in Spart. p.* 229. (7) *Philoſt. l.* iv. *c.* 6. *l.* viii. *c.* 8. (8) *Idem, l.* ii. *c.* 3. (9) *Lucian. vit. Alex. p.* 476.

thing, to foreſee future events, to be acquainted with the moſt hidden thoughts of thoſe with whom he converſed; nay, he ſuffered himſelf to be by the multitude acknowleged for a god, and divine worſhip to be paid him: which he indeed once refuſed; but the only motive which prompted him to reject it, was fear of being envied [u]. *Philoſtratus* cries up his diſintereſtedneſs, and the purity of his manners; but tho' he would receive no preſents from kings or emperors, yet he accepted, and even aſked, a conſiderable ſum of one of the pontiffs [w]. As to the purity of his manners, he was commonly thought not to be free from all blame [x]; at leaſt his favourite diſciples wallowed, if *Lucian* is to be credited, in all manner of lewdneſs [y]. As he held the *metempſychoſis*, or tranſmigration of ſouls, he cauſed a lion to be publicly adored, pretending, that the ſoul of *Amaſis*, one of the antient kings of *Egypt*, had paſſed into that animal (B). As no one could

[u] Philost. l. vii. c. 6. l. i. c. 20. l. viii. c. 2. l. iv. c. 10. [w] Idem, l. viii. c. 7. [x] Philost. vit. ſophiſ. p. 568. [y] Lucian. vit. Alex. [z] Philost. vit. Apoll. l. v. c. 15.

(B) *Philoſtratus* endeavours to excuſe, in the beſt manner he can, his hero for quarreling with the philoſopher *Euphrates*, on whom he lays all the blame. But either the ſame writer, or another of the ſame name, who had read the life of *Apollonius*, and often refers his readers to it, owns, that neither *Apollonius* nor *Euphrates* behaved, on that occaſion, as became philoſophers (1). However, notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts both of *Apollonius*, and his panegyriſt, to diſcredit and cry down *Euphrates*, he was, two hundred years after his death, generally eſteemed the greateſt philoſopher of his time (2). *Apollonius* himſelf, before their quarrel, ſpoke of him to *Veſpaſian* as a man of an unblemiſhed character, not foreſeeing, for all his pretence to a prophetical ſpirit, that he was ſoon to change his ſtile, and inveigh againſt him as one of the moſt wicked of men (3). *Pliny* the younger, who was intimately acquainted with *Euphrates*, beſtows mighty encomiums upon him (4); and *Arrian*, in his comments upon *Epictetus*, not only extols his eloquence, but commends him greatly for having lived like a philoſopher before he aſſumed the habit peculiar to that profeſſion (5). He died in the beginning of *Adrian*'s reign, with whoſe permiſſion he put an end to the infirmities attending old age with a draught of poiſon (6). He publiſhed ſome writings againſt *Apollonius*, which *Philoſtratus* promiſes to refute (7). *Eunapius* ſeems to aſcribe other works to him upon more noble ſubjects, by which he gained great reputation (8).

(1) *Philoſt. vit. ſoph. c. 7. p. 492.* (2) *Euſeb. in Hier. p. 464, 465.* (3) *Idem ib. p. 493.* (4) *Plin. l. i. epiſt. 10.* (5) *Arrian. Epict. l. iii. c. 15. & l. ii. c. 8.* (6) *Dio, l. lxix. p. 791.* (7) *Philoſt. l. i. c. 10.* (8) *Eunap. in vit. ſophiſt. præfat.*

give

give any certain account of the death of *Apollonius*, his countrymen, the inhabitants of *Tyana*, believed him immortal, and conſecrated a temple to him cloſe to their city [a]. His images were ſet up in many temples; and the emperors, inſtead of checking, countenanced this ſuperſtition, by the honours which they themſelves paid to the impoſtor (C). But notwithſtanding the great eſteem which ſeveral of the emperors had for him, and his many pretended miracles, he was, at the beginning of the fourth century, generally looked upon as an impoſtor, and a magician [b]. *Eunapius*, who wrote in the beginning of the fifth century, attempted to retrieve the reputation of his pretended hero [c]; but was therein attended with no better ſucceſs than a late writer of no mean character; for, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of men, falſhood muſt, in the end, yield, and truth prevail. *Philoſtratus* has tranſmitted to us ſeveral letters written by *Apollonius*, moſt of them very ſhort, with a long apology, which he had compoſed with a deſign to pronounce it before *Domitian*, not knowing [d], though a great prophet, that the emperor would not hear it, and that in writing it he laboured to no effect. Beſides this apology, and a great number of letters to perſons of all ranks and conditions [e], he wrote a treatiſe upon judi-

Honours paid him after his death.

His works.

[a] Eunap. in vit. ſophiſt. præfat. [b] Lact. l. v. c. 3. [c] Eunap. in præfat. [d] Philost. l. viii. c. 3. [e] Idem, l. iii. c. 13.

(C) *Adrian* collected, and lodged in the palace at *Antium*, a great many of his letters (9). *Antonius Caracalla* honoured him with divine worſhip, and conſecrated a temple to him (1). The emperor *Alexander* kept his image in a private place of his palace, together with the images of our Saviour, of *Abraham*, and of ſeveral princes, who had governed with equity and moderation (2). *Vopiſcus* tells us, that he read in certain memoirs, and alſo heard of perſons of credit, that the emperor *Aurelian* being reſolved to give up the city of *Tyana* to be plundered by his ſoldiers, *Apollonius* appeared to him, and diverted him from that deſign; and adds, that the emperor, convinced by that miraculous apparition, that *Apollonius* was a god, vowed to him an image, a temple, and a ſtatue (3); but, whether he performed his vow, *Vopiſcus* does not inform us; neither does he vouch the truth of the apparition, though he profeſſed a particular veneration for *Apollonius*, and even deſigned to write his life in *Latin*, as *Philoſtratus* had done in *Greek*, that his ſtupendous actions, ſays he, may be known to the whole world.

(9) *Philoſt. l.* viii. *c.* 13, 14. (1) *Dio, l.* lxxvii. *p.* 878. (2) *Lamp. in vit. Veri, p.* 123. (3) *Vopiſc. in vit. Aurel.*

cial aſtrology, compriſed in four books[f], and another upon ſacrifices, wherein he pretended to ſhew with what kind of victims each deity was moſt pleaſed. The former treatiſe was not much eſteemed; but the latter was received with general applauſe. It is once quoted by *Euſebius*[g], and mentioned likewiſe by *Suidas*[h]. His theology, out of which *Euſebius* quotes a paſſage[i], and his treatiſe upon ſacrifices, are, in all likelihood, one and the ſame work.

CHAP. XX.

From the Death of Domitian, *the laſt of the twelve* Cæſars, *to the Death of* Trajan, *who brought the Empire to its utmoſt Grandeur and Extent.*

M. Coccceius Nerva *emperor.*

THE death of *Domitian* was no ſooner divulged, than the ſenate aſſembled, and with one voice declared *M. Cocceius Nerva* emperor. He was a native of *Narnia* in *Umbria*; but his family came originally from the iſland of *Crete*; ſo that he was neither by birth a *Roman*, nor deſcended from an *Italian* family (A). He was born, according to *Dio Caſſius*[a], on the ſeventeenth of *March*, in the eighteenth year of *Tiberius*'s reign, and thirty-ſecond of the Chriſtian æra; and was by *Nero*, in the twelfth year of his reign, honoured with the prætorſhip, and a ſtatue in the palace[b], having, by his

His family.

[f] Philost. l. iv. c. 6. [g] Euseb. præp. evang. lib. iv. c. 13. [h] Suid. p. 376. [i] Euseb. demonſt. evang. l. iii. c. 3. [a] Dio, l. lxviii. p. 771. [b] Tacit. ann. l. xv. c. 7.

(A) However, his father, grandfather, and great grandfather, had been honoured in *Rome* with the conſular dignity. His grandfather *M. Cocceius Nerva*, one of the moſt learned civilians in *Rome*, was conſul in the eighth year of *Tiberius*'s reign, and twenty-ſecond of the Chriſtian æra, accompanied that prince in his retirement, and, affected with the ſadneſs of the times, choſe, when in perfect health, a voluntary death (1). His father, who bore the ſame name, was conſul in the fourth year of the reign of *Claudius*, and fortieth of the Chriſtian æra (2). His mother, by name *Plautilla*, was deſcended from an illuſtrious family, being the daughter of one *Lænas* a conſular (3).

(1) *Tacit. annal. l.* vi. *c.* 8. *Aur. Vict. epit. Eutrop. Dio, l.* lxvii. *p.* 767. *Front. aquæduct. p.* 119. *Onuph. in faſt. p.* 198. (2) *Onuph. ibid.* (3) *Gruter. p.* 246.

elegant

A General Map of the Roman Empire, Shewing the Situation of all its Provinces & of Seats of ye Barbarous Nations on their Frontiers





767.
ibid.

elegant

elegant poems (for he was one of the beſt poets of his time), gained the affection of that prince, who even inſcribed to him ſome of his poetical pieces [c]. *Pliny* ſpeaks of his epigrams, and commends them [d]. He was conſul with *Veſpaſian* in the year 71. and with *Domitian* in 90 [e].

His humanity, generoſity, &c.

He is commended by all the antients as a prince of a moſt ſweet and humane temper, of great moderation and generoſity, and one who looked upon himſelf as raiſed to the empire, not for his own advantage, but for that of his people; and truly the happineſs and welfare of thoſe who lived under him were, during the ſhort time he reigned, his only end and purſuit. He ſeems to have been naturally timorous [f]; and ſome writers charge both him and *Trajan* with exceſſive drinking [g]. *Apollonius Tyaneus* was the firſt, if *Philoſtratus* is to be credited, who ſolicited him to aſſume the ſovereignty, or at leaſt to deliver *Rome* from the tyranny of *Domitian*. *Nerva* hearkened to him; but his courage failed him, when the deſign was to be put in execution [h]. *Apollonius*, however, did not ſcruple denying the whole to *Domitian*, aſſuring him, that *Nerva*, though equal to the greateſt honours, was ſo far from procuring them by unlawful means, that he would not accept them, if offered, dreading nothing ſo much, on account of his infirmities, and his love of retirement, as being any-way concerned in the adminiſtration of public affairs [i].

Narrowly eſcapes death under Domitian.

However, *Domitian*, either acquainted with *Nerva*'s deſign, or giving credit to the aſtrologers, who adviſed him to beware of *Nerva*, ſince his nativity ſeemed to promiſe him the empire, confined him to *Tarentum* in the year 94. and would have put him to death, had not a more kind aſtrologer aſſured the emperor, that *Nerva*, who was of a weak conſtitution, and ſubject to many infirmities, would die in a few days [k] (B).

Domitian

[c] Martial. l. viii. epigr. 70. & l. ix. epigr. 27. [d] Plin. l. iii. epiſt. 8. [e] Front. aquæd. p. 219. [f] Aur. Vict. in vit. Trajan. [g] Idem ibid. [h] Philostr. in vit. Apoll. Tyan. lib. vii. c. 3. [i] Idem ibid. c. 14. & l. viii. c. 3. [k] Dio, lib. lxviii. p. 769.

(B) *Aurelius Victor* writes, that *Nerva*, dreading the cruelty of *Domitian*, had retired to *Gaul*, and was there when he received the news of the tyrant's death, and his own aſſumption to the empire (4). On the other hand, *Dio Caſſius* takes no notice of his baniſhment; but ſuppoſes him to have been at *Rome* when *Do-*

(4) *Aur. Vict. in epit.*

mitian

Is acknowleged emperor by the ſenate and ſoldiery.

DOMITIAN being killed on the eighteenth of *September* of the year 96. *Nerva* was the ſame day declared emperor by the ſenate, and, as ſuch, acknowleged by the prætorian guards, notwithſtanding their concern for the death of the late emperor, which they would have revenged, had they not been reſtrained by *Petronius Secundus*, one of their captains, and by *Parthenius*, *Domitian*'s chief chamberlain [l]. *Nerva* had ſcarce aſſumed the ſovereignty, when a falſe report was ſpread, that *Domitian* was ſtill alive, and the news of his death only an artifice to diſcover the deſigns of ſuch as he ſuſpected: hence dread ſeized all, and the concourſe about the new emperor diſperſed in a moment. *Nerva* himſelf, naturally wary and timorous, was ſtruck ſpeechleſs, betrayed great diſmay in his countenance, and, fallen from the higheſt hopes, waited for preſent death, till *Parthenius* aſſured him, that the report was quite groundleſs. Hereupon, recovering his former temper, he went firſt to the camp of the prætorian guards, and thence, after he had ſecured them by a promiſe of the uſual donative, to the ſenate, where he was received with the greateſt marks imaginable of eſteem and affection. Many congratulatory ſpeeches were made to him on this occaſion; but that of *Arrius Antoninus*, grandfather to the emperor *T. Antoninus* by his mother, was of a different nature from the reſt; for, embracing the new emperor, with whom he had long lived in great intimacy, "I am come (ſaid he) with the reſt, to congratulate the ſe-"nate, the people of *Rome*, and the provinces of the em-"pire, upon your advancement to this high poſt; but cannot "pay the ſame compliment to you, who, after having, by "your wiſdom and virtue, happily eſcaped the rage of ſo "many wicked princes, plunge yourſelf into new dangers "and troubles, being expoſed to the cenſure and hatred both "of your friends and foes, eſpecially of the former, who will "not fail, if any of their ſuits are denied, to become your "moſt implacable enemies [m]."

Year of the flood 2444. Of Chr. 96. Of Rome 844.

[l] PLIN. panegyr. DIO, l. lxviii. p. 769. [m] AUR. VICT. in epit.

mitian was murdered: for he tells us, that *Parthenius*, and the other conſpirators, offered the empire, before the aſſaſſination of *Domitian*, to ſeveral perſons; who, looking upon ſuch an offer as a ſnare laid for their deſtruction, declined it; but that at length *Nerva*, who daily expected to be ſacrificed to the jealouſy of the emperor, was prompted, by his own fear, to accept the ſovereign power, as the only means of preſerving his life (5).

(5) *Dio*, *l.* lxvii. *p.* 767.

NERVA,

NERVA, now confirmed in the ſovereignty both by the ſenate and ſoldiery, blended together two things, ſays *Tacitus* [n], once thought irreconcileable; public liberty, and ſovereign power; for, under him, the *Romans* enjoyed all the former, and felt none of the evil effects of the latter [o]. He immediately delivered from their fears, and ſet at liberty, all thoſe who had been, under the late emperor, arraigned of treaſon, and recalled ſuch as had been baniſhed under colour of the ſame crime [p], cauſing their lands and inheritances to be reſtored to them, without the leaſt deduction (C). However, he would not ſuffer *Licinianus*, who had been baniſhed for debauching a veſtal, to return to *Italy*; but gave him leave to paſs the remainder of his life in *Sicily* [q]. He enacted more ſevere laws againſt informers, than *Titus* had done, who abhorred that race of men; and cauſed all the ſlaves and freedmen to be put to death, who had informed againſt their maſters and patrons. Beſides theſe, many other informers were publicly executed, and, among them, a philoſopher by name *Seras*. At the ſame time he publiſhed an edict, forbidding, agreeably to the antient laws of *Rome*, a ſlave or freedman to appear againſt his maſter in any accuſation whatſoever; and ordering, that no perſon ſhould, for the future, be accuſed of violated majeſty, or proſecuted for living after the manner of the *Jews* [r], by which words *Dio*, without all doubt, meant the Chriſtians. He ſolemnly ſwore, that no ſenator ſhould ever by his order be put to death; and religiouſly obſerved his oath, though ſome of that body conſpired againſt him, as we ſhall preſently relate. All the goods and effects belonging to particulars, which he found in the palace, he ordered to be immediately reſtore to the proprietors; leſſened the taxes; delivered the *Jews* from the cruelties and oppreſſions of the collectors of the public revenues; and, to the great ſatisfaction of the *Romans*, annulled the law of *Auguſtus*, ordering the twentieth part of each inheritance and legacy to be paid in to the exchequer.

The Romans *happy under him.*

Puniſhes all informers.

Aboliſhes the law of majeſty.

Redreſſes grievances.

HE allowed no gold or ſilver ſtatues to be erected to him, retrenched all ſuperfluous expences, aboliſhing, for that pur-

[n] TACIT. vit. Agric. c. 3. [o] PLIN. l. ix. epiſt. 13. [p] DIO, l. lxviii. p. 769. [q] EUSEB. l. iii. c. 20. [r] DIO, ibid.

(C) *Pliny* mentions many illuſtrious perſons, who returned from baniſhment on this occaſion (6): and a medal ſtruck the following year, which has reached us, bears the following legend; *Exules Romæ redditi*, that is, *The exiles reſtored to* Rome (7).

(6) *Plin. l.* iv. *epiſt.* 11. (7) *Birag. numiſ. p.* 144.

poſe,

His generosity towards the people.

poſe, divers ſacrifices, and public ſhews; and, as he ſtill wanted money wherewith to relieve the neceſſitous citizens, and reward his friends, he at laſt ſold great part of the gold and ſilver plate, and rich furniture, both of his own houſe, and of the imperial palace, with ſeveral houſes and eſtates. In ſelling them, he was not difficult as to the price; but ſeemed overjoyed to have ſo favourable an opportunity of obliging many. He laid out a vaſt ſum upon a purchaſe of land, to be divided amongſt the poor of *Rome*, appointing ſome ſenators of known integrity, and, among the reſt, one *Corellus*, highly eſteemed by *Pliny* [s], to divide it amongſt the indigent [t]. From ſeveral medals of this year it appears, that he twice divided conſiderable ſums among the people, beſides the lands, and moreover a large quantity of corn [u]. The children of ſuch as were poor he cauſed to be brought up, in all the cities of *Italy*, at the public expence. He eaſed not only *Italy*, but all the provinces, of the heavy impoſitions with which they had been burdened by *Veſpaſian* and *Domitian*; and utterly aboliſhed the tribute upon all carriages, which was generally looked upon as an inſufferable grievance: hence the ſenate cauſed ſeveral medals to be ſtruck, to perpetuate, by that means, the remembrance of ſo great a favour [w]. Of the many inſtances of his diſintereſtedneſs taken notice of by the antients, we ſhall only relate the following: *Atticus*, a citizen of *Athens*, father to the famous *Herodes Atticus*, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the reign of *T. Antoninus*, having diſcovered in his houſe a large treaſure, wrote to *Nerva*, deſiring to know how he ſhould diſpoſe of it. The emperor, who had no byas to avarice, anſwered, *Utere*, *Uſe it*; but *Atticus*, not thinking himſelf yet ſecure, wrote to him a ſecond letter, acquainting him, that the treaſure was too great for a private perſon, and that he was thence afraid to uſe it. To this the generous prince replied in two words, *Ergo abutere*, *Then abuſe it*; ſignifying thereby, that the treaſure was his without reſerve, and that he might diſpoſe of it as he thought fit [x].

His diſintereſtedneſs.

Some of his laws.

NERVA renewed the law of *Domitian*, prohibiting the caſtration of children [y]; and by one edict confirmed all the grants of that prince. He publiſhed a law, forbidding any one to marry his niece, which was firſt allowed in the reign of *Claudius* [z]; applied himſelf with great care to the reforma-

[s] PLIN. l. vii. epiſt. 31. [t] DIO, l. lxviii. p. 770. ZONAR. p. 199. Chron. Alexand. [u] BIRAG. numiſ. p. 143. [w] Idem p. 144. [x] PHILOST. in vit. ſophiſt. p. 546. [y] DIO, l. lxviii. p. 770. [z] Idem ibid.

tion

tion of manners; was aſſiduous in the adminiſtration of juſtice; and, in ſhort, behaved in ſuch manner towards all, that he uſed to ſay, He believed he might reſign the empire, and return with ſafety to a private life, not being conſcious to himſelf of having done the leaſt thing that could give any man juſt motive of offence [a]. He was perhaps too kind to ſuch as were altogether unworthy of his favours; which gave occaſion to ſome perſons to complain of his lenity and indulgence (D). As ſoon as, by the death of *Domitian*, and aſſumption of *Nerva*, public liberty was reſtored, to uſe the expreſſion of *Pliny* [b], all who had ſuffered by falſe accuſations flocked to the ſenate, demanding, that condign puniſhment might be forthwith inflicted on ſuch as had informed againſt them. The ſenate hearkened to their requeſt, and puniſhed ſome with death, others with baniſhment; but not without great partiality, ſparing thoſe of their own body. Hereupon *Pliny* boldly undertook the accuſation of *Publicus Certus*, who was not only of the ſenatorial order, but had been by *Domitian* named to the conſulſhip with *Vectius Proculus*. The ſenate, having firſt attempted in vain to perſuade *Pliny* to drop the proſecution, referred in the end the whole affair to the emperor, who contented himſelf with confirming the conſulſhip to *Vectius*, and naming another to that dignity in the room of *Certus*, who died ſoon after of grief [c] (E).

His too great lenity and indulgence.

ON

[a] Dio, l. lxviii. p. 770. [b] Plin. l. ix. epiſt. 13. [c] Idem ibid. Dio, p. 769.

(D) Having one day invited to his table, beſides many other perſons of diſtinction, *Junius Mauricus*, who had been baniſhed by *Domitian*, and *Fabricius Veiento*, a conſular, who, with his ſecret informations, had occaſioned the ruin of many illuſtrious citizens in the preceding reign, one of the gueſts happened to mention *Catullus Meſſalinus*, a noted informer under *Domitian*, when the emperor, hearing him named, *What would* Catullus *do*, ſaid he, *were he alive now? If he were alive now*, replied *Mauricus* with great freedom, *he would be at table with us*; which was a gentle reflection on the emperor's lenity and kindneſs to *Veiento*, and others, whom he ought rather to have puniſhed than careſſed (8).

(E) *Nerva* did not think it adviſeable to condemn him, as was then commonly believed, becauſe he lived in great friendſhip with the governor of *Syria*, who was at the head of a powerful army; which gave no ſmall umbrage to *Nerva* (9). Beſides, in the heat of the firſt proſecutions, ſome perſons, among the reſt, the philoſopher *Seras*, had been pu-

(8) *Vict. epit. Plin. l.* iv. *epiſt.* 22.

(9) *Idem, lib.* ix. *epiſt.* 13.

Virginius Rufus *dies.*

On the calends of *January*, *Nerva* entered upon his third conſulſhip, which was the firſt after his acceſſion to the empire; and choſe for his collegue *L. Virginius Rufus*, to whom the ſoldiers had frequently offered the empire. As *Virginius* was riſing, after he had aſſumed the faſces, to pronounce a ſpeech in praiſe of the emperor, according to the cuſtom which then obtained, he let a book drop out of his hand, and, as he ſtooped to take it up, fell himſelf, and had the misfortune to break his leg; which, as he was then in the eighty-third year of his age, occaſioned his death. He was, by the emperor's order, buried with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence; and *Cornelius Tacitus* the hiſtorian, whom *Nerva* named to the conſulate in his room, pronounced his funeral oration [d]. *Pliny* wrote another panegyric upon him in a letter which he ſent to one of his friends, acquainting him with the death of that illuſtrious citizen [e].

Calpurnius Craſſus *conſpires againſt* Nerva;

This year *Calpurnius Craſſus*, deſcended from the antient and illuſtrious family of the *Craſſi*, conſpired, with ſome others, againſt *Nerva*; who, being immediately informed of their wicked deſigns, ſent for them; and, carrying them with him to the public theatre, placed them next to himſelf, and preſented to them, as *Titus* had done on the like occaſion, the ſwords of the gladiators, which were always brought to, and viewed by, the emperor [f]. We are not told what effect this inſtance of generoſity had upon the conſpirators. All we know is, that *Craſſus*, having owned his crime, was, with his wife, baniſhed to *Tarentum*. The ſenate were for condemning both him, and his accomplices, to death; but the emperor, alleging the oath he had taken not to ſpill the blood of any ſenator, checked their zeal. Whereupon *Fronto*, to whom *Nerva* had reſigned the faſces, offended at the prince's unſeaſonable clemency, as he ſtiled it, ſaid boldly, that *it was a great misfortune to have a prince, under whom all things were criminal and forbidden; but a ſtill greater to be governed by one, under whom all things were allowed* [g]. The emperor was ſo far from reſenting this freedom, that thenceforth he acted with ſomewhat more ſeverity, taking for his counſellors ſuch of the ſenators as were perſons of great experience, and known integrity, and diſpatching, with their advice, all matters of conſequence.

who pardons him.

[d] Plin. lib. ii. epiſt. 1. [e] Idem ibid. [f] Dio, p. 770. Vict. epit. [g] Dio, p. 769.

niſhed with death as informers, and afterwards found innocent; which gave the good-natured emperor great uneaſineſs (1).

(1) *Dio, p.* 769.

The

THE ſame year the prætorian guards, headed by *Ælianus Caſperius* their commander, occaſioned diſturbances in the city, under colour of revenging the death of *Domitian*; flew to the palace, and there beſieged *Nerva*, demanding with great boldneſs, that all thoſe who had been any-way concerned in the aſſaſſination of the late emperor, might be forthwith delivered up to them, or publicly executed. *Nerva*, though naturally timorous, behaved on this occaſion with incredible firmneſs; for, offering his bare neck to the incenſed ſoldiery, he begged they would be ſatisfied with his life, and ſpare thoſe, to whom he was indebted for the empire, and whom, on that account, he could not in honour abandon. But his reſolution was to no effect; he was in the end conſtrained, as *Pliny* writes [h], to condemn thoſe, whom he ſtudied to preſerve at the expence of his own life; for the ſoldiers, without being in the leaſt awed or moved by him, cut in pieces *Petronius Secundus*, *Parthenius*, and the other conſpirators, as we read in *Victor the younger*, or, as he is by ſome ſtiled, *Victorinus* [i]. Neither did the mutinous ſoldiery ſtop here; but obliged the emperor to return them public thanks before the people, for putting to death the worſt and moſt wicked of men [k].

The prætorian guards raiſe a tumult.

Nerva is obliged to comply with their unjuſt demands.

THIS inſolence and boldneſs of the ſoldiery proved in the end very advantageous to the empire; for *Nerva*, finding himſelf deſpiſed on account of his infirmities, and old age, reſolved to name ſome perſon for his ſucceſſor, who ſhould be able, both to ſupport him, and to govern with equity and moderation after his death. He was not without many relations and friends of his own; but, as he had more at heart the welfare of the empire, than the grandeur of his family, he overlooked them, and choſe *Ulpius Trajan*, the greateſt and moſt deſerving perſon of that age, for his ſucceſſor, and at the ſame time adopted him in the capitol, declaring his adoption with a loud voice, thus: *With my hearty wiſhes for the proſperity of the ſenate and people of* Rome, *and that what I do may prove fortunate to them and myſelf, I declare* Marcus Ulpius Trajan *my ſon.* He afterwards gave him the title of *Cæſar*, with that of *Germanicus*, which he himſelf ſeems to have aſſumed about this time, inveſted him with the tribunitial power, and even honoured him with the title of *emperor*; ſo that he created him not only his ſucceſſor, but his partner in the empire: at the ſame time he named him conſul for the enſuing year [l]. The adoption of *Trajan*, which was received with great joy both by the ſenate and people, put a ſtop to the diſorders committed by the ſoldiery, who immediately re-

He adopts Ulpius Trajan.

[h] PLIN. pan. [i] VICT. in epit. [k] Id. ibid. [l] VICT. ibid. SID. car. vii. ver. 114. PLIN. panegyr. DIO, l. lxix. p. 770.

turned

turned to their duty. Towards the cloſe of this year, *Nerva* took upon him the title of *imperator*, on account of a victory gained over the *Germans* in *Pannonia* [m], of which we know not the particulars.

The death of Nerva.

THE following year he entered upon his fourth conſulſhip, having *Ulpius Trajan*, now the ſecond time conſul, for his collegue; but died ſoon after, according to ſome, on the twenty-firſt, according to others, on the twenty-ſeventh, of *January*. For, having heated himſelf in chiding with great acrimony the celebrated informer *Aquilius Regulus*, he was ſeized with a fever, which, as he was weak, and advanced in years, ſoon put an end to his life, after he had reigned ſixteen months, and eight, or, at moſt, nine days. He had lived, according to *Dio Caſſius* [n], ſixty-five years, ten months, and as many days; according to *Eutropius*, ſeventy-one; and, according to St. *Jerom*, ſeventy-three years [o]. He died in the *Salluſtian* gardens; whence his body was carried by the ſenate to the tomb of *Auguſtus* [p]. He was ranked amongſt the gods, and *Trajan*, out of gratitude, cauſed ſeveral temples to be erected to him both in *Rome*, and the provinces [q]. He was, no doubt, a prince of great wiſdom, generoſity, and moderation; but ſome of the provinces were more grievouſly oppreſſed in his reign than in that of *Domitian*, the governors, who dreaded *Domitian*, preſuming, upon the lenity and goodneſs of his ſucceſſor, to enrich themſelves at the expence of the unhappy people committed to their care. Theſe grievances *Nerva* would not have failed to redreſs, had he lived long enough to know them.

Is ranked amongſt the gods.

Trajan. Year of the flood 2446. Of Chr. 98. Of Rome 846.

His family, anceſtors, and preferments.

TRAJAN was a *Spaniard* both by birth and extraction, deſcended rather of an antient than an illuſtrious family, born in *Italica* near *Seville*, now known, according to ſome, by the name of *Old Seville*, according to others, by that of *Alcala del Rio* [r]. His father, named alſo *Trajan*, had been honoured with the conſulſhip, diſtinguiſhed with triumphal ornaments, and raiſed, no doubt by *Veſpaſian*, to the rank of a patrician [s]. *Trajan*, commander of the tenth legion, who ſignalized himſelf at the taking of *Japha*, as we read in *Joſephus* [t], was, we conjecture, father to the preſent emperor, who was born, according to moſt writers, in the twelfth year of the reign of *Claudius*, and fifty-ſecond of the Chriſtian æra [u]. He followed the profeſſion of arms from his early

[m] PLIN. panegyr. BIRAG. numiſ. p. 145. [n] DIO, l. lxix. p. 770. [o] EUSEB. chron. [p] VICT. epit. [q] PLIN. panegyr. EUTROP. SID. car. vii. ver. 113. [r] Vide BAUDR. p. 394. [s] PLIN. pan. EUTROP. [t] JOSEPH. bell. Jud. c. 11. [u] EUTROP. GOLTZ. GRUTER. &c.

youth,

youth, and ſerved ten years in quality of tribune [w]. He checked the pride of the *Parthians*, ſays his panegyriſt, while he was yet very young, and defeated their meaſures with the bare repute of his name [x]. But he then commanded, in all likelihood, under his father, to whom he gave, when emperor, the title of *Parthicus*, as appears from various medals [y]. He was prætor in the year 86. and conſul in 91. with *Acilius Glabrio*. Soon after his conſulſhip, he withdrew to *Spain*, dreading the cruelty of *Domitian*; and there led a retired life, till he was by that prince recalled, and appointed governor of *Lower Germany* [z]; which muſt have been after the revolt and defeat of *Antoninus* in 88. for, had he had any ſhare in that victory, *Pliny* would have mentioned it in his panegyric. While he was governor of *Germany*, he performed nothing which his panegyriſt thought worth mentioning, ſince he only ſays, that, while he governed in *Germany*, he gained the affections of the ſoldiery; but, notwithſtanding their inviolable attachment, never entertained the leaſt thought of revolting from the worſt of princes, to whom he had ſworn allegiance, and ſeizing, as he might, the empire for himſelf [a].

Is adopted by Nerva.

He was ſtill governor of *Germany*, when *Nerva* adopted him for his ſon, appointed him his ſucceſſor, and took him for his partner in the empire, as we have related above. To this choice *Nerva* was directed by the extraordinary merit of *Trajan*, and a ſincere deſire of continuing to all the nations ſubject to the empire that happineſs which they enjoyed in his reign. And truly *Trajan* poſſeſſed in an eminent degree all thoſe qualities which form a great, an excellent prince. He was, when preferred to the empire, in the forty-ſecond, or, as ſome will have it, the forty-fifth, year of his age, and conſequently neither ſubject to the vices of youth, raſhneſs, and precipitation, nor to the weakneſs and inolence attending old age. His body was robuſt, and inured to fatigue; his countenance comely and majeſtic; his ſtature regular and tall; and his behaviour extremely engaging [b]. He was not himſelf a man of learning, having from his childhood been brought up in the camp; but favoured the learned, and encouraged in others what he himſelf wanted. As to military affairs, he was, without diſpute, the beſt commander of his age, and equal to the greateſt generals of antiquity. In every duty of war he was indefatigable; he marched always on foot at the head of the army, even after he was emperor; and croſſed immenſe countries without ever once mounting on horſeback,

Trajan *an excellent commander.*

[w] Plin. pan. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Spanh. l. vii. p. 851.
[z] Dio, l. lxvii. p. 765. Spartian. p. 1, 8. Plin. panegyr.
[a] Plin. ibid. [b] Idem ibid.

or ſuffering himſelf to be carried, as other emperors had done, in a chariot or litter. His diet was ſuch as chance preſented. In his garb, and general dreſs, he little varied from a common ſoldier. Upon conſultations and diſpatches he beſtowed nights and days. He never retired to his tent, till he had viſited the camp, and was always the firſt in the field when the uſual exerciſes were to be performed. He was acquainted with all the old ſoldiers, called them by their names, remembred their exploits, and familiarly converſed with them; but at the ſame time knew how to keep them to their duty [c]. He was great in war, and equally great in peace. When he firſt aſſumed the ſovereign power, he publicly profeſſed, that he did not think himſelf, in that high ſtation, more exempt from the obſervance of the laws, than the meaneſt of the populace; and accordingly took an oath to obey them, which he religiouſly obſerved; and thence *Pliny* ſays, that all the emperors before him had made the ſame profeſſions, but their profeſſions were not believed.

His moderation, affability, generoſity, and other virtues.

WHAT they had promiſed to be, *Trajan* was; for he poſſeſſed the place of a lawful prince, only to prevent the exerciſe of lawleſs power [d]. He delighted to ſee his people happy, and had nothing ſo much at heart as to make them ſo. To accompliſh this, he chearfully leſſened his revenue, leſſened his authority, and reſtrained his prerogative, where it ſeemed in the leaſt to interfere with the intereſt and happineſs of his people. He was aware, that overbearing pride was not the means to win affection or eſteem; and that condeſcenſion in a prince is not irreconcileable with his dignity, but rather a ſure way to raiſe it: he therefore lived with his people rather like a father with his children, than a prince with his ſubjects [e]. He advanced none but the moſt virtuous and worthy; and ſuch as were otherwiſe, he choſe to reform and reclaim rather with gentleneſs and clemency, than with rigour and ſeverity. On his taking upon him the empire, he declared in full ſenate, that no good man ſhould ever be put to death by his orders, which he confirmed by a ſolemn oath, and religiouſly obſerved it. He ſuffered but few ſtatues to be erected to him, checked ſuch as offered to flatter him, and would not allow any extraordinary honours to be conferred upon him. His palace was conſtantly open to perſons of all ranks, whom he received with extraordinary kindneſs, heard with great patience, and ſtrove, as far as in him lay, to diſmiſs none from his preſence diſſatisfied; looking upon himſelf as raiſed to that high poſt, not for his own advantage, but for that of others. To the

[c] PLIN. panegyr. DIO, l. lxviii. p. 772. [d] PLIN. ibid.
[e] Idem ibid. DIO, p. 773. VICT. in epit.

reſt

reſt of his great qualities; he added that of veracity, acting in council, in public negotiations, and with private men, without thoſe little artifices which wiſe men deſpiſe, and none but the apes of wiſe men practiſe. He would never ſuffer any one to be condemned upon ſuſpicions, however ſtrong and well-grounded, ſaying, it was better a thouſand criminals ſhould eſcape unpuniſhed, than one innocent perſon be condemned [f]. When he appointed *Suburranus* captain of his guards, in preſenting him, according to cuſtom, with a drawn ſword, the badge of his office, he uſed theſe memorable words; *Pro me; ſi merear, in me: Employ this ſword for me; but turn it, if I deſerve it, againſt me* [g].

Allows his freedmen no power.

He allowed none of his freedmen any ſhare in the adminiſtration, telling them, that he, and not they, was inveſted with the ſovereign power, and therefore warning them not to aſſume any authority inconſiſtent with their rank (F). He is ſaid to have excelled even *Nerva* himſelf in generoſity, and all the preceding princes in the largeſſes with which he relieved, not only the citizens of *Rome*, but the indigent people in all the provinces of the empire: whence he was by all nations looked upon as a common father, and, as ſuch, loved and revered [h]. However, he was not without ſome faults: he was addicted to wine (G). *Pliny* extols his chaſtity [i]; but *Dio* owns, that he abandoned himſelf to the moſt infamous and unnatural practices [k]; and agrees therein both with *Spar-*

His faults.

[f] Plin. panegyr. Vict. epit. Dio, p. 771. [g] Dio, p. 778. Aur. Victor. [h] Dio, & Plin. ibid. [i] Plin. pan. p. 36. [k] Dio, p. 772.

(F) Some perſons having a ſuit with one of them, by name *Eurythmus*, and ſeeming to fear the imperial freedman, *Trajan* aſſured them, that the cauſe ſhould be heard, diſcuſſed, and decided, according to the ſtricteſt laws of juſtice; adding, *For neither is he* Polycletus, *nor I* Nero. *Polycletus*, of whom we ſpoke in the reign of *Nero*; was that prince's favourite freedman.

(G) This fault *Dio Caſſius* owns; but adds, that he never drank to exceſs (2). On the other hand, *Aurelius Victor* aſſures us, that he injoined all his officers not to put in execution ſuch orders as he ſhould give at or after his banquets (3); and *Julian*, ſurnamed *the Apoſtate*, writes, that *Trajan* had a talent for eloquence, and would have applied himſelf with ſucceſs to that ſtudy, had he not, by immoderate drinking, impaired his natural capacity (4).

(2) *Dio, p.* 772. (3) *Aur. Vict. in Adrian. p.* 2. (4) *Jul Cæſ. p.* 39.

tian[l], and the emperor *Julian*[m], who likewiſe charges him with lazineſs, for ſuffering *Sura* to write moſt of his letters[n]. He loved gay amuſements and diverſions; but from hence aroſe no neglect or relaxation in his conducting his public affairs. He was ſomewhat ambitious, and more deſirous of extending the confines of the empire, than was conſiſtent with juſtice (H). He ſuffered himſelf to be ſtiled *Lord*, as appears from *Pliny*'s epiſtles to him; a title, which other good emperors, and *Auguſtus* himſelf, had conſtantly refuſed, and he ſeems at firſt to have declined[o]. He likewiſe allowed ſacrifices to be offered to his ſtatues, and people to ſwear by his life and eternity, as moſt ſacred things[p]. We ſhall now purſue the hiſtory of his reign, according to the order of time.

He accepts the title of Cæſar, *and the empire.*

TRAJAN commanded, as we have related above, a powerful army in *Lower Germany*, when he was adopted by *Nerva*, and declared his ſucceſſor, which happened about the latter end of the year 97. He declined at firſt accepting that high poſt; but was ſoon prevailed upon by the officers of his own army, and the deputies diſpatched to him from the armies in *Upper Germany*, and in *Mœſia*, to yield, and aſſume the title of *Cæſar*. He did not ſeem in the leaſt elated with his new dignity, chooſing rather to be looked upon by his ſoldiers as their general, than their emperor[q]. *Nerva* dying ſoon after, that is, on the twenty-firſt or twenty-ſeventh of *January* of the following year, tidings of his death were firſt brought to him by *Adrian* his couſin. Hereupon *Trajan*, who was then at *Cologne*, immediately aſſumed the title of *Auguſtus*, and was acknowleged as ſuch by the armies in *Germany* and *Mœſia*, who with great joy ſwore allegiance to him[r]. He had no ſooner taken poſſeſſion of the empire, than he wrote to the ſenate, aſſuring them upon his oath, that no man of probity

[l] SPART. in Adrian. p. 38.
[m] JUL. Cæſ. p. 12.
[n] Idem, l. x. epiſt. 102, & 89.
[o] PLIN. panegyr. p. 4, & 106.
[p] Idem, l. x. epiſt. 53.
[q] Idem, panegyr.
[r] Idem,

(H) When he affirmed any thing for certain, he uſed to add; *So may I ſee* Dacia *reduced to a province, and paſs the* Euphrates, *and the* Danube, *on bridges built by myſelf* (5). He ſuffered his name to be placed on the buildings which he had only repaired, as if they had been founded by him: whence he was nicknamed *Parietarius*, which name is common to all plants growing on walls (6).

(5) *Ammian. l.* xxiv.
(6) *Idem, l.* xxvii.

ſhould

ſhould ever by his orders be either put to death, or injured in his fortune [s]. He did not immediately leave *Germany*, but continued there all this, and part of the following year; for the time of his conſulſhip was expired, as *Pliny* informs us [t], before he ſet out for *Rome*. All the *German* nations ſent deputies to him, congratulating him upon his acceſſion to the empire; and the barbarians, who dwelt beyond the *Danube*, and uſed, during the winter, to paſs that river on the ice, and commit great devaſtations on the *Roman* territories, hearing that *Trajan* was created emperor, refrained from all hoſtilities, not daring to provoke ſo great a commander, now at liberty to chaſtize them [u] (I).

The barbarians awed by his preſence.

THE next conſuls were *Aulus Cornelius Palma* and *Caius Soſius Senecio*, to whom *Plutarch* inſcribed ſeveral of the lives he wrote, and ſome of his moral works. The ſenate had offered the conſulate to *Trajan*; but, he declining it, though

[s] DIO, l. lxviii. p. 771. [t] PLIN. pan. [u] Idem ibid.

(I) *Tacitus* the hiſtorian, in his book *of the cuſtoms of the* Germans, marks the years to the ſecond conſulate of *Trajan*; whence ſome have concluded, that the ſaid book was compoſed this year, *Trajan* being now conſul the ſecond time. He ſpeaks there of the expulſion of the *Bructerians* by the *Chamavians* and *Angrivarians*, as a thing lately happened; and adds, that the gods vouchſafed to gratify the *Romans* with the ſight of a battle fought by the barbarians, in which, ſays our hiſtorian, there fell above ſixty thouſand ſouls, without a blow ſtruck by us; and, what is a circumſtance ſtill more glorious, they fell to furniſh us with a ſpectacle of joy and recreation. May the gods, concludes *Tacitus*, perpetuate amongſt theſe nations, if not love for us, yet by all means hatred towards each other, ſince they cannot more ſignally befriend us, than by ſowing diviſions amongſt our foes (7)! The *Bructerians*, who were thus expulſed, and, as *Tacitus* writes, utterly extirpated, are thought to have inhabited the country about *Rees* and *Emmerik* in the duchy of *Cleves* (8). However, the *Bructerians* were not utterly exterminated, as *Tacitus* ſeems to ſuppoſe; but, being driven with great ſlaughter from their antient habitations, they ſettled in the preſent county of *Naſſau*, where they gave the *Romans* no ſmall trouble, as we ſhall relate in the ſequel of this hiſtory. *Pliny* tells us, that *Trajan* cauſed a ſtatue to be erected to *Veſtricius Spurinna*, for having conſtrained the *Bructerians*, notwithſtanding their fierceneſs and arrogance, to receive their king (9), whom, it ſeems, they had driven out. But this muſt have happened before the battle and defeat mentioned by *Tacitus*.

(7) *Tacit. de Ger. c.* 37. (8) *Buch. Belg. l.* v. *c.* 1. (9) *Plin. l.* ii. *epiſt.* 7.

all the emperors, ever ſince the time of *Claudius*, had aſſumed that dignity the year after their acceſſion to the empire, *Palma* and *Senecio*, his two chief favourites, were appointed in his room [w]. This year *Trajan* left *Germany*, and ſet out for *Rome*: his march proved no-way burdenſome to the provinces through which he paſſed, no man being injured either in his perſon or fortune by the emperor, or his numerous attendants. He cauſed the expences of his march, and that of *Domitian* when he went into *Gaul*, to be computed, and inſerted in the public regiſters, that his ſucceſſors might thence learn how conduct themſelves on the like occaſion [x]. He entered *Rome* on foot, and was there received, by perſons of all ranks, with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy imaginable, the people of *Rome* promiſing themſelves complete happineſs under ſo good and ſo great a prince. He tenderly embraced his old friends, who came to meet him; and would not be treated by them as their ſovereign, but as a friend, aſſuring them, that ſuch they ſhould find him on all occaſions. He went ſtrait to the capitol, attended by the ſenate, and the whole city, and thence to the palace [y].

Trajan ſets out for Rome.

How received there.

The title of Optimus *decreed to the emperor.*

THE ſenate decreed the emperor, ſoon after his arrival, the title of *Optimus*; which he willingly accepted, and ſeemed to value above all thoſe which were afterwards conferred upon him on account of his victories [z]. However, we do not find it in any inſcription amongſt his other titles till the year 110. the thirteenth of his reign [a]. This year he paid part of the donative which he had promiſed, according to cuſtom, to the ſoldiery; and made large diſtributions both of money and corn amongſt the *Roman* people, extending his generoſity to ſuch as were abſent, and even to children, who had been hitherto excluded from any ſhare in ſuch largeſſes till eleven years old [b]. By means of theſe largeſſes, which he frequently renewed, he is ſaid to have ſupported near two millions of ſouls [c]. He did not confine the effects of his good-nature to *Rome* alone, but appointed very conſiderable ſums to be paid yearly out of the exchequer, for the maintenance of children, whom their indigent parents could not, without great difficulty, bring up and ſupport (K).

His largeſſes.

[w] PLIN. pan. p. 110—115. [x] Idem ibid. p. 37. [y] Idem ibid. p. 38, 39. [z] DIO, p. 781. [a] Vide FABRETTI de column. Trajan. c. 9. BIRAG. p. 149. SPART. p. 16. [b] PLIN. panegyr. p. 44. [c] Vide SPART. not. Caſaubon. p. 122.

(K) To this unbounded generoſity allude, no doubt, ſeveral medals ſtruck this or the following year, which repreſent *Trajan* diſtributing corn to children, with the following legend, *He nouriſhes* Italy (1).

(1) *Occonis numiſm. p.* 202, 205.

He

He took great care, that *Rome* ſhould be ſupplied with plenty of proviſions, eſpecially with corn, which, during the whole time of his reign, was ſold at a very low rate: he exhibited ſeveral ſhews, and a combat of gladiators, to ſatisfy the populace, fond of ſuch diverſions; but drove out of *Rome* the players, who had been baniſhed by *Domitian*, but, at the requeſt of the people, recalled by *Nerva*. He publiſhed ſeveral laws againſt informers, and confined to the iſlands ſuch of that tribe as had been ſpared by *Nerva*, utterly aboliſhing the ſo much hated law of majeſty. He repaired, at a vaſt charge, ſeveral old buildings, and enlarged the circus; but would not ſuffer the people to return him thanks for his public works; nay, he iſſued an edict, forbidding his name to be mentioned either in the circus, or the theatre, which, till then, had reſounded, ſays *Pliny*, with the praiſes of wicked princes [d]. All theſe things are related by *Pliny* as happening in the ſecond year of *Trajan*'s reign, before the time appointed for the electing of conſuls. The people had, it ſeems, recovered their antient privilege of creating magiſtrates; for *Trajan*, whom the ſenate had preſſed to accept a third conſulſhip, appeared amongſt the other candidates, begging, like a private citizen, the ſuffrages of the tribes [e]. He choſe for his collegue *Fronto*, according to ſome; *Frontinus*, according to others; for both *M. Julius Fronto*, and *Sextus Julius Frontinus*, who wrote a treatiſe on aqueducts, lived at this time. In the ſame aſſembly, *Pliny* and *Tertullus Cornutus* were appointed to ſucceed *Fronto* or *Frontinus*, and others to ſucceed them; for at this time few conſuls held that dignity above three months.

Is an enemy to informers.

His modeſty.

IN the beginning of the year, *Trajan* had no ſooner aſſumed the faſces, than he aſcended the roſtra, and, in the preſence of the people, bound himſelf by a ſolemn oath to obſerve the laws, declaring, that what was forbidden to private citizens was equally forbidden to good princes, who, as they are not above the laws, are no leſs bound, than the meaneſt of the populace, to conform to them: hence to the public vows, which were in the beginning of each year offered for the health and proſperity of the emperor, he added theſe conditions; *If he obſerves the laws; if he governs the republic as he ought; if he procures the happineſs of his people* [f]. Before *Trajan* reſigned the faſces, the cauſe of *Marius Priſcus*, accuſed by a city of *Africa*, and by ſeveral particular perſons, of extortion during his proconſulate, was heard by the emperor and ſenate. *Pliny*, and *Tacitus* the hiſtorian, pleaded for the *Africans*; and the tryal laſted three days, the emperor hearkening the whole

Binds himſelf by a ſolemn oath to obſerve all the laws.

Marius Priſcus *tried, and condemned.*

[d] PLIN. pan. p. 74. & l. x. epiſt. 88. DIO in excerpt. VAL. P. 799. [e] PLIN. pan. p. 120. [f] Idem ibid. p. 134.

time with great attention to the reaſons alleged on both ſides, without ever betraying the leaſt byas to either. In the end, *Priſcus* was degraded from the rank of ſenator, and baniſhed *Italy:* at the ſame time *Hoſtilius Firminus*, his lieutenant and accomplice, was declared incapable of holding any employment in the empire [g]. This is, no doubt, the *Marius*, who, in ſpite of the angry gods, enjoyed, as we read in *Juvenal* [h], even in exile, the immenſe wealth which he had accumulated by the moſt wicked means; while *Africa* bewailed, without redreſs, the loſſes it had ſuſtained by his avarice: hence the poet calls his condemnation *an empty judgment*.

The tryal of Claſſicus.

THE condemnation of *Marius Priſcus* was followed by that of *Claſſicus* proconſul of *Bætica*, or rather of his accomplices: for *Claſſicus*, finding himſelf accuſed of extortion by the whole province, laid violent hands on himſelf before the time appointed for his tryal. However, the province purſued their action againſt his accomplices, who had ſhared in his rapines; and they were, by means of *Pliny*, who pleaded in behalf of the province, all condemned. The eſtate, which *Claſſicus* poſſeſſed before he was ſent into *Spain*, was adjudged to his daughter; but the reſt was diſtributed amongſt thoſe whom he had plundered during his adminiſtration: *Bebius Probus*, and *Fabius Hiſpanus*, the miniſters of his rapines, were baniſhed for five years, though they alleged in their defence, that they were obliged blindly to obey the orders of the proconſul. *Stillonius Priſcus*, who had commanded a cohort under *Claſſicus*, was baniſhed *Italy* for two years: the daughter of *Claſſicus* was likewiſe accuſed by the province; but *Pliny*, judging her innocent, declined pleading againſt her; whence the proſecution was dropped [i]. *Norbanus Licinianus*, who had been lieutenant to *Claſſicus*, but his declared enemy, was at the ſame time condemned for other crimes, not mentioned by hiſtorians, and confined to one of the iſlands in the *Archipelago* [k] (L). Towards the end of this year, *Julia Sabina*,

[g] PLIN. l. x. epiſt. 4. l. ii. ep. 11. l. vi. epiſt. 29. l. iii. ep. 9.
[h] JUVENAL. ſat. i. ver. 49. & ſat. viii. ver. 120. [i] PLIN. l. iii. epiſt. 4, & 9. [k] Idem ibid. epiſt. 9.

(L) For what we have hitherto related of *Trajan*'s adminiſtration, we are chiefly indebted to *Pliny*, from whoſe panegyric on that prince we have copied it. *Pliny* pronounced his ſpeech in the ſenate when he entered upon his conſulſhip, having compoſed it before at the requeſt of the ſenators. After he had delivered it in full ſenate, he added, as he himſelf informs us, many things to it, that it might ſerve as a model for other princes. Before he publiſhed it, he rehearſed it before ſome of his friends, who for

Sabina, grand-daughter to *Marciana* the emperor's ſiſter, was married to *Adrian* the ſon of *Ælius Adrian Afer*, couſin to *Trajan*. This match, which in the end proved unhappy to both, was concluded by the empreſs *Plotina*, who had a particular kindneſs for *Adrian*, the emperor himſelf rather conſenting to it, than approving it [l]. Adrian *marries* Julia Sabina.

THE following year *Trajan*, at the earneſt requeſt of the ſenate, entered upon his fourth conſulſhip, having, for his collegue, according to ſome [m], *Sextus Articuleius Pætus*; according to others [n], *P. Orfitus*. The ſame year *Bebius Macer*, *Cæpio Hiſpo*, *Valerius Paulinus*, and *Caius Cæcilius Strabo*, were honoured with the conſular dignity [o]. *Adrian* was this year quæſtor, and charged with the care of the regiſters of the ſenate [p]; which employment he ſoon reſigned, to attend the emperor in the war he undertook againſt the *Dacians*. *Decebalus* king of the *Dacians* obliged *Domitian*, as we have related in that prince's reign, to purchaſe a peace with a large ſum; which he engaged to pay yearly to *Decebalus*. To this tribute *Trajan* would not ſubmit, alleging, that he had not been conquered by *Decebalus*. Beſides, the *Dacians* grew daily more formidable, and their king maintained a good underſtanding with *Pacorus* king of the *Parthians*, which gave *Trajan* no ſmall jealouſy. When he, therefore, heard, that the *Dacians* had paſſed the *Danube*, and committed ſome hoſtilities, he was glad of that pretence to make war upon them, and humble an enemy, whoſe power he began to fear. He immediately drew together a mighty army, marched with incredible expedition to the banks of the *Danube*, paſſed that river without oppoſition, *Deceba-* Trajan's *firſt war with the* Dacians. Year of the flood 2450. Of Chr. 102. Of Rome 850.

[l] SPART. in Adrian. [m] IDAT. in faſt. [n] ONUPH. in faſt. [o] PLIN. l. iv. epiſt. 3. 12. 17. [p] SPART. in Adrian.

for three days together heard him with great attention; which he aſcribes, not to the elegance or beauties of his performance, but to their being perſuaded, that the praiſes which he beſtowed on *Trajan* were a ſincere encomium on that prince, and altogether free from flattery. *Pliny* himſelf aſſures us, that ſuch paſſages in his diſcourſe, as were the leaſt ſtudied, pleaſed moſt; which gave him no ſmall ſatisfaction; for thence he began to entertain hopes of ſeeing the true taſte revive, and the maſculine eloquence of the antients again admired. He ſent his diſcourſe, which he ſtiles a book, to one of his friends, begging him to mark what he diſliked in it, that he might by that means be ſure he approved of the reſt (2).

(2) *Plin. l.* iii. *epiſt.* 13. 18.

Ius

lus not being appriſed of his arrival, and entered *Dacia*, committing every-where dreadful devaſtations. *Decebalus*, however, was not in the leaſt diſmayed; he armed all the youth of the country, and boldly advanced to meet the *Romans*, pitching his camp at a ſmall diſtance from their intrenchments. *Trajæn* immediately drew out his men, in order to offer the enemy battle. As he advanced to the place where they lay, a large muſhroom was found, and brought to him, with the following words in *Latin* cut upon it: *Your allies, eſpecially the* Byrrhi, *adviſe you to conclude a peace with the* Dacians, *and to retire.* *Trajan*, deſpiſing that advice, continued advancing in order of battle, till he diſcovered *Decebalus*, at the head of a powerful army, coming full march to meet him. He then halted, to encourage his men; which he did in a few words, and then ordered the trumpets to ſound the charge. All we know of this action is, that great numbers of the enemy fell, and that the *Romans* gained the victory; which, however, coſt them dear, the wounded on their ſide being ſo numerous, that they wanted linen to bind up their wounds; whereupon *Trajan* tore his own robes, to ſupply that want. Such as fell in the battle, he cauſed to be interred with great ſolemnity; and ordered an altar to be built on the ſpot, and ſacrifices to be yearly offered in honour of the deceaſed [q]. *Trajan*, purſuing the advantage of his victory, followed the enemy cloſe; and, without giving them time to levy new forces, haraſſed them without intermiſſion to ſuch a degree, that *Decebalus*, reduced almoſt to deſpair, ſent ſome of his chief lords with propoſals of peace. *Trajan* appointed *Licinius Sura*, and *Claudius Libianus*, captain of the prætorian guards, to treat with them; but, the deputies not agreeing, *Trajan* continued his ravages, advancing from one hill to another, not without great danger, till he arrived in the neighbourhood of *Zermizegethuſa*, the metropolis of *Dacia*. On the other ſide, *Maximus*, one of the *Roman* generals, made himſelf maſter of ſeveral ſtrong-holds, in one of which he took the ſiſter of *Decebalus* priſoner, and recovered a *Roman* ſtandard, which had been loſt when *Fuſcus* was defeated and killed in the reign of *Domitian*.

The Dacians *defeated.*

Trajan's *humanity to the wounded.*

Decebalus *king of the* Dacians *ſues for peace:*

AT length *Decebalus*, no longer able to withſtand the *Romans*, and dreading the deſtruction of his capital, which would be attended with the loſs of his whole kingdom, diſpatched anew embaſſadors to *Trajan*, offering to accept ſuch conditions as he ſhould think fit to impoſe. Accordingly *Trajan* granted him a peace upon the following terms: 1. That he ſhould ſurrender the territories which he had unjuſtly taken

which is granted

[q] Dio, l. lxviii. p. 771—774.

from

from the neighbouring nations. 2. That he ſhould deliver up his arms, his warlike engines, and the artificers who made them, with all the *Roman* deſerters. 3. That, for the future, he ſhould entertain no deſerters, nor take into his ſervice the natives of any country ſubject to *Rome*. 4. That he ſhould diſmantle all his fortreſſes, caſtles, and ſtrong-holds. And, laſtly, That he ſhould have the ſame friends and foes with the people of *Rome*. With theſe articles *Decebalus* complied, though much againſt his will; and, having ſworn to obſerve them, he was introduced to *Trajan*, before whom he threw himſelf on the ground, acknowleging himſelf his vaſſal. *Trajan* commanded him to ſend deputies to the ſenate, for the ratification of the peace; which he did accordingly. The war being thus ended, *Trajan*, having placed gariſons in moſt of the cities of *Dacia*, returned to *Rome*; which he entered in triumph, either in the end of this, or the beginning of the following year, and took the ſurname of *Dacicus*, being the firſt *Roman* who had ever triumphed over that nation [r].

him upon hard terms.

Trajan *the firſt who triumphed over the* Dacians.

THE following year one *Suranus*, of whom we find no farther mention in hiſtory, and *L. Licinius Sura*, or, as ſome ſtile him, *Suras*, were choſen conſuls. *Sura* was *Trajan*'s chief favourite, and had employed all his intereſt with *Nerva* in his behalf; whence to him chiefly, after *Nerva*, *Trajan* acknowleged himſelf indebted for his adoption and preferment [s] (M). This year *Trajan*, at the requeſt of the ſenate, and

Licinius Sura *the emperor's chief favourite.*

[r] DIO, p. 710. SPART. in Adrian. GOLTZ. p. 646. EUSEB. in chron. p. 341.

[s] VICT. in epit.

(M) He was, as *Gruter* conjectures from ſeveral antient inſcriptions (3), a native of *Spain*, born either in *Tarragon* or *Barcelona*, extremely rich, and thence envied by many even of *Trajan*'s friends, who, by falſe inſinuations, ſtrove to eſtrange the prince's mind from him, as if he harboured evil deſigns. But *Trajan*, who repoſed an intire confidence in him, inſtead of hearkening to his enemies, went one night to ſup with him, without being invited; and, diſmiſſing his guards, ordered *Sura*'s ſurgeon to apply a remedy to his eyes; truſted himſelf to his barber, who ſhaved him; then bathed, and ſupped with *Sura*, without ever betraying the leaſt diffidence or fear. The next morning, he told thoſe about him, who were always ſuggeſting ſomething againſt *Sura*, "If he entertained any evil deſigns "againſt me, he would have put "them in execution laſt night "(4)." *Sura* was ſtill alive in the year 109. the twelfth of *Trajan*'s reign, when *Adrian*, whom he had

(3) *Gruter. p.* 249.

(4) *Dio, ibid. p.* 777.

always

Pleaders forbidden to receive fees.

and at the motion of *Nigrinus* tribune of the people, publiſhed an edict, ſubjecting ſuch pleaders, as received fees from their clients, to the penalties of the law againſt extortion: and *Licinius Nepos* prætor, upon his taking poſſeſſion of that office, procured a decree from the ſenate, commanding the parties, before their cauſe began to be tried, to ſwear, that they had neither given nor promiſed any fee, preſent, or reward, to thoſe who were to plead in their behalf. *Pliny* takes notice of this law, and declares, that he was pleaſed to ſee that forbidden to others, which he had never practiſed himſelf [t]. Towards the end of the year, *Trajan* aſſumed twice the title of emperor [u], for victories which were gained by ſome of his lieutenants (for he himſelf continued the whole year at *Rome*), but are not mentioned by any hiſtorian.

The port of Centum-cellæ.

THE next conſuls were, *Trajan* the fifth time, and *Lucius Appius Maximus*, who had ſignalized himſelf in the *Dacian* war. This year *Trajan* began, and finiſhed two years after, a magnificent and convenient harbour at *Centumcellæ*, now *Civita Vecchia*, which he called, after his own name, *the harbour of* Trajan [w]. It is mentioned by *Ptolemy*, and deſcribed by *Rutilius* in his poem [x].

Pliny *appointed governor of* Pontus *and* Bithynia.

Pliny was this year ſent to govern *Pontus* and *Bithynia*, not in quality of proconſul, as others had been, but of lieutenant and proprætor, with conſular authority; that is, he was not appointed governor of that province by the ſenate, but by the emperor, though the province of *Pontus* and *Bithynia* belonged to the ſenate. As there were many abuſes in that province to reform, the emperor ſent *Pliny* thither, with an extraordinary authority, as his lieutenant; but afterwards allowed the ſenate to appoint the governors as formerly, *Adrian* being the firſt who took the province of *Pontus* and *Bithynia* from the ſenate, and gave them *Pamphylia* in the room of it [y]. *Pliny* was particularly commiſſioned to examine the revenues and expences of the cities within his juriſdiction, and to retrench all unneceſſary charges [z]; but the emperor would not impower him to recal

[t] PLIN. l. v. epiſt. 14. [u] GOLTZ. p. 64. [w] PLIN. l. vi. epiſt. 31. OCCO. numiſm. p. 212. [x] RUTIL. p. 132. [y] DIO in excerpt. VALES. p. 714. [z] PLIN. l. x. epiſt. 19.

always favoured, was conſul; but died ſoon after, having aſſured *Adrian* before he died, that *Trajan* would in the end adopt him (5). *Trajan* cauſed his funeral to be performed with the utmoſt magnificence, erected a ſtatue to him, and called certain ſplendid baths, which he built, after his name.

(5) *Spart. in Adrian.*

ſuch

ſuch as had been baniſhed by other governors [a], nor even thoſe whom he himſelf ſhould think fit to baniſh [b]. *Pliny* wrote an account of his journey to the emperor; whence it appears, that he arrived in *Bithynia* on the ſeventeenth of *September*, and *Servilius Pudens* his lieutenant on the twenty-fourth of *November* [c].

THE following year, *L. Licinius Sura* and *M. Marcellus* being conſuls, *Sauromates* king of *Boſporus* ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to *Trajan*, and entered into an alliance with him, and the *Roman* people [d]. Soon after, *Decebalus* king of the *Dacians*, not able to live in ſubjection and ſervitude (for ſo he called the peace which *Trajan* had granted him), began, contrary to the late treaty, to raiſe men, provide arms, entertain deſerters, fortify his caſtles, and invite the neighbouring nations to join him againſt the *Romans* as a common enemy. The *Scythians* hearkened to his ſolicitations; but the *Iazyges* refuſing to bear arms againſt *Rome*, he invaded their country, and ſeized that part of it which bordered on the *Danube*. Hereupon *Decebalus* was by the ſenate declared an enemy; and *Trajan*, not caring to commit the management of the war to another, marched againſt him in perſon. *Decebalus*, not finding himſelf in a condition to withſtand him by open force, had recourſe to deceit and treachery, ſending aſſaſſins, under the name of deſerters, to murder him; but one of theſe, being apprehended upon ſuſpicion, and put to the torture, diſcovered the whole plot, and named his accomplices, who were immediately ſeized and executed. *Decebalus*, failing in this attempt, invited *Longinus*, one of *Trajan*'s favourites, and chief commanders, to a conference, as if he deſigned to put an end to the war, by ſubmitting to the articles of the former treaty, with ſome ſmall alteration. *Longinus*, not ſuſpecting any treachery, complied with the invitation. But *Decebalus* immediately ſeized him; and, after having attempted in vain to make him diſcover the deſigns of the emperor, he wrote to *Trajan*, offering to ſet *Longinus* at liberty, upon condition that he would grant him an honourable peace, reſtore the country bordering on the *Danube*, and defray all the charges of the war; adding, that, if theſe conditions were not complied with, he would inſtantly put *Longinus* to death. *Trajan* returned him a judicious anſwer, neither ſeeming to undervalue the life of his favourite, nor yet to make ſuch account of it, as to purchaſe it at too high a rate. But, while *Decebalus* was deliberating with himſelf, and in ſuſpenſe, about the meaſures

Decebalus violates the articles of the treaty.

Year of the flood 2453. Of Chr. 105. Of Rome 853.

His treachery.

[a] PLIN. l. x. epiſt. 44. [b] Idem ibid. epiſt. 57. [c] Idem ibid. epiſt. 17, 18. 26. 34. [d] Idem ibid. epiſt. 68, 69. 73, 74.

he

he ſhould purſue, *Longinus*, by a doſe of poiſon, which was privately conveyed to him by a freedman, put an end to his life. *Decebalus* immediately diſpatched to *Trajan* a centurion taken with *Longinus*, offering him the body of the deceaſed general, with ten captives, provided he would deliver up the freedman, whom *Longinus* had ſent, before he took the poiſon, to the emperor, under colour of negotiating a treaty; but *Trajan* would neither hearken to the propoſal, nor even ſuffer the centurion to return.

Trajan *builds a bridge over the* Danube.

In the mean time *Trajan*, that his troops might with more eaſe paſs the *Danube*, built a bridge over that ſpacious river, which, by the antients, is ſtiled the moſt magnificent and wonderful of all his works, and the moſt ſtately fabric of that nature in the univerſe. It was all of ſquare ſtone, and contained twenty arches, each of them one hundred and fifty feet above the foundation, and ſixty feet in breadth, all diſtant from each other one hundred and ſeventy feet. It was built where the river was narroweſt, and conſequently where the ſtream was ſtrongeſt, and moſt rapid; which renders the fabric ſtill more ſtupendous and amazing, on account of the almoſt unſurmountable difficulties they muſt have met with in laying ſo large a foundation [e]. The architect employed on this occaſion was one *Apollodorus* of *Damaſcus*, who, it ſeems, left a deſcription of this great work [f]. *Trajan* ordered two caſtles to be built, to guard the bridge, one on the *Roman*, the other on the *Dacian* ſide of the river (N). This ſtupen-

[e] Dio, l. lxviii. p. 776. [f] Procop. de ædificiis Juſtin. l. iv. c. 6.

(N) *Pliny* mentions this in the ſhort account he gives us of the *Dacian* war (6); and ſeveral medals, repreſenting it, have reached our times (7). It was built in the *Upper Mœſia*, which, in the time of *Aurelian*, began to be called *Dacia* (8). We are told, that ſome remains of it are ſtill to be ſeen near *Zeverin* in *Lower Hungary* (9). *Trajan* built it, that the *Roman* forces might with eaſe and readineſs paſs the *Danube*, and fall upon the barbarians in their own country; but *Adrian*, fearing the barbarians might make uſe of it to invade the *Roman* territories, broke down the arches; but the piers were ſtill ſtanding in *Dio Caſſius*'s time, that is, one hundred and twenty years after, though they ſerved then only to ſhew, ſays that writer, the utmoſt extent of human power (1). When they were by time intirely demoliſhed, the river was ſo choaked with the ruins, that it was not navigable till turned into another chanel (2).

(6) *Plin. l.* viii. *c.* 4. (7) *Occo. p.* 204. *Baron. annal. a. ann.* 105.
(8) *Fabretti de colum. Trajan. c.*301. (9) *Occo. p.* 204. (1) *Dio, p.* 776.
(2) *Procop. de ædificiis Juſtin. l.* iv. *c.* 6.

dous fabric was begun and ended this ſummer; but *Trajan*, not thinking it adviſeable to enter *Dacia* upon the approach of winter, contented himſelf with making the neceſſary preparations for vigorouſly attacking the enemy early in the ſpring.

In the mean time the following conſuls were choſen at *Rome*, *Tiberius Julius Candidus*, and *Aulus Julius Quadratus*, both the ſecond time. This year, the eighth of *Trajan*'s reign, a dreadful earthquake overturned in *Aſia* the cities of *Elea*, *Myrine*, *Pitame*, and *Cumæ*; and in *Greece* the cities of *Opus* and *Oritæ* [g]. *Adrian* diſcharged for ſome time the office of tribune of the people, and then went to attend *Trajan* in the war againſt the *Dacians*. The emperor early in the ſpring paſſed the *Danube* on the bridge he had built, and, entering the enemy's country, purſued the war with more prudence than expedition, not caring to expoſe his men to unneceſſary dangers [h]. He often encamped, ſays *Pliny* [i], on ſteep and barren mountains; was obliged to divert rivers into new chanels, and to attempt and perform things, which, were they not well atteſted, would ſeem altogether fabulous. He gave many ſignal inſtances of his perſonal courage, and the ſoldiers, animated by his example, chearfully underwent all the hardſhips of a laborious warfare [k] (O). At length *Trajan* made himſelf maſter of the capital of *Dacia*, and almoſt of the whole country; inſomuch that *Decebalus*, ſeeing himſelf ſtripped of his dominions, and dreading to fall into the hands of the conqueror, choſe rather to put an end to his life, than to live in ſubjection, or acknowlege himſelf overcome. His head was immediately brought to *Trajan*, and by him ſent to *Rome*. He had concealed his treaſures in a deep pit, which he cauſed to be dug in the bed of the river *Sargetia*, now *Iſtrig*, having for that purpoſe turned the ſtream into another chanel, and afterwards brought it to its former courſe. As for his rich moveables, he ſecured them in deep caves,

Trajan *marches againſt the* Dacians.

Expoſes himſelf to great dangers.

Makes himſelf maſter of the capital of Dacia, *which is reduced to a* Roman *province.*

Year of the flood 2454. Of Chr. 106. Of Rome 854.

[g] Euseb. chron. [h] Dio, p. 776. [i] Plin. l. viii. epiſt. 9. [k] Dio, ibid.

(O) Among the reſt, one of his horſemen being wounded in an engagement, and carried to the camp to have his wound dreſſed, when he there underſtood, that his life was deſpaired of, and the wound incurable, he returned to the combat before his ſpirits failed him, performed great wonders, and expired fighting with incredible bravery (3). Several inſcriptions are ſtill to be met with, mentioning perſons whom *Trajan* rewarded on account of their gallant conduct in the war with the *Dacians* (4).

(3) *Dio, p. 777.* (4) *Fabr. colum. Trajan. c. 8. p. 238. 241.*

which

he ſhould purſue, *Longinus*, by a doſe of poiſon, which was privately conveyed to him by a freedman, put an end to his life. *Decebalus* immediately diſpatched to *Trajan* a centurion taken with *Longinus*, offering him the body of the deceaſed general, with ten captives, provided he would deliver up the freedman, whom *Longinus* had ſent, before he took the poiſon, to the emperor, under colour of negotiating a treaty; but *Trajan* would neither hearken to the propoſal, nor even ſuffer the centurion to return.

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(8) *Fabretti de colum. Trajan. c.*301. (9) *Occo. p.* 204. (1) *Dio, p.* 776.
(2) *Procop. de ædificiis Juſtin. l.* iv. *c.* 6.

dous fabric was begun and ended this ſummer ; but *Trajan*, not thinking it adviſeable to enter *Dacia* upon the approach of winter, contented himſelf with making the neceſſary preparations for vigorouſly attacking the enemy early in the ſpring.

In the mean time the following conſuls were choſen at *Rome*, *Tiberius Julius Candidus*, and *Aulus Julius Quadratus*, both the ſecond time. This year, the eighth of *Trajan*'s reign, a dreadful earthquake overturned in *Aſia* the cities of *Elea*, *Myrine*, *Pitame*, and *Cumæ* ; and in *Greece* the cities of *Opus* and *Oritæ* [g]. *Adrian* diſcharged for ſome time the office of tribune of the people, and then went to attend *Trajan* in the war againſt the *Dacians*. The emperor early in the ſpring paſſed the *Danube* on the bridge he had built, and, entering the enemy's country, purſued the war with more prudence than expedition, not caring to expoſe his men to unneceſſary dangers [h]. He often encamped, ſays *Pliny* [i], on ſteep and barren mountains ; was obliged to divert rivers into new chanels, and to attempt and perform things, which, were they not well atteſted, would ſeem altogether fabulous. He gave many ſignal inſtances of his perſonal courage, and the ſoldiers, animated by his example, chearfully underwent all the hardſhips of a laborious warfare [k] (O). At length *Trajan* made himſelf maſter of the capital of *Dacia*, and almoſt of the whole country ; inſomuch that *Decebalus*, ſeeing himſelf ſtripped of his dominions, and dreading to fall into the hands of the conqueror, choſe rather to put an end to his life, than to live in ſubjection, or acknowlege himſelf overcome. His head was immediately brought to *Trajan*, and by him ſent to *Rome*. He had concealed his treaſures in a deep pit, which he cauſed to be dug in the bed of the river *Sargetia*, now *Iſtrig*, having for that purpoſe turned the ſtream into another chanel, and afterwards brought it to its former courſe. As for his rich moveables, he ſecured them in deep caves,

Trajan *marches againſt the* Dacians.

Expoſes himſelf to great dangers.

Makes himſelf maſter of the capital of Dacia, *which is reduced to a* Roman *province.*

Year of the flood 2454. Of Chr. 106. Of Rome 854.

[g] Euseb. chron. [h] Dio, p. 776. [i] Plin. l. viii. epiſt. 9. [k] Dio, ibid.

(O) Among the reſt, one of his horſemen being wounded in an engagement, and carried to the camp to have his wound dreſſed, when he there underſtood, that his life was deſpaired of, and the wound incurable, he returned to the combat before his ſpirits failed him, performed great wonders, and expired fighting with incredible bravery (3). Several inſcriptions are ſtill to be met with, mentioning perſons whom *Trajan* rewarded on account of their gallant conduct in the war with the *Dacians* (4).

(3) *Dio, p. 777.* (4) *Fabr. colum. Trajan. c. 8. p. 238. 241.*

which

which he cauſed to be dug by captives, whom he immediately after put to death, that they might not diſcover the ſecret; but *Bacilis*, one of his chief favourites and confidents, being taken in this war, diſcovered the whole to *Trajan*, who ſeized both the treaſure, and precious moveables, of the deceaſed prince [l] (P). *Dacia* being thus intirely ſubdued, *Trajan* reduced it to a *Roman* province, which was, according to *Eutropius* [m], a thouſand miles in compaſs. The *Romans* held it, as *Feſtus Rufus* informs us [n], to the reign of the emperor *Gallienus*; during which time it was governed by a *Roman* magiſtrate, with the title of proprætor, as appears from ſome antient inſcriptions [o]. *Trajan* built ſeveral caſtles in the country, and placed gariſons in them, to keep the inhabitants in awe. He likewiſe planted a great number of colonies, diſtributing lands among the poor citizens of *Rome*, and of the other towns of *Italy*, who were willing to ſettle in *Dacia* (Q).

Many colonies planted in Dacia.

TRAJAN,

[l] Dio, l. lxix. p. 787. [m] Eutrop. p. 236. [n] Ruf. p. 550. [o] Gruter. p. 354.

(P) We are told, that, notwithſtanding this diſcovery, great riches were found in thoſe places many ages after, which had eſcaped *Trajan* (5). The famous column of *Trajan* is thought to have been raiſed for a laſting monument of the victories gained by that prince over the *Dacians*, and their king; at leaſt, many of the remarkable events of this war are expreſſed, as *Ciacconius* and *Fabretti* inform us, in the baſſo-relievo of that pillar (6).

(Q) The *Hungarian* writers mention ſeveral cities in their country, which were, on this occaſion, built or peopled by the *Romans*; but the moſt celebrated of all was *Zermizegethuſa*, which, in ſeveral antient inſcriptions, is ſtiled *Colonia Ulpia Trajana Auguſta Dacia Sarmiz.* It was eſtabliſhed by *M. Scaurianus* proprætor of *Dacia*, and continued ſubject to the *Romans* at leaſt to the death of the emperor *Severus* (7). At preſent it is but a poor village in *Tranſylvania*, known by the name of *Gradiſch* (8). In *Mœſia* and *Thrace* ſeveral cities borrowed their names from *Trajan*; for we find the city of *Trajanopolis* in *Thrace* mentioned by the antients; that of *Ulpia* in *Upper Mœſia*, now *Servia*; the cities of *Plotinopolis*, which, no doubt, was ſo called from *Plotina*, *Trajan*'s wife; and *Marcianopolis*, the capital of *Lower Mœſia*, which took its name from *Marciana*, the emperor's ſiſter, and was, according to *Jornandes*, built by *Trajan* (9). The ſame writer adds, that upon the banks of the river *Iater*, or *Iatrus*, he

(5) *Fab. column. Traj. c. 8. p. 242.* (6) *Idem ibid.* (7) *Gruter. p. 63. Dio, l. lxviii. p. 1040.* (8) *Baudr. p. 348.* (9) *Jorn. de reb. Goth. c. 16.*

TRAJAN, upon his return to *Rome*, triumphed over the *Dacians* a ſecond time; cauſed ſeveral medals to be coined in memory of his victories, many of which are ſtill to be ſeen [p]; entertained the people with public banquets; with ſhews, in which ten thouſand gladiators entered the liſts; with combats of wild beaſts, of which above ten thouſand were killed; and all kinds of diverſions, which laſted one hundred and twenty-three days [q] (R). The ſame year is remarkable for the intire reduction of *Arabia Petræa* by *Aulus Cornelius Palma*, governor of *Syria*, after it had been long governed by its own kings [r]. The inhabitants of *Petra* and *Boſtra* reckon their time from this year, in which their country was firſt annexed to the *Roman* empire [s]. *Trajan* reduced, together with the *Dacians*, ſeveral nations in alliance with them; ſo that the fame of his conqueſts reaching the moſt diſtant countries, and even *India*, embaſſadors were ſent from thence to congratulate him upon the ſucceſs which had attended his arms [t].

Trajan's Dacian ſecond *triumph over the Dacians.*

Arabia Petræa *intirely reduced.*

THE next conſuls were *Cerealis* and *L. Ceionius Commodus Verus*, the father of *L. Ælius Verus*, as is commonly ſuppoſed, who was by *Adrian* created *Cæſar* [u]. During their adminiſtration, the *Capitoline* ſports, eſtabliſhed by *Domitian*,

[p] OCCO, p. 201. [q] DIO, l. lxviii. p. 777. [r] DIO, ibid.
[s] EUSEB. in chron. p. 206. [t] DIO, ibid. [u] ONUPH. IDAT. in faſt. SPART. in Ælii vit.

founded another city, which he called *Nicopolis*, or *the city of victory*, to perpetuate the memory of his victories over the *Sarmatians*, or rather *Dacians*; for *Jornandes* frequently confounds theſe two nations (1). This city is by *Ammianus Marcellinus* called ſometimes *Nicopolis*, ſometimes *Ulpia*, and placed, not on the *Iatrus*, but on the *Neſſus* or *Neſtus*; and truly, from ſeveral inſcriptions produced by the learned *Holſtenius* (2), it appears to have ſtood near the conflux of the *Neſtus* and the *Danube*. We muſt not confound, as ſome writers have done, *Nicopolis* in *Dacia* with another of the ſame name upon mount *Hæmus* in *Thrace*.

(R) *Canius*, at the requeſt of *Pliny*, deſcribed this war in verſe (3); and *Trajan* himſelf is ſaid to have written an account of it in ſeveral books (4). This war broke out in the beginning of the preceding year, but was not ended till the latter end of this; for we are told, that he took, for the fifth time, the title of *imperator* about the latter end of the ninth year of his tribunitial power, which was the eighth of his reign (5).

(1) *Jornand. de reb. Goth. c.* 18. (2) *Holſt. ad Steph. p.* 225. (3) *Plin. l.* viii. *ep.* 14. (4) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. c.* 30. (5) *Vide Noris, epiſt. conſul. p.* 47, 48.

were exhibited the ſixth time, when the prize in poetry was won by a child thirteen years old, named *L. Valerius Pudens* [w]. This year *Trajan* made, at a vaſt charge, a road through the *Palus Pontina*, or *Pontine Marſhes*, whereof the remains are ſtill to be ſeen [x]; and this, no doubt, is the *Via Trajana*, or *Trojan's Highway*, mentioned in ſeveral antient inſcriptions produced by *Occo* [y] and *Gruter* [z]. *Dio Caſſius* adds, that he ordered all the diminiſhed coin to be melted down, and mentions ſeveral magnificent buildings, with which he embelliſhed *Rome*: but of theſe we ſhall ſpeak hereafter; for *Trajan* muſt have only begun them this year, ſince he left *Rome* in the month of *October*, and was at *Antioch* in the very beginning of the enſuing year [a]. However, before he ſet out for the Eaſt, a conſpiracy was formed againſt him by *Craſſus*, and ſeveral other perſons of the firſt quality; but ſeaſonably diſcovered. The conſpirators were tried, not by him (for he declined being judge, and at the ſame time a party), but by the ſenate, who, it ſeems, condemned them to baniſhment.

A conſpiracy againſt Trajan.

His moderation on that occaſion.

THE true motive of *Trajan*'s journey into the Eaſt was a deſire of glory, as *Dio Caſſius* informs us [b], which he hoped to reap from a war with the *Parthians*, who, we may ſay, rivaled the *Romans* themſelves in power, and had given them ſeveral great overthrows. The pretence he alleged for quarreling with that nation, was, that the king of *Armenia*, by name *Exedares*, had received his crown at the hands of the king of *Parthia*; whereas the *Roman* emperors claimed a right of diſpoſing of that crown ever ſince the reign of *Nero*, who, in the year ſixty-ſix, the twelfth of his empire, had crowned at *Rome Tiridates* king of *Armenia*. *Trajan*, who wanted only a colour to make war upon the *Parthians*, pretended to be highly affronted at the *Parthian* king's giving the crown and royal enſigns to *Exedares*, and demanded ſatisfaction, threatening him with war, if he refuſed to comply with his juſt demands. *Coſrhoes* deſpiſed his menaces: whereupon *Trajan*, who had already made the neceſſary preparations for this expedition, immediately left *Rome*, and croſſed over into *Greece*. When *Coſrhoes* found he was in earneſt, he began to abate of his pride, and ſent deputies to him with rich preſents, begging that he would not, upon ſuch ſlight motives, engage the two empires in a bloody and deſtructive war: at the ſame time he acquainted him, that *Exedares*, finding himſelf neither acceptable to the *Romans*,

Deſigns to make war upon the Parthians;

and ſets out for the Eaſt.

[w] ONUPH. in faſt. p. 216. [x] DIO, l. lxviii. p. 777. [y] OCCO, p. 209. [z] GRUT. p. 199. [a] IGNAT. acta, p. 2, 3. USSER. notæ, p. 35. [b] DIO, ibid. p. 778.

nor

nor to the *Parthians*, had abdicated the crown, and beſought *Trajan* to diſpoſe of it in favour of *Parthamaſiris*. The embaſſadors met *Trajan* at *Athens*, and there delivered their meſſage; to which the emperor replied, that friendſhip was ſhewn by actions, and not by words; that he was going into *Syria*, and that there he ſhould take ſuch reſolutions as he ſhould think proper. He then diſmiſſed the embaſſadors, without deigning to accept any of their preſents [c]. He then purſued his journey through *Aſia Minor*, *Cilicia*, and the other provinces, to *Seleucia* in *Syria*, and from thence to *Antioch*, the capital of that province, which he entered, crowned with a branch of an olive-tree [d].

Embaſſadors ſent to him by the king of the Parthians.

He arrives at Antioch.

THE following year's conſuls were *Lucius Licinius Sura* the third time, and *Caius Socius Senecio* the ſecond, who reſigned the faſces to *Suranus* and *Servianus* [e]. During *Adrian*'s ſtay in *Antioch*, *Abgarus*, or, as ſome call him, *Augarus*, prince of *Edeſſa* in *Meſopotamia*, ſent him preſents, and, by his embaſſadors, declared his ſincere deſire of living in friendſhip with him, and the people of *Rome*; but, as he equally feared the *Romans* and *Parthians*, and was deſirous to pleaſe both, he declined waiting upon him in perſon. The other petty princes in that neighbourhood came perſonally to offer their ſervice to the emperor of *Rome*, and brought with them, according to the cuſtom of the eaſtern countries, rich preſents (S). *Trajan* received all the princes, who came to attend him, with great demonſtrations of kindneſs, accepted their preſents, and pretended to repoſe an intire confidence in them. Having made the neceſſary preparations for his intended expedition, he left *Antioch*, bending his march towards *Armenia*, when *Parthamaſiris*, who had written to him before, and in his letter ſtiled himſelf king of *Armenia*, ſent him a ſecond letter (for *Trajan* had returned no anſwer to the firſt), wherein he omitted the title of king, and deſired, that *M. Junius*, governor of *Cappadocia*, might be appointed to treat with him. *Trajan* ſent only the ſon of *Junius*, and, in the mean time, purſued his march, making himſelf maſter of ſeveral places, without meeting with the leaſt reſiſtance. At *Sata*, or rather *Satala*, a city in *Armenia Minor*, the emperor was met by *Anquialus* king of the *Heniochi*, a people

Abgarus *king of* Edeſſa, *and other princes, ſend preſents to* Trajan.

The king of Armenia *writes to the emperor, who ſeizes ſeveral places in that kingdom.*

[c] Dio, l. lxviii. p. 778. [d] USSER. not. in act. Ignat. p. 35. Lond. ann. 1647. [e] IDAT. chron. Alexand. ONUPH. in faſt.

(S) One among the reſt preſented him with a ſtately courſer; which, as he was brought before the emperor, kneeled down, bowed his head to the ground, and adored him, as he had been taught beforehand.

of *Circaſſia* on the *Euxine* ſea, and of the *Maheloni*, of whom we find no further mention in hiſtory. *Trajan* received him with all poſſible demonſtrations of kindneſs, and made him rich preſents, in order to attach him to his intereſt.

The king of Armenia *waits upon him in perſon.*

UPON his arrival at *Elegia* in the *Greater Armenia*, *Parthamaſiris* came to wait upon him, and beg of him the crown of *Armenia*. *Trajan* received him ſeated upon a throne or tribunal, and attended by the chief officers of his army. As *Parthamaſiris* approached the throne, he took off his crown, and laid it at the emperor's feet, without uttering a ſingle word, not doubting but he would immediately return it to him. In the mean time the ſoldiers, pleaſed to ſee the king of *Armenia*, though ſupported by the whole power of the *Parthian* empire, obliged to ſubmit, and reſign his crown to their general, congratulated him upon it with loud ſhouts of joy; which ſo terrified *Parthamaſiris*, that he attempted to withdraw, and return to his metropolis; but, finding himſelf ſurrounded on all ſides, he deſired to ſpeak to *Trajan* in private. Hereupon he was carried into the emperor's tent; but *Trajan* not liking his propoſals, and refuſing to comply with them, he left the tent in a great paſſion, and endeavoured to make his eſcape out of the camp. But *Trajan*, having ordered him to be ſtopped, and brought back, aſcended his tribunal anew, and deſired the prince to repeat, in the hearing of all, the propoſals he had made to him in private, and his anſwers, that perſons who were ignorant of what had paſſed between them, might not give falſe accounts of it, and miſrepreſent it to the world. Upon this, *Parthamaſiris*, no longer able to contain himſelf, told *Trajan*, that he had neither been conquered, nor taken priſoner; that he came voluntarily, believing no injury would have been offered him, and that he ſhould receive his kingdom of *Trajan*, as *Tiridates* had done of *Nero*. *Trajan* replied, that *Armenia* belonged to the *Romans*, and that it ſhould receive a *Roman* governor, and be no longer a kingdom; that, as for *Parthamaſiris*, he gave him liberty to retire whither he pleaſed. Accordingly he diſmiſſed him, and the *Parthians* who came with him, and appointed them a guard, that they might not be inſulted by the ſoldiery, or raiſe diſturbances; the *Armenians* he detained, as ſubjects of the *Roman* empire, and ordered them to return to their reſpective dwellings. *Parthamaſiris* endeavoured to maintain himſelf in his kingdom by force of arms; but loſt his life in the attempt; ſo that *Trajan* made himſelf maſter of *Armenia*, which he reduced to a *Roman* province [f].

Trajan refuſes him the crown of Armenia.

Armenia *reduced to*

[f] DIO, l. lxviii. p. 779. ARRIAN. in perip. pont. Euxin. p. 7. EUTROP. in vit. Trajan.

As

As to the other particulars of this war, we find them nowhere recorded.

a Roman *province.*

UPON the reduction of *Armenia*, ſeveral princes ſubmitted of their own accord to *Trajan*; amongſt whom are mentioned the kings of *Iberia*, *Sarmatia*, *Boſporus*, and *Colchis* g. He named a king to rule over the *Albanians*, and appointed one *Julianus* prince of the *Apſiles*, whoſe country bordered on the *Euxine* ſea, having for its metropolis the city of *Dioſcuris*, afterwards called *Sebaſtopolis* (T). The emperor, having left gariſons in all the ſtrong-holds of *Armenia*, advanced to the city of *Edeſſa* in *Meſopotamia*, where he was received in a very friendly manner by *Abgarus* king of that diſtrict. *Abgarus* had before ſent him ſeveral preſents; but put off, under various pretences, waiting upon him in perſon. However, *Trajan*, by the mediation of *Abgarus*'s ſon, by name *Arbandes*, a very comely youth, received his excuſes, and admitted him to his friendſhip. *Abgarus* made a great entertainment for the emperor, and the chief officers of his army, at which *Arbandes*, who was perhaps too much beloved by *Trajan*, diverted him with dancing after the manner of his country h. *Manes*, the chief of one of the *Arabian* nations, *Sporaces* prince of *Anthemuſia*, a province of *Meſopotamia*, *Mebarſapes* king of *Adiabene*, and *Maniſares* king of ſome diſtrict in that neighbourhood, declared, that they were ready to join *Trajan*; but, in the mean time, delayed meeting him; ſo that the emperor began to diſtruſt them, eſpecially after the treachery of *Mebarſapes*; who, having demanded and obtained a body of troops to protect his dominions, as he pretended, againſt the *Parthians*, put moſt of them to the ſword, and kept the reſt in captivity. Amongſt the latter was a centurion, named *Sentius*, who, as *Trajan*, highly provoked at this treachery, approached a place of great ſtrength, called *Ademyſtres*, where he was kept, found means to break his chains, and, with the aſſiſtance of his fellow-captives, killed the governor of the fort, and opened the gates to the *Romans* i. *Trajan*, now maſter of ſo ſtrong and important a

Several kings ſubmit to Trajan.

Year of the flood 2456. Of Chriſt 108. Of Rome 856.

Enters Meſopotamia.

The treachery of the king of Adiabene.

g EUTROP. in vit. Trajan. h DIO, l. lxviii. p. 780. i Idem, p. 781.

(T) *Arrian*, who wrote under *Adrian*, ſpeaks of a camp in the neighbourhood of this city, which he calls the boundary of the *Roman* empire (6). The *Romans* had, before *Trajan*'s time, a gariſon in *Melitene* or *Melitine*, a caſtle of *Leſſer Armenia*, which *Trajan* made a city, and appointed to be the metropolis of the whole country; whence, in proceſs of time, it became one of the moſt populous and wealthy cities in the Eaſt (7).

(6) *Arrian. in perip. pont. Euxin. p.* 7. (7) *Procop. de ædific. Juſtin. l.* iii. *c.* 4.

place, advanced boldly into *Mesopotamia*, and reduced great part of it by the bare terror of his name.

Trajan *builds a bridge over the* Tigris.

As the greatest part of *Adiabene* lay beyond the *Tigris*, *Trajan* built a bridge over that river, which is represented on several medals that have reached our times [k]. The cities of *Nisibe* and *Batue* made a vigorous defence; but in the end were obliged to yield (U). As for *Cosrhoes*, we know not what measures he took, or what attempts he made, to stop the progress of *Trajan*'s conquests (W). *Lusius Quietus* distinguished

[k] Occo, p. 205. Birag. p. 157.

(U) If the city of *Nisibe* belonged, as *Josephus* writes, to the king of *Adiabene*, it was at this time, as is manifest from *Dio Cassius* (8), in the hands of the *Parthians*.

(W) In *Dio Cassius* we read, that *Manisares* offered to yield to the *Romans* for ever all *Armenia*, and that part of *Mesopotamia*, which they had already conquered: whence we conjecture, that the name of *Manisares* has crept into the text instead of *Cosrhoes*, who alone could make such an offer, and between whom and *Trajan* a treaty was, it seems, concluded, since *Aurelius Victor* writes, that the emperor obliged him to deliver hostages. What treaty this was, or on what occasion, or by whom, it was violated (for the war broke out anew), we are nowhere told. To this treaty, perhaps, allude the medals, which were struck about this time, with the following legend, *Peace established*; *the king of the* Parthians *restored* (9). The power of the *Parthians* was, as *Dio Cassius* informs us (1), greatly weakened at this time by their intestine wars; so that *Cosrhoes* was, perhaps, obliged to recur to *Trajan*, and implore his protection against his own subjects. This is all we know of *Trajan*'s wars in the East, till the year 115, the eighteenth of his reign. We should be able to give a better account of all these transactions, if the *Parthian* history, composed by *Arrian*, who flourished at this time, on purpose to set forth the exploits of *Trajan*, and by him divided into seventeen books, had reached us (2); but that history being long since lost, and many other histories of these times (for under no prince there flourished a greater number of celebrated historians than under *Trajan*), we are with no prince's exploits less acquainted than with *Trajan*'s. Not to mention the many historians who have described the *Parthian* war, in which *Trajan* distinguished himself in a very eminent manner, both as a soldier and a general, *Marius Maximus*, *Fabius Marcellinus*, *Aurelius Verus*, *Statius Valens*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and *Dio Cassius*, wrote his life, either by itself, or in the body of the *Roman* history. But none of the works of these authors are now remaining; so that we are obliged to

(8) *Dio*, *l.* lxviii. *p.* 781.
(2) *Phot. c.* 58.
(9) *Vide Occon. p.* 201.
(1) *Dio*, *p.* 783.

recur

diſtinguiſhed himſelf above all the commanders employed by *Trajan* in this war. He was a *Moor* by nation, and born in a country not ſubject to *Rome*; but, nevertheleſs, ſerved in the *Roman* cavalry, till he was either by *Domitian* or *Nerva*, for ſome miſdemeanour, degraded and diſmiſſed. *Trajan*, wanting *Moors* in his wars with the *Dacians*, took this prince again into the ſervice, with a body of his countrymen and dependents, at the head of whom he performed wonders, both in the firſt and ſecond *Dacian* war [l]. In the *Parthian* war he ſerved with ſuch courage and ſucceſs, that *Trajan* honoured him with the conſulate, and, towards the end of his reign, appointed him governor of *Palæſtine*, by way of reward for a ſignal victory which he gained over the *Jews* of *Meſopotamia* [m]. His reducing the *Mardi*, a people of *Aſia* near *Armenia*, and not far from the *Caſpian* ſea, is mentioned as what moſt of all contributed to his glory and preferment [n]. *Ammianus Marcellinus* extols him as one of the greateſt captains that ever bore arms for the *Romans* [o]. We are told, that *Trajan* had ſuch a kindneſs and eſteem for him, that he had ſome thoughts of naming him for his ſucceſſor, though he was not even born a ſubject of the empire [p]. We ſhall have occaſion to mention him again in the following reign. In the next ſix years we find nothing recorded by the compilers of the antients (for the works of the antients themſelves have been long ſince loſt, as we hinted above), except the names of the conſuls, the making of the highway by *Trajan* from *Beneventum* to *Brunduſium*, the burning of the pantheon by lightning, the overturning of

Lusius Quietus diſtinguiſhes himſelf in this, and Trajan's other wars.

[l] Dio, in excerpt. Vales. p. 710. l. lxviii. p. 773. Spart. in Aur. Themist. orat. xvi. Mauric. tactic. l. ix. c. 2. [m] Dio, in excerpt. p. 710. Euseb. l. iv. c. 1. [n] Euseb. ibid. [o] Ammian. l. xxix. [p] Euseb. & Themist. ibid.

recur to the abridgment of *Dio Caſſius* by *Xiphilin*, and to the ſtill more compendious and undigeſted writings of *Aurelius Victor* and *Eutropius*. We cannot even learn of any writer, whether *Trajan* ever returned to *Rome* after he ſet out from thence to conquer *Armenia*. However, we cannot perſuade ourſelves, that he continued in the Eaſt, without once viſiting the metropolis of the empire, for the ſpace of eleven or twelve years; the more, becauſe from ſome medals it appears pretty plain, that he returned to *Rome* before the year 112, the fifteenth of his reign, and that he left it the ſame or the following year (3); which gives a great light to hiſtory, and may ſerve to juſtify the acts of the glorious martyr St. *Ignatius*.

(3) *Vide Birag. p.* 158.

ſome cities in *Galatia* by an earthquake; and dedicating of the great ſquare at *Rome*, which took its name from *Trajan*. The conſuls were *Appius Annius Trebonianus Gallus*, and *Marcus Attilius Metellus Bradua*; *Aulus Cornelius Palma* the ſecond time, and *L. Tullus*; *Priſcinus*, or *Priſcianus*, and *Orfitus*; *Caius Calpurnius Piſo*, and *M. Vettius Bolanus*; *Trajan* the ſixth time, and *Titus Sextius Bolanus*; *Lucius Publius Celſus* the ſecond time, and *Caius Clodius Criſpinus*; *Quintus Ninnius Hoſta*, and *Publius Manilius Vopiſcus*. Theſe were conſuls from the eleventh to the ſeventeenth year of *Trajan*'s reign incluſively; that is, from the 108th to the 114th of the Chriſtian æra (X).

THE eighteenth year of *Trajan*'s reign, and 115th of the Chriſtian æra, was remarkable for the victories gained by that great warrior over the *Parthians*, and for which he aſſumed the title of emperor the ſeventh, eighth, and ninth times [q]. Whatever gave occaſion to this war (for hiſtory is ſilent upon this head), *Trajan*, before he left *Syria*, ſent, at the requeſt of his friends, ſome perſons to conſult the oracle of *Heliopolis* in *Phœnicia*, to know whether he ſhould return from this war to *Rome*. The oracle gave an anſwer, as uſual, in ambiguous terms, which might be interpreted either way. *Trajan*, putting the beſt conſtruction upon the dark words of the oracle, early in the ſpring left *Syria*, and marched againſt the *Parthians* encamped on the other ſide of the *Tigris*. As the river was not fordable, and the enemy poſſeſſed with a numerous army the oppoſite bank, he ſecretly cauſed a great number of boats to be built in the woods of *Niſibis*, which being conveyed upon carriages to the river-ſide, a bridge was ſuddenly formed with them over the river, which *Trajan* paſſed in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of the enemy, who greatly annoyed him with ſhowers of arrows, till he ſent ſeveral boats againſt them manned with archers and ſlingers, and ordered others to move up and down the river, as if they were trying to land in other places. This ſo dif-

He conſults the oracle of Heliopolis.

He paſſes the Tigris *on a bridge of boats.*

[q] GRUTER. p. 218. GOLTZ. p. 65, 66.

(X) On ſome medals, that were coined during *Trajan*'s ſixth conſulſhip, is marked the departure of that prince from *Rome* (4), no doubt, to return to the Eaſt, which we may ſuppoſe to have happened the year he was conſul, the fifteenth of his reign; for in that year *Adrian*, who commanded under him in the ſecond *Parthian* war, was created archon, or chief magiſtrate, of *Athens*; which honour was probably conferred upon him, as he paſſed through that city with *Trajan* (5).

(4) *Noris. epiſt. conſul. p.* 72.

(5) *Vide Noris, ibid.*

tracted

tracted the *Parthians*, already dismayed and surprised at the sight of so many vessels in a country quite destitute of wood, that they gave way, and suffered the *Roman* army to pass the river without further molestation. *Trajan* made himself master of the kingdom of *Adiabene*, which he had reduced in the former war, but, perhaps, restored upon the conclusion of the peace. He likewise subdued the country, which, at that time, still retained the name of *Assyria*, and in which stood the city of *Ninos* or *Nineve*, and *Arbela* and *Gaugamela*, two places famous in history on account of the victories of *Alexander the Great*.

Reduces Assyria;

As the *Parthians* were greatly weakened by their domestic wars, and still divided among themselves, *Trajan* advanced to the celebrated city of *Babylon*, of the power and greatness of which we have read such wonders. He entered it, no one offering to withstand him; and reduced its large territory, where the *Roman* standards had never before been displayed. By this acquisition, he became master of those rich and noble countries, *Assyria* and *Chaldæa*. There he was led by his curiosity, says *Dio Cassius*, to visit the lake of bitumen, which was made use of in building the famous walls of *Babylon*. But that lake is, by *Rutilius* [r] and others, placed in *Mesopotamia*. Afterwards he began a canal between the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris*, in order to convey his vessels out of the former river into the latter, and with them lay a bridge over the *Tigris*, being resolved to besiege *Ctesiphon*, which stood on that river: but, being informed that the bed of the *Euphrates* was much higher than that of the *Tigris*, he abandoned the design, fearing the stream would become too rapid, and consequently unnavigable [s]. However, *Ammianus Marcellinus* assures us, that the emperor *Julian*, having removed the stones, with which the mouth of the canal was stopt, conveyed his vessels through that cut from the *Euphrates* into the *Tigris*, a little above *Ctesiphon* [t]. This canal was called *Naarmalca*, that is, *the river of kings* [u]. *Trojan*, fearing the above-mentioned inconvenience, did not think it advisable to make use of the canal; but ordered his vessels to be brought upon land-carriages from the *Euphrates* to the *Tigris*, these two rivers being, in some places, at a small distance from each other; and, having formed a bridge with them, passed his army over the *Tigris*, and made himself master of *Seleucia*, and likewise of the great city of *Ctesiphon*, the metropolis of the *Parthian*, and afterwards of the *Persian* empire [w]. Upon his entering that city, he was proclaimed

and arrives at Babylon. Year of the flood 2463. Of Chr. 115. Of Rome 863.

He begins a canal between the Euphrates *and the* Tigris; *but drops that undertaking.*

Makes himself master of Seleucia, *and* Ctesi-

[r] Rut. itiner. p. 32. [s] Dio, p. 784. [t] Ammian. l. xxiv.
[u] See vol. iv. p. 336, 337. [w] Dio, ibid. Eutrop. in Trajan.

emperor

phon, *the metropolis of the* Parthian *empire.*

emperor by the army, who with loud ſhouts of joy confirmed to him the title of *Parthicus*, which he had firſt gained by the reduction of *Niſibis*. At *Cteſiphon* he took the daughter of *Coſrhoes*, and ſeized the throne of the *Parthian* kings, which was of maſſy gold [x]. *Coſrhoes* himſelf made his eſcape, and was ſtill living in the reign of *Adrian*. *Trajan* acquainted the ſenate with the ſucceſs that had attended him in this expedition: whereupon a decree paſſed, allowing the conqueror of the *Parthians* to enter *Rome* in triumph as often as he pleaſed [y]. The taking of *Cteſiphon* put him in poſſeſſion of all the neighbouring countries. *Eutropius* tells us, that he reduced the *Marcomades*, the *Cardueni*, *Anthemiſia*, a large province of *Perſia*, ſays that writer, and all the countries lying between *Babylon* and *India*.

Reduces ſeveral countries.

At *Babylon* he viſited the houſe in which *Alexander the Great* died, and there performed ſome ceremonies in honour of that famous conqueror [z]. *Ammianus Marcellinus* writes, that in his time *Trajan*'s tribunal was ſtill to be ſeen at a city in the neighbourhood of *Babylon*, which he calls *Ozogardene* [a]. *Trajan* reduced *Aſſyria* to a *Roman* province, as he had before done *Armenia* and *Meſopotamia*; ſo that the empire now extended to the *Tigris*, and even beyond that river. How he diſpoſed of the country of the *Parthians*, we ſhall relate hereafter. He obliged the inhabitants of *Meſopotamia*, and, no doubt, thoſe likewiſe of the other provinces, to pay him a yearly tribute [b] (Y). Towards the end of autumn, *Trajan* returned to *Antioch*, which was that winter almoſt intirely ruined by one of the moſt dreadful earthquakes mentioned in hiſtory (Z).

Aſſyria *made a* Roman *province.*

A dreadful earthquake at Antioch.

The

[x] Spart. in Adr. [y] Dio, ibid. [z] Dio, p. 785. [a] Ammian. l. xxiv. p. 265. [b] Eutrop. ibid. Fest. Ruf. breviar. p. 553. Spart. ibid.

(Y) The dialogue between *Trypho* and *Critias*, which is falſly aſcribed to *Lucian*, ſeems to have been written about this time; for it ends with the news of the taking of *Suſa*, formerly the metropolis of *Perſia*. Mention is likewiſe there made of inroads made by the *Scythians*, as if they committed great devaſtations in the *Roman* territories (6).

(Z) That city was then crouded with troops, and ſtrangers, come from all quarters, either out of curioſity, or upon buſineſs and embaſſies; ſo that there was ſcarce a nation or province, but what had a ſhare in the calamity; and all the *Roman* world, ſays *Dio Caſſius* (7), ſuffered in one city. The earthquake was preceded by violent claps of

(6) *Lucian. in philopatride, dialogo. Et Baron. ad ann.* 114. (7) *Dio, p.* 781.

thunder,

THE next conſuls were *L. Ælius Lamia* and *Ælianus Verus*. From an inſcription of this year, the nineteenth of *Trajan*'s reign, we learn, that the ſenate and people of *Rome* returned the emperor ſolemn thanks for having facilitated the entry into *Italy* on the ſide of the *Adriatic* ſea, by a port made by his order at *Ancona*, as he had ſome years before made one on the *Mediterranean*, at or near *Centumcellæ*, now *Civita Vecchia*. Upon the return of the ſpring, *Trajan*, leaving *Antioch*, viſited the conquered countries; and, finding them all in a ſtate of tranquillity, he made various regulations; and then, embarking on board his fleet, ſailed down the *Tigris*, being deſirous to view the *Perſian* gulf. The ſtorms, the rapidity of the river, and the tides, rendered his navigation both troubleſome and dangerous. However, he made

The port of Ancona.

Trajan ſails down the Tigris into the Perſian gulf.

thunder, unuſual winds, and a dreadful noiſe under-ground: then followed ſo terrible a ſhock, that the earth all trembled, ſeveral houſes were overturned, and others toſſed to and fro like a ſhip in the ſea: the noiſe of the cracking and burſting of the timber, of the falling of the houſes, and a diſmal and loud roaring under-ground, drowned the cries of the diſmayed people. Thoſe who happened to be in their houſes, were, for the moſt part, buried under their ruins; ſuch as were walking in the ſtreets, and in the ſquares, were, by the violence of the ſhock, daſhed againſt one another, and moſt of them either killed, or dangerouſly wounded. As the earthquake continued, with ſome ſmall intermiſſion, for many days and nights together, many thouſands periſhed by it, and, among the reſt, the conſul *Marcus Pedo Vergilianus*, with many other perſons of great diſtinction. The moſt violent ſhock of all was, as we read in the acts of St. *Ignatius*, on a *Sunday*, the twenty-third of *December*. *Trajan* himſelf was much hurt, but, nevertheleſs, eſcaped through a window out of the houſe where he was. *Dio Caſſius* pretends, that he was taken out of the window, and carried away, by one, who in talneſs exceeded the human ſize. The ſame writer adds, that mount *Liſon*, which ſtood at a ſmall diſtance from *Antioch*, bowed with its top, and threatened to fall down upon the city; that other mountains fell; that new rivers appeared; and others, that had flowed before, forſook their courſe, and vaniſhed. When the earthquake ceaſed, the voice of a woman was heard crying under the ruins; which being immediately removed, ſhe was found with a ſucking child in her arms, whom ſhe had kept alive, as well as herſelf, with her milk. Search was made for others; but no one beſides was found alive, except a child, that was ſtill ſucking its dead mother (8). This dreadful earthquake is mentioned by *Euſebius*, *Aurelius Victor*, and *Evagrius*, who all ſpeak of it as the greateſt calamity recorded in hiſtory (9).

(8) *Dio, l.* lxviii. *p.* 781. *Ignat. acta, p.* 53, 54.

(9) *Euſeb. chron. p.* 208. *& l.* i. *c.* 12.

himſelf

himſelf maſter of *Meſene*, an iſland formed by the *Tigris*, and obliged *Athambylus*, who reigned there, to pay him tribute. He was well received by the inhabitants of *Charax Spaſinæ*, the metropolis of *Athambylus*'s dominions, which moſt geographers place at the mouth of the *Tigris* (A). It was, we conjecture, on this occaſion, that he reduced *Arabia Felix* (B). *Trajan*, having reached the ocean, as we read in

He reduces Arabia Felix.

(A) *Dio Caſſius* tells us, that *Trajan* ſailed into the ocean, meaning, perhaps, the *Perſian* gulf; for it is not probable, that, with the ill-built boats, of which his fleet conſiſted, he purſued his courſe beyond *Ormuz*, where the gulf ends.

(B) *Cornelius Palma*, governor of *Syria*, had ſome years before ſubdued *Arabia Petræa*, as we have obſerved above, and reduced it to a *Roman* province. But now *Trajan* made himſelf maſter, it ſeems, of *Arabia Felix*; for *Arrian*, in his book on the navigation of the *Red Sea*, obſerves, that, in the reign of *Trajan*, there were at *Leuca*, a borough upon that ſea, a centurion, and ſome troops, with a receiver, who claimed the fourth part of all the goods that were landed there (1). The ſame writer places upon the ſouth coaſt of *Arabia*, beyond the ſtreights of *Bebel Mander*, a city called *Arabia*, and ſurnamed *Eudæmon*, or the *Happy*, from its having been formerly enriched by means of the trade that was carried on there; but adds, "A little before "our time it was deſtroyed by "*Cæſar*, and is at preſent only "a village (2)." As he places it in the country of the *Homeritæ* (3), ſome writers take it to have ſtood where the preſent city of *Aden* ſtands. Beſides, it appears from ſeveral medals, or pieces of money, coined after the year 111, the fourteenth of *Trajan*'s reign (4), that he reduced *Arabia*, not by his lieutenants, but in perſon (5). *Feſtus* too mentions the conqueſt of *Arabia* (6); and *Eutropius* ſeems to reckon the reducing of that country to a *Roman* province amongſt the laſt actions of *Trajan* (7). A writer, who is ſuppoſed to have flouriſhed about this time, after having ſaid, that the power of the *Perſians* and *Parthians* had yielded, adds, that *Suſa* itſelf was taken, and that all *Arabia* would ſoon ſubmit to the victorious and invincible prince (8). This muſt, without all doubt, be underſtood of *Arabia Felix*, which it is thence plain he did not ſubdue, till after the conqueſt of *Aſſyria*, that is, before this year, the nineteenth of his reign, and the 116th of the Chriſtian æra. Some read in *Feſtus* (9), that he conquered the country of the *Saracens*; but as no mention is made of that people by any other writer of thoſe times, we readily fall in with thoſe who, inſtead of *Saraceni*, read *Oſrhoeni*, who inhabited one of the provinces of *Meſopotamia*, called *Oſrhoene*, from a king of the country named *Oſrhoes* (1).

(1) *Arrian. in peripl. Erythr. p.* 6. (2) *Idem, p.* 8. (3) *Idem, p.* 46.
(4) *Birag. p.* 116. (5) *Occo, p.* 215. (6) *Feſt. in breviar. p.* 551.
(7) *Eutrop. in Trajan.* (8) *Lucian. philop.* (9) *Feſt. p.* 551——553.
(1) *Procop. l.* i. *Perſ. c.* 18.

Dio

Dio Caſſius, and there diſcovering a ſhip bound to *India*, wiſhed he was young, that he might extend, as *Alexander* had done, his conqueſts to that country [c]. *Eutropius* tells us, that he had a fleet ready equipped in the *Red Sea*, with a deſign to invade *India*; that he informed himſelf of the cuſtoms, ſtrength, and manner of fighting, of the *Indians*; and that he envied the happineſs of *Alexander*, who had ſubdued them, and extended his conqueſts far beyond the bounds of the *Roman* empire. The *Romans* had even the vanity to brag, that they had brought *India* under ſubjection, as *Euſebius* obſerves [d]; but by *India* they perhaps meant *Arabia Felix*.

He envies Alexander, *who conquered* India.

TRAJAN wrote to the ſenate, acquainting them with the ſucceſs of his arms, and naming the ſeveral nations, which he had conquered, and which were utterly unknown. They decreed him extraordinary honours; among the reſt, that he ſhould, upon his return to *Rome*, triumph over each particular nation, which he had ſubdued; which was decreeing him, not one, but many triumphs: a triumphal arch was built in his own forum, to perpetuate the memory of his conqueſts; and the people of *Rome* made great preparations to receive him with the utmoſt pomp upon his return. But to *Rome* he never returned; nor was the end of his actions anſwerable to the beginning. For moſt of the nations, which he had conquered, revolted, and ſhook off the yoke, after having driven out or maſſacred the gariſons that had been left amongſt them. The *Jews*, who had been diſperſed into all parts of the world, fell into a dreadful rebellion in all the provinces of the empire, being prompted thereunto by the abſence of the emperor, and the late terrible earthquake, which, as they imagined, portended the ruin and downfal of the *Roman* empire. But of this revolt we ſhall ſpeak in the hiſtory of that nation after their diſperſion. The example of the *Jews* was followed by moſt of the countries which *Trajan* had conquered, the inhabitants riſing every-where up in arms, and murdering, or driving out, the *Roman* gariſons. Againſt them the emperor diſpatched *Luſius Quietus*, and *L. Appius Maximus*, who were attended with very different ſucceſs; for *Maximus* was defeated and killed; by whom, hiſtory does not inform us: but *Luſius* diſtinguiſhed himſelf as uſual, gained great advantages over the enemy, recovered the city of *Niſibis*, beſieged, ſtormed, and laid in aſhes, the city of *Edeſſa*. On the other hand, *Erucius Clarus*, and *Julius Alexander*, two other commanders of the emperor, retook the city of *Seleucia* upon the *Tigris*, and ſeveral others, which had ſhaken off

Extraordinary honours decreed him by the ſenate.

The Jews *revolt in ſeveral places.*

Moſt of the countries conquered by Trajan *revolt; but are again reduced.*

[c] DIO, p. 784. [d] EUSEB. chron. p. 206.

the

the yoke. *Lusius* was, for his gallant conduct, rewarded with the government of *Palæstine* [e], no doubt, to keep that province in awe, which was chiefly inhabited by *Jews*, and seemed inclined, as *Spartian* informs us [f], to revolt, and raise new commotions in the empire. For these advantages, and the recovery of his conquests, *Trajan* took the tenth and last time the title of emperor [g]. During these disturbances, *Sambelus* king of *Mesene* continued faithful to *Trajan*. Neither did the *Parthians* make any attempts towards the recovery of their liberty, or rather of their former condition. But *Trajan*, fearing they would soon shake off the yoke, thought it advisable to oblige them, by giving them, instead of a *Roman* governor, a king of their own nation. With this design he repaired to *Ctesiphon*; and, having there assembled in a large plain the *Romans* and *Parthians*, he ascended an high throne, and declared one *Parthamaspates* king of the *Parthians*, putting, with great pomp and solemnity, the crown upon his head. *Parthamaspates*, whom *Spartian* calls *Psamatessiris*, continued faithful to the *Romans*; but was despised by the *Parthians* as a slave to *Rome*, and had scarce any authority over them [h] (C).

Trajan *gives a king to the* Parthians.

THE following year, the twentieth and last of *Trajan*'s reign, *Niger* and *Apronianus* being consuls [i], the emperor marched into *Arabia*, and there made war upon the *Hagareni*, or *Agareni*, who had likewise revolted. What part of *Arabia* they inhabited, we cannot determine, since we find no farther mention made of them, till the times of the *Constantinopolitan* empire, when the name of *Hagareni* became common to the *Saracens* and *Arabians* in general. The emperor laid siege to their city, which by *Xiphilin* is called *Atra*. It was neither great nor beautiful, says *Dio Cassius* [k], but thought to be very opulent, by reason the sun was worshiped there, which drew crouds of people thither with rich presents from the neighbouring countries [l]. It was situated on the top of an high and steep mountain, well peopled, and surrounded with strong walls [m]. But its chief strength consisted

He besieges Atra; Year of the flood 2466. Of Chr. 118. Of Rome 866.

[e] DIO, in excerpt. VAL. p. 720. [f] SPART. in Adr. p. 6. [g] GOLTZ. p. 86. [h] DIO, p. 786. [i] IDAT. & CASSIODOR. in fast. [k] DIO, l. lxviii. p. 785. [l] Idem, l. lxxv. p. 854. [m] HERODIAN. l. iii. p. 528.

(C) In several coins, which have reached our times, is represented a king prostrate before *Trajan*, with this legend on some, *He gives a king to the* Parthians; and on others the following, *He distributes kingdoms* (2).

(2) *Occo, p.* 213. *Birag. p.* 163.

in

in the barrenneſs of the neighbouring country, deſtitute, to a great diſtance, of graſs, wood, and even of water; ſo that a numerous army could not long ſubſiſt before it: hence it was neither taken now by *Trajan*, nor afterwards by *Severus*, tho' they had both made a breach in the wall. *Trajan* narrowly eſcaped being killed in one of the attacks; for, having laid aſide the enſigns of his dignity, that he might not be known, he headed his men in perſon: but the enemy, knowing him, notwithſtanding that diſguiſe, by his grey hairs, and majeſtic air, aimed chiefly at him, wounded his horſe, and killed an horſeman by his ſide. Beſides, as often as the *Romans* advanced to the attack, they were driven back by violent ſtorms of wind, rain, and hail, and dreadful flaſhes of lightning. At the ſame time, they were in a ſtrange manner infeſted in their camp by ſwarms of flies: ſo that *Trajan* was in the end obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and retire. Soon after, as he was advanced in years, and worn out with ſo many long marches, he was ſeized with a dropſy and palſy, which he aſcribed to poiſon, but others thought natural. However, he was ſtill for returning into *Meſopotamia*, to reduce ſome places, which had revolted there.

but raiſes the ſiege.

BUT, his diſtemper increaſing, he left the command of the army to *Adrian*, whom he appointed governor of *Syria*, and embarked for *Italy*. It was no ſooner known, that he had ſet ſail, than all the countries, which he had conquered at a vaſt charge, and by expoſing himſelf to innumerable dangers, ſhook off the yoke, and recovered their former condition, in ſpite of the troops which he had left to keep them in ſubjection. The *Parthians* drove out *Parthamaſpates*; the *Armenians* choſe themſelves a king; and the greateſt part of *Meſopotamia* revolted from *Rome*, and ſubmitted to the king of the *Parthians*. Thus all the pains he had taken, all the toils he had undergone, and the immenſe ſums he had expended, proved, in the end, of no effect. Upon his arrival at *Selinus* in *Cilicia*, which was afterwards from him called *Trajanopolis*, he was ſeized with a flux, which in a very ſhort time put an end to his life. He died in the beginning of *Auguſt*, after having reigned nineteen years, ſix months, and fifteen days, counting from the death of *Nerva* to the eleventh of *Auguſt* (for we know not the preciſe day on which he died), when *Adrian* received at *Antioch* the news of his death, which had been concealed for ſome time, and thereupon cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor [n] (D). His body

Is taken ill, and ſets ſail for Italy.

The Parthians drive out their king.

Trajan *dies at* Selinus *in* Cilicia.

[n] DIO, p. 786. AUREL. epit. JULIAN. Cæſar. p. 39.

(D) *Eutropius*, and ſuch as have copied him, tell us, that *Trajan* died at *Seleucia* in *Iſauria*. But *Seleucia* is at a great diſtance

His aſhes are conveyed to Rome, *and depoſited under his column.*

body was burnt at *Selinus*, and his aſhes carried by his wife *Plotina*, and his niece *Matidies*, or *Matidia*, in a golden urn, to *Rome*, where they were received with extraordinary pomp, and depoſited under the ſtately column, which he had erected, tho' it ſtood within the walls, where no one before him had been buried [o]. Sports, called *Parthic ſports*, were for many years celebrated in memory of his victories in the Eaſt [p] (E). *Trajan* left no children [q]; nor are we told, that he ever had any (F). He was ſucceeded by *Adrian*, which was rather owing to the favour of *Plotina*, than to any extraordinary kindneſs of *Trajan* towards him: for, tho' the emperor was nearly related to him, had been his guardian, and given him his niece in marriage, yet he never took great notice of him [r]; nor did *Adrian* ever ſhew any particular affection for *Trajan* (G).

We

[o] Dio, l. lxix. p. 788. Ciaccon. col. Traj. Vict. epit. [p] Dio, ibid. [q] Themist. orat. xvi. [r] Dio, p. 795. 788. Spart. in Adr. p. 3.

diſtance from the ſea; and moſt writers agree, that he was going to *Rome* by ſea. Beſides, it appears from ſeveral inſcriptions (3), from the author of the verſes commonly aſcribed to the *Sibyls*, and from the chronicle of *Alexandria*, that he died at *Selinus*. Hence *Scaliger* and *Caſaubon* wonder how any one can call in queſtion a thing ſo well atteſted (4).

(E) From an antient inſcription, we learn, that *Phidemion*, his freedman, his chamberlain, cup-bearer, and ſecretary, died a few days after him, on the twelfth of *Auguſt*, of grief for the loſs of ſo good a maſter (5).

(F) Some write, that he deſigned, in imitation of *Alexander the Great*, to die without naming a ſucceſſor; others tell us, that he intended to name ten perſons to the ſenate, leaving it in their power to chooſe which of them they judged beſt qualified for the ſovereignty (6). We read in *Dio Caſſius* (7), that once at a banquet he deſired his friends to name ten perſons, whom they thought capable of, and equal to, the ſupreme power. Both *Trajan* himſelf and his friends ſeemed, according to *Spartian*, to judge *Neratius Priſcus*, who was the greateſt civilian of his time, the beſt qualified for ſucceeding him in the empire (8). That writer adds, that one day he addreſſed him thus: *To you*, Neratius, *I recommend the provinces, in caſe I ſhould die.* He had likewiſe ſome thoughts of leaving the empire to *Servianus* (9), whoſe daughter *Adrian* had married; and to *Luſius Quietus*, of whom he deſervedly entertained an high opinion (1).

(G) Hence it was commonly

(3) *Vide P. Pagi ad ann.* 117. (4) *Vide Caſaubon. in Spart. not.* C. *p.* 10. *& Scaliger. in Euſeb. chron. p.* 341. (5) *Euſeb. coron. p.* 208. (6) *Spart. in Adr. p.* 3. (7) *Dio, l.* lxix. *p.* 795. (8) *Spart. ibid.* (9) *Dio, p.* 795. (1) *Themiſt. orat.* xvi.

believed,

WE ſhall cloſe the hiſtory of this great emperor's reign with a ſuccinct account of his noble and uſeful works. *Aurelius Victor* will have him to have firſt introduced the uſe of poſt-chaiſes; but that invention is generally aſcribed to *Auguſtus* [s], and was probably only improved by *Trajan*, as it was after his time by ſeveral other emperors, as appears from *Gothofredus*, who treats of this ſubject at length in his comments upon the *Theodoſian* code [t]. He made, at an immenſe charge, a large and convenient road, leading through many barbarous nations, from the moſt diſtant coaſts of the *Euxine* ſea, to thoſe of the ocean in *Gaul* [u]. He built ſeveral magnificent libraries in *Rome*, and a ſtately theatre in the field of *Mars* [w]. He adorned the city with many magnificent edifices, inlarged the circus, repaired a great number of antient buildings, and ſupplied with plenty of water thoſe quarters of the city, which by other princes had been neglected. But the moſt magnificent of all his works was the great ſquare, which he made at *Rome*, and called from his own name, having for that purpoſe leveled an hill an hundred and forty-four feet high. In the midſt of the ſquare, he erected the famous column, which is ſtill to be ſeen, to ſerve him for a tomb, and at the ſame time to ſhew the height of the hill, which he leveled, as appears from the inſcription on the baſis, dated the ſeventeenth year of his tribunitial power, which was the 114th of the Chriſtian æra. The emperor *Conſtantius*, when he came to *Rome* in 357. found nothing in that ſtately me-

Great works performed by Trajan.

His ſquare and column.

[s] Vide cod. Theodoſ. tom. ii. p. 510, 511. [t] GOTH. in cod. Theodoſ. tom. ii. p. 506, &c. [u] AUR. VICT. [w] PLIN. paneg. p. 96. DIO, l. lxviii. p. 778.

believed, that *Trajan* did not adopt him; but that *Plotina*, who was a great friend to *Adrian*, introduced, after the death of her huſband, a ſuppoſititious perſon, who, counterfeiting the voice of the dying emperor, declared, that he adopted *Adrian*. *Dio Caſſius* tells us, in expreſs terms, that *Trajan* never adopted *Adrian*; but that the whole affair was managed by *Plotina* and *Atianus*, or rather *Tatianus*, who had been, jointly with the emperor, *Adrian*'s guardian; and adds, that for this reaſon the emperor's death was for ſome days concealed. This *Dio Caſſius* learnt of his father *Apronianus*, who, as he had been governor of *Cilicia*, where the emperor died, had thence certain intelligence of what had paſſed at his death. Beſides, the letters written to the ſenate concerning this adoption were not ſigned by *Trajan*, but by *Plotina*, who had never before ſigned any of her huſband's diſpatches (z).

(z) *Dio*, *l.* lxix. *p.* 787, 788.

tropolis, which he admired ſo much as *Trajan*'s ſquare [x]. The architect employed by *Trajan* in this inimitable work, as *Conſtantius* ſtiled it, was one *Apollodorus* [y] (H). During this prince's reign, moſt of the provinces of the empire ſuffered greatly by earthquakes, and were grievouſly afflicted with a dreadful plague, with famine, and frequent conflagrations [z]. At *Rome* the *Tiber* overflowed its banks with incredible violence, laid great part of the city under water, overturned many houſes, and greatly damaged the fields; tho' *Trajan* cauſed a great canal to be dug, in order to drain them, and to convey the water into its natural chanel [a] (I).

Trajan ſuffers the Chriſtians to be perſecuted.

TRAJAN, notwithſtanding his humanity and good-nature, ſuffered the Chriſtians to be inhumanly perſecuted in moſt provinces of the empire. As he publiſhed no new edicts againſt the Chriſtian religion, he is not, as *Baronius* obſerves [b], reckoned by *Tertullian* among the perſecutors of the church. But, that he was an enemy to the Chriſtians, and highly pre-

[x] AMMIAN. l. xvi. p. 71. [y] DIO, p. 789. [z] VICT. epit. [a] PLIN. l. viii. ep. 17. [b] BARON. ad ann. 100.

(H) *Ciacconius* tells us, that on the top of the column, which ſtood in the midſt of the ſquare, was placed *Trajan*'s ſtatue, holding a golden apple in its right hand; and adds, that in this apple were depoſited the aſhes of the deceaſed prince (3). But *Eutropius* and *Victorinus*, whom we have followed, tell us, that he was buried under the column.

(I) *Phlegon* tells us, that, in *Trajan*'s time, a woman was delivered at *Alexandria* of five children the ſame day, three males, and two females, who were brought up with great care by the emperor. The next year the ſame woman was delivered of three children (4). We read in *Plutarch* (5), that in *Trajan*'s reign a *Veſtal*, named *Helvetia*, going on horſeback, was ſtruck dead with a flaſh of lightning, and thrown quite naked on one ſide, and her horſe on the other; which the ſoothſayers looked upon as preſaging ſomething highly diſhonourable to the *Veſtals*, and the *Roman* knights. Accordingly, not long after, the ſlave of a knight, named *Buteces*, came of his own accord, and depoſed, that his maſter, and ſeveral others of the equeſtrian order, had for a long time carried on a criminal converſation with three *Veſtals*, *Æmilia*, *Licinia*, and *Martia*, who were immediately puniſhed, and the knights too their accomplices. But the pontifs, having firſt conſulted the books of the *Sibyls*, declared, that the crime was to be expiated by burying alive in the *forum boarium*, or *the ox-market*, two men and two women, natives of *Greece* and *Gaul*; which was done accordingly.

(3) *Ciaccon. de col. Trajan. c.* 14. *quæſt. Rom.* (4) *Phleg. mir. c.* 29. (5) *Plut.*

judiced

Judiced againſt them, is manifeſt from *Pliny*'s letter to him [c], and his anſwer to *Pliny* [d]. This may be aſcribed to his looking upon the Chriſtians, who were already very numerous, and multiplied daily, with a jealous and ſuſpicious eye, as the underminers of the religion of the empire, and enemies to the gods adored at *Rome*, and in all the *Roman* provinces. Beſides, he perhaps accounted them eſtabliſhers of *hetæriæ*, or *illegal ſocieties*, which uſually breed factions and ſeditions; whence all ſocieties, or colleges, not ſettled by an imperial edict, or a decree of the ſenate, were forbidden, and the perſons frequenting them adjudged guilty of treaſon. But, after he had been informed by *Pliny* of their innocence, he could not, nor indeed did he, as appears from his anſwer, entertain any ſiniſter opinion of them. But nevertheleſs, inſtead of putting an immediate ſtop to the perſecution, he ſent directions into *Bithynia*, where it chiefly raged, repugnant to good ſenſe, and altogether inconſiſtent with his ſo much boaſted juſtice, humanity, and good-nature. For he commanded, that no inquiſition ſhould be made for the Chriſtians, but that ſuch as were accuſed ſhould be puniſhed; which was, as *Tertullian* obſerves in his excellent apology [e], declaring them innocent, and at the ſame time ordering them to be treated as criminals. "If they are guilty," ſays that writer, addreſſing himſelf to the emperor, "why do you forbid any "ſearch to be made after them? If they are innocent, why "do you command them to be puniſhed?" This ordinance, however iniquitous and abſurd, continued in force till the perſecution of *Severus*, that is, for almoſt a whole century. As *Trajan* was, what every prince ought to be, a generous encourager of learning, under him the efforts of genius and ſtudy began to revive [f]; and his reign became famous for a great numbers of eminent hiſtorians, poets, orators, and philoſophers, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in our notes (K).

His unjuſt proceedings againſt them.

CHAP.

[c] PLIN. l. x. ep. 102. [d] Idem ibid. ep. 103. [e] TERTULL. apol. c. 2. [f] PLIN. pan. p. 84. TACIT. vit. Agr. c. 2, 3.

(K) Theſe were *Julius Frontinus*, *Cornelius Tacitus*, *Pliny* the younger, *Pompeius Saturninus*, *Titinius Capito*, *Claudius Pollio*, *Verginius Romanus*, &c. *Sextus Julius Frontinus* was prætor in the firſt year of *Veſpaſian*'s reign, but yielded that dignity to *Domitian*, after having held it but one day, or two at moſt (6). Some years after, he commanded in *Britain* with great reputation and ſucceſs, till the ninth year of *Veſpaſian*'s reign, when he

(6) *Tacit. hiſt. l.* iv. *c.* 39.

was ſucceeded by the celebrated *Agricola*. As that command was given to ſuch only as had been conſuls, *Frontinus*, no doubt, had been honoured with the conſulſhip before he was ſent into *Britain*. He is thought to have been conſul a ſecond time under *Nerva*, and a third under *Trajan* (7). He was likewiſe augur, and ſucceeded in that dignity by *Pliny* the younger, in the fourth year of *Adrian*'s reign (8); whence we conclude, that he died that year, the 100th of the Chriſtian æra, the augurate being an employment for life. He was a great civilian, and highly eſteemed by all the men of learning who flouriſhed in his time, eſpecially by *Martial*, who mentions and commends him in his epigrams. In his laſt will he deſired, that no tomb might be erected to him, ſaying, that, without ſuch monuments, the world would remember him, if his life had deſerved it (9). *Tacitus*, ſpeaking of *Frontinus*, ſays, that he was a man as great and able as he found ſcope and ſafety to be (1). He was one of the greateſt commanders of his time (2), and gave ſignal proofs both of his bravery and conduct, in utterly ſubduing the powerful and warlike nation of the *Silures*, tho', beſides the courage of the enemy, he was likewiſe obliged to ſtruggle with the difficulties of places and ſituation (3). He wrote four books of *ſtratagems*, which have reached our times, and are ſuppoſed to have been inſcribed to *Trajan*. As he flatters *Domitian* in ſeveral places of his work, we may thence conclude, that it was compoſed in his reign. In the preface, which he prefixed to this work, he tells us, that he had ſtudied the military art with great application; and, beſides the book of *ſtratagems*, written ſome others upon the ſame ſubject. We read likewiſe in *Vegetius*, that what *Frontinus* compendiouſly wrote on military diſcipline, and copied in great part from *Cato* the cenſor, was greatly eſteemed by *Trajan* (4). *Ælian* quotes another work done by him, in which he ſeems to have collected whatever he found in *Homer* upon the ſubject of war (5). *Nerva* committed to him the care of the fountains and aqueducts of *Rome*; on which occaſion he wrote the treatiſe of *aqueducts*, which has reached us; as have done ſome other ſmall pieces of his, and are to be found in the collection which *Scriverius* has made of the antients, who have treated of the military art, and publiſhed at *Antwerp* in 1607. From theſe pieces it appears, that they were written during the war with the *Dacians*; which ſome underſtand of *Domitian*'s war with that people; others of *Trajan*'s (6). As for the treatiſe of *colonies*, which *Scriverius* aſcribes to *Frontinus*, it either was not done by him, or has been ſince altered; for mention is there made of *Adrian*, *Severus*, *Antoninus*, *Commodus*, and other emperors, who reigned long after *Frontinus*'s time.

Cornelius Tacitus, the greateſt orator, ſtateſman, and hiſtorian of his time, was, as is commonly

(7) *Noris epiſt. conſul. p.* 61, 62. (8) *Plin. l.* iv. *epiſt.* 8. (9) *Plin. l.* xix. *epiſt.* 19. (1) *Tacit. vit. Agr. c.* 17. (2) *Ælian. tact. p.* 3. (3) *Tacit. ibid.* (4) *Veg. l.* i. *c.* 18. (5) *Ælian. tact. c.* i. *p.* 1. (6) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* iii. *c.* 4.

ſuppoſed,

ſuppoſed, the ſon of *Cornelius Tacitus*, a *Roman* knight, and procurator of *Belgic Gaul*. His promotion in the ſtate was begun, as he himſelf informs us (7), by *Veſpaſian*, augmented by *Titus*, and by *Domitian* advanced yet higher. He was prætor under *Domitian* in the year of the Chriſtian æra 88, the ſeventh of that prince's reign, and conſul under *Nerva* in 97, being ſubſtituted to *Verginius Rufus*, whoſe panegyric, or funeral oration, he compoſed and pronounced (8). He married in 77, or 78, the daughter of the celebrated *Cneius Julius Agricola* (9). *Lipſius* is of opinion, that he left children by her, ſince the emperor *Tacitus* pretended to be deſcended from him, or to be of the ſame family; for he called the hiſtorian, as *Vopiſcus* informs us (1), his kinſman; and *Sidonius* counts him among the anceſtors of *Polemus*, prefect of *Gaul* (2). He had been four years abſent from *Rome*, when *Agricola* died (3); which has given occaſion to ſome writers to ſuppoſe, without any foundation, that he was baniſhed by *Domitian*. He pleaded at the bar, even after he had been conſul; and, by his eloquent ſpeeches, gained the reputation of the greateſt orator of his time (4). He was much admired by *Pliny*, who lived in cloſe friendſhip with him, and by all men of learning, who reckoned it a great honour to be acquainted with a perſon of his extraordinary accompliſhments (5). He ſeems to have publiſhed ſome ſpeeches, and likewiſe verſes (6), which have been long ſince loſt. One of his letters has been conveyed to us amongſt thoſe of *Pliny*. Tho' he was the greateſt orator of his time, he is now known only by his hiſtorical works, which can never be ſufficiently admired and commended. He ſeems to have written his deſcription of *Germany* during the ſecond conſulate of *Trajan*, that is, in 98. His life of *Agricola*, which *Lipſius* thinks one of the fineſt pieces in the *Latin* tongue, was, as we conjecture from the preface, one of the firſt pieces he compoſed, and probably publiſhed in the very beginning of *Trajan*'s reign. The work which compriſes the lives of the emperors, from the death of *Galba* to that of *Domitian*, ought to be placed next; for, in his annals, he refers the reader to his account of the reign of *Domitian* (7). That work, which is by *Tertullian* (8), and other antients, called *the hiſtory of* Tacitus, compriſed the tranſactions of the *Romans*, both at home and abroad, from the year 69. to the year 96. of the Chriſtian æra; but only his account of the year 69. and part of the year 70. has reached our times. Having ended his hiſtory, he began his *annals* (for ſo he himſelf ſtiles them) from the death of *Auguſtus* to the reign of *Galba*, in which there are many lamentable chaſms, as we have obſerved in the preceding pages. He had reſerved, as he himſelf tells us (9), for the ſtudy and employment of his old age, the reigns of *Nerva* and

(7) *Tacit. hiſt. l.* i. *c.* 1. (8) *Plin. l.* ii. *ep.* 1. (9) *Tacit. vit. Agr. c.* 9. (1) *Vopiſc. in Tacit.* (2) *Sid. l.* iv. *epiſt.* 4. (3) *Tacit. ibid. c.* 44. (4) *Plin. l.* ii. *epiſt.* 1, 11. (5) *Idem, l.* iv. *epiſt.* 13, 15. *l.* ix. *epiſt.* 10. (6) *Plin. l.* ix. *ep.* 10. (7) *Tacit. annal. c.* 11. (8) *Tertull. ap. c.* 16. *& lib. de ſpectac.* (9) *Tacit. hiſt. l.* i. *c.* 1.

Trajan; but that work, it ſeems, he never undertook, no mention being made of it by any of the antients. He likewiſe propoſed writing the hiſtory of *Auguſtus*'s reign; but St. *Jerom* knew of no other hiſtorical works of *Tacitus*, except his hiſtory and annals, which were in all thirty books (1). Of theſe are now remaining, not without many chaſms, only ſixteen books of his annals, and five of his hiſtory. As to his ſtile, it is ſublime and expreſſive; his thoughts are great, his phraſe elevated, and his words few. He ſhews himſelf, throughout his whole work, an upright patriot, zealous for public liberty, and the welfare of his country; a declared enemy to tyrants, and to the tools of tyranny; a lover of human kind, a man of virtue, who adores liberty and truth, and every-where recommends them. As no man had ſeen more, and few thought ſo much, he draws events from their firſt ſources, takes off every diſguiſe, and penetrates every artifice. He ſaw every thing in a true and uncommon light; whence his reflections are maſterly and profound, like mirrors, where human nature and government are exhibited in their proper ſize and colours. His ſtile is a kind of language peculiar to himſelf, weighty, grave, and well adapted to his ſubject. The older he grew, the more he curtailed his ſtile; for his hiſtory is much more copious and flowing than his annals; ſo that what has by ſome been reckoned a fault, was in him the effect of his judgment. His *Latin* is pure and claſſical; he has few or no words which had not been uſed by approved writers; nor does he often give new ideas to old words. However, as he is ſparing of his words, and, after having ſtarted the idea, leaves the reader to purſue it, he is thence charged by the moderns with obſcurity. The emperor *Tacitus* directed his books to be placed in all the libraries; and, for their better preſervation, ordered ten copies of them to be tranſcribed every year at the public expence (2). But, notwithſtanding this care, many of them have been long ſince loſt, as we have obſerved above. As for the dialogue on the decay of eloquence, which is by ſome aſcribed to *Tacitus*, by others to *Quintilian*, and was written in the ſixth year of the reign of *Veſpaſian*, *Lipſius*, from the ſtile, is more inclined to adjudge it to *Quintilian* than to *Tacitus*. But of that piece we have ſpoken above (†). The unjuſt cenſure of Mr. *Bayle* and others upon *Tacitus*, as if he derived the actions of his princes, even the moſt innocent, from wicked counſels and deſigns, is fully confuted by Mr. *Gordon*, in the diſcourſes which he has prefixed to his excellent tranſlation of that hiſtorian (3); a tranſlation which has been of great uſe to us in compiling the foregoing part of this hiſtory.

Pliny was a native of *Comum*, now *Como*, the ſon of *L. Cæcilius*, by the ſiſter of *Pliny* the elder, by whom he was adopted, and thence took the name of *C. Plinius Cæcilius Secundus* (4). He was born in the eighth year of

(1) *Hier. in Zac.* (2) *Vopiſc. in Tacit.* (†) *See before, p.* 89, (X).
(3) *Gord. p.* 18——23. (4) *Plin. prol. & l.* v. *ep.* 8.

Nero's

Nero's reign, the 61ſt of the Chriſtian æra, and ſtudied eloquence under *Quintilian* (5) with ſuch ſucceſs, that he and *Tacitus* were reckoned the two greateſt orators of their time. In his youth he followed the profeſſion of arms (6), was prætor under *Domitian*, and under *Trajan* conſul, augur, and governor of *Pontus* and *Bithynia*. But his chief employment was to plead cauſes, which he did with great eloquence, and equal diſintereſtedneſs, not accepting of his clients fees or preſents of any kind, even before the law forbidding them paſſed in the ſenate. He publiſhed ſeveral harangues or ſpeeches, none of which have reached our times, except his panegyric upon the emperor *Trajan*. An inſcription, quoted by *Voſſius* (7), aſcribes to him ſome hiſtorical pieces; but of theſe no mention is made by any antient writer: nay, *Apollinaris Sidonius* tells us, that *Tacitus* did not apply himſelf to the writing of hiſtory, till he had in vain endeavoured to engage *Pliny* in that province (8). The letter, in which *Pliny* excuſes himſelf from that taſk, is ſtill extant (9), but inſcribed to one *Capito*: perhaps in the time of *Sidonius*, that is, in the fifth century, it paſſed for a letter written to *Tacitus*. Some make *Pliny* author of the *lives of illuſtrious men*, which, by moſt critics, is aſcribed to *Cornelius Nepos*; but by *Voſſius* to *Aurelius Victor* (1). *Pliny* often mentions his own verſes; but, as they have been long ſince loſt, we can give no account of them. He himſelf made and publiſhed a collection of ſuch of his letters, as he thought the moſt diverting and inſtructive (2); and of theſe are ſtill extant ten books, which have been of ſignal uſe to us in deſcribing the reign of *Trajan*. He was, as appears from his letters, a man of great honour, probity, diſintereſtedneſs, and good-nature; of which we find innumerable inſtances in his letters. He preſented the city of *Comum*, where he was born, with a valuable and numerous collection of books, which he bought at a great rate, and allotted a large fund to be employed, partly in purchaſing other books, and partly in maintaining and bringing up the children of his poor countrymen (3). As the citizens of *Comum* uſed, for want of proper maſters at home, to ſend their children to be educated at *Mediolanum*, now *Milan*, he prevailed upon them to contribute towards the hiring and maintaining of profeſſors in all arts and ſciences, and was himſelf at the third part of the charge: he would have willingly paid the whole, had he not believed, that the parents of the children, by being obliged to diſburſe two-thirds of the requiſite ſum, would be thence more effectually induced to chooſe profeſſors well qualified for that truſt, than if the whole charge were borne by him; in which caſe, favour, he apprehended, might prevail over merit (4). Beſides his countrymen, he preſented others with conſiderable ſums, namely, *Quintilian*, on occaſion of the marriage of his daughter (5); the poet *Martial*,

(5) *Plin. l.* ii. *ep.* 14. (6) *Idem, l.* i. *ep.* 10. (7) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* i. *c.* 30. (8) *Sidon. l.* iv. *ep.* 23. (9) *Plin. l.* v. *ep.* 8.
(1) *Voſſ. ibid.* (2) *Plin. l.* i. *ep.* 1. (3) *Idem, l.* i. *ep.* 8. *l.* vii. *ep.* 18. (4) *Idem, l.* iv. *ep.* 13. (5) *Idem, l.* vi. *ep.* 32.

when he left *Rome*, to return to *Spain*, his native country (6); and one *Romanus Firmius*, to make up the ſum that was requiſite for his being raiſed to the equeſtrian order (7). He was not himſelf poſſeſſed of a large eſtate; but, by beſtowing little upon himſelf, he could afford beſtowing a great deal upon his friends, as he had no children (8). A lady of merit, named *Corellia*, for whom *Pliny* had a particular value, having betrayed to him a deſire of having lands on the lake of *Como*, he generouſly offered her a ſmall eſtate, lately fallen to him, which bordered on that lake. *Corellia* refuſed the preſent, and deſired to know the value of it; when one of *Pliny*'s freedmen, no doubt by private orders from his maſter, undervalued it, and ſold it to her at a very low rate; which *Corellia* afterwards knew, but *Pliny* could not by any means be prevailed upon to accept the full value of the land (9). He at once diſcharged all the debts of one of his friends, ſubſtituting himſelf in the room of all his other creditors, who had brought him into great trouble. When his friend died, his daughter *Calvina* was for renouncing the inheritance; but *Pliny*, to ſave the reputation of the deceaſed, generouſly forgave her what ſhe owed him, tho' he had contributed a conſiderable ſum towards her fortune, when ſhe was married (1). The reader will find in *Pliny*'s letters innumerable other inſtances of his generoſity, diſintereſtedneſs, and good-nature, which the brevity we have propoſed to ourſelves will not allow us to relate in this place.

Pompeius Saturninus flouriſhed under *Trajan*, and is highly commended by *Pliny*, with whom he lived in great friendſhip, as an excellent orator, poet, and hiſtorian (2). *Pliny* publiſhed nothing without ſubmitting it firſt to the judgment of *Saturninus* (3). This is perhaps the ſame *Saturninus*, who died in the fifth year of *Trajan*'s reign, and bequeathed part of his eſtate to *Pliny* (4). His works have been long ſince loſt. *Titinius Capito* is likewiſe mentioned by *Pliny*, as a writer of no mean character. He deſcribed the *deaths of illuſtrious men*, amongſt whom were ſome of his cotemporaries, condemned, no doubt, by *Domitian* (5). *Pliny* tells us elſewhere (6), that, with excellent verſes, he celebrated the actions of great men; and adds, that he prevailed upon the emperor, *Nerva* or *Trajan*, to erect a ſtatue in the forum to *L. Silanus*, who was by *Nero*'s order put to death in the year 65. the eleventh of that prince's reign. *Cataneus*, in his notes upon *Pliny* (7), tells us, that *Lactantius* quotes a book upon the public ſhews written by *Titinius Capito*. *Claudius Pollio*, who is likewiſe greatly commended by *Pliny* (8), wrote the life of *Muſonius Baſſus*, his benefactor. *Suidas* ſpeaks of one *Aſinius Pollio*, who was a native of *Tralles* in *Aſia*, and a celebrated ſophiſt and philoſopher, and aſcribes to him ſeveral

(6) *Plin. l.* iii. *ep.* 21. (7) *Idem, l.* i. *ep.* 19. (8) *Idem, l.* ii. *ep.* 4. (9) *Idem, l.* vii. *ep.* 11. & 14. (1) *Idem, l.* ii. *ep.* 4. (2) *Idem, l.* vii. *ep.* 16. (3) *Idem ibid. ep.* 8. (4) *Idem, l.* v. *ep.* 7. (5) *Idem, l.* viii. *ep.* 12. (6) *Idem, l.* i. *ep.* 17. (7) *Idem ibid.* (8) *Idem, l.* vii. *ep.* 31.

pieces;

CHAP. XXI.

The Hiſtory of Rome, *from the Death of* Trajan, *to the Death of* Marcus Aurelius, *when the Power of the* Roman *Empire began to decline.*

Adrian. ADRIAN, who ſucceeded *Trajan* in the empire, was the ſon of *Ælius Adrianus Afer*, couſin-german to that prince, and of *Domitia Paulina*, ſprung from an illuſtrious family in *Cadiz*. His family came originally from *Italica* in *Spain*, the native city of *Trajan*, whither *Adrian*, in the account he wrote of his own life, pretended, that his anceſtors had removed ſome ages before from the city of *Adria* in the country of the *Picentes*, now the dukedom of *Atri* in *Abruzzo*. *Marullinus*, his great-great-grandfather, was the firſt *Roman* ſenator of the family [a]. He was born, according to *Spartian*, in *Rome*, on the twenty-fourth of *January*, in the year ſeventy-ſix of the Chriſtian æra, while *Veſpaſian* was conſul the ſeventh time, and *Titus* the fifth [b]. *Eutropius* writes, that he was born in *Italica*; but *Caſaubon* thinks, he

His extraction, employments, &c.

[a] Spart. in Adr. p. 1—3. Pariſ. 1620. [b] Idem ibid. & P. Pagi, p. 30.

pieces; amongſt the reſt, one giving an account of the memorable actions and ſayings of the philoſopher *Muſonius*; but he adds, that *Muſonius* taught at *Rome* in the time of *Pompey the Great* (9); but is commonly thought to have been therein guilty of a great overſight (1). *Pliny* likewiſe mentions and commends one *Verginius Romanus*, who wrote comedies, and other poetical pieces (2). Under *Trajan* flouriſhed, according to *Voſſius* (3), two *Greek* poets, *Serapio*, an *Athenian*, *Plutarch*'s friend, and *Rufus*, an *Epheſian*, author of the ſix books upon ſimples, known to *Galen*, and other phyſicians. *Pliny* ſeems to have entertained a mighty opinion of the ſophiſt *Icæus*, who came to *Rome*, when he was about ſixty (4), and there gained, as appears from *Juvenal* (5), the reputation of an eloquent orator. He was a native of *Aſſyria*, and in his youth had led a moſt debauched life; but afterwards, changing his conduct, applied himſelf to the ſtudy of philoſophy and eloquence (6). He ſeems to have left no other works behind him, except his declamations. Of *Plutarch*, *Suetonius*, *Epictetus*, and ſeveral other writers, who lived under *Trajan*, but died after him, we ſhall ſpeak hereafter.

(9) *Suidas*, p. 579. (1) *Vide Jonſ. l.* iii. *c.* 7. (2) *Plin. l.* vi. *ep.* 31. (3) *Voſſ. poet. Græc. p.* 73. (4) *Plin. l.* i. *ep.* 3. (5) *Juv. ſat.* iii. *ver.* 74. (6) *Philoſtr. ſoph. c.* 20. *Suidas*, p. 1274.

was

was therein miſtaken [c]. He was named *P. Ælius Adrianus*, or *Hadrianus*; to which names he added, after his acceſſion to the empire, that of *Trajan* [d]. His father, dying when he was but ten years old, left him under the guardianſhip of *Trajan* and *Cœlius Tatianus*, or *Attianus*, as *Salmaſius* calls him, a *Roman* knight [e]. He applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the *Greek* tongue, and was, at the age of fifteen, ſo thoroughly acquainted with that language, that he was commonly ſurnamed *the young* Grecian. He then went to ſerve in *Spain*, and ſtaid there till he was recalled by *Trajan*, with whom he lived as his ſon. He was ſoon after appointed by *Domitian* one of the decemvirs, and thence raiſed to the command of the ſecond auxiliary legion, with which he was ſent into *Mœſia* about the latter end of that prince's reign. We are told, that in *Mœſia* an aſtrologer aſſured him, that the ſovereign power was by the fates deſtined to him; which was confirming what his great-uncle *Ælius Adrianus*, who was likewiſe ſkilled in aſtrology, had foretold many years before [f]. When *Trajan* was adopted by *Nerva*, he was ſent to him with the congratulations of the army upon that occaſion, and ſoon after removed by *Nerva* from *Mœſia* into *Upper Germany*; whence he haſtened, upon the death of that prince, which happened ſoon after, to carry the firſt tidings of it to *Trajan*. *Servianus*, who commanded in *Upper Germany*, and was no friend to *Adrian*, tho' he had married his ſiſter *Paulina*, detained him, till he had diſpatched an expreſs to *Trajan* with the news of *Nerva*'s death, and afterwards ſupplied him with an old chariot, which broke down by the way, that he might not ingratiate himſelf with the new emperor, by firſt informing him of his acceſſion to the empire. But, nevertheleſs, *Adrian* purſued his journey on foot with ſuch expedition, that he arrived in *Lower Germany*, where *Trajan* then was, before the expreſs [g]. *Trajan* kept him with him; but, tho' he was his kinſman, his guardian, tho' he gave him afterwards his ſiſter's grand-daughter, *Sabina*, in marriage, yet he never conferred any extraordinary honours upon him. In his youth he had ſquandered away his eſtate, and contracted great debts; which, with his other vices, *Servianus* took care to exaggerate to the emperor, in order to eſtrange his mind from him, and prevent his adopting him; for *Servianus* entertained a very indifferent opinion of *Adrian*, and believed that *Rome* could never be happy under ſuch a prince [h]; and truly he was a perſon of moſt extraordinary

Trajan conferred no extraordinary honours upon him.

[c] Casaub. in not. ad Spart. [d] Dio, l. lxviii. p. 786. [e] Spart. in Adr. p. 1—3. [f] Idem ibid. [g] Idem, p. 4. [h] Idem, p. 8.

parts, and had ſome great virtues, but allayed with no leſs vices.

He was endowed with a memory almoſt beyond belief; he could repeat by heart a whole book, however difficult and intricate the ſubject of it was, after having once peruſed it; he knew the name of every ſoldier in the army, and remembred the names of all the old ſoldiers, who had once ſerved under him, tho' they had been long diſbanded. He excelled in every branch of learning, and was, without compariſon, the beſt orator, poet, grammarian, philoſopher, and mathematician of his time; thoroughly ſkilled in phyſic; well acquainted with the virtues and properties of moſt herbs and minerals; in drawing and painting he was equal to the greateſt maſters; ſung, and played upon all kinds of inſtruments, ſo as to be reckoned the moſt ſkilful muſician of the age he lived in. He even applied himſelf to the ſtudy of judicial aſtrology, and magic. He uſed at the ſame time to write, dictate to ſeveral ſecretaries, give audience to his miniſters, and diſcourſe with them about affairs of the greateſt importance; for no man was better acquainted with his domeſtic affairs, than he with thoſe of the whole empire. His court was conſtantly crouded with philoſophers, orators, poets, mathematicians, *&c.* for whom he always ſhewed a particular eſteem, and took great pleaſure in diſputing with them, and challenging the poets by extemporary verſes, at which he had an extraordinary talent. Having one day excepted againſt an expreſſion uſed by *Favorinus*, that philoſopher modeſtly yielded, tho' he might have produced, out of good authors, ſufficient authority for his expreſſion; which ſeeming ſtrange to his friends, *Do you think*, ſaid *Favorinus* pleaſantly, *that I will pretend to be more learned than one who has thirty legions at his beck*[i]?

His extraordinary memory, learning, &c.

Favours the learned.

In the beginning of his reign, he gave many inſtances of his clemency and good-nature; but afterwards cauſed ſeveral perſons to be unjuſtly put to death; whence ſome writers extol him as a moſt merciful prince, while others repreſent him as naturally inclined to cruelty, but often forgiving injuries, through fear of undergoing the fate of *Caligula*, *Nero*, or *Domitian*. In the very beginning of his reign, *Tatianus* adviſed him to put three perſons to death, who, he ſaid, would not fail to raiſe diſturbances, to wit, *Bebius Macer* governor of *Rome*, *Laberius Maximus*, and *Craſſus Frugi*, of whom the two latter had conſpired againſt *Trajan*, and were then in baniſhment; but the emperor would not hearken to any ſug-

Inſtances of his clemency.

[i] Spart. in Adr. p. 1—3. Ammian. l. xxx. Dio, l. lxix. p. 790.

geſtions

geſtions againſt them, ſaying, It would be highly unjuſt and tyrannical, to puniſh any one for a crime which he was only likely to commit[k] (A). He allowed every one free acceſs to him, and ſeemed never better pleaſed than when they ſpoke to him with liberty, or admoniſhed him of his faults (B).

Kind to his friends;

He was courteous and affable towards perſons of all ranks, converſed familiarly with his friends, and viſited them, nay, and his freedmen, when indiſpoſed, twice or thrice a day, comforting them in their ſickneſs, and aſſiſting them with his counſels. He frequently entertained them at his table, and honoured them with his company at their houſes, without being invited, converſing with them more like a private perſon than a prince. He refuſed them nothing which he thought reaſonable to grant them, and enriched ſome who had never aſked him the leaſt favour[l]; but at the ſame time gave ear to ſlanderers, and believed every tale that was whiſpered againſt them; whence all thoſe whom he had moſt favoured, and raiſed to the higheſt honours, were in the end diſgraced, treated by him as enemies, and either put to death, or ba-

but gives ear to ſlanderers.

[k] Spart. p. 10. [l] Idem, p. 7. Dio, p. 791.

(A) *Spartian* writes, that he freely forgave all thoſe who had any-way injured him while he was a private perſon; and that one day meeting one of them after he was emperor, he told him, That he had eſcaped by his prómotion to the empire (1). On the other hand, *Dio Caſſius* tells us, that he remembred and puniſhed with great ſeverity, ſome injuries done him in *Trajan*'s time; and that he never forgave the famous architect *Apollodorus*, who had ſpoken contemptuouſly of him before that prince (2).

(B) Of this we read the following inſtance: A woman having one day applied to him on occaſion of a troubleſome lawſuit, the emperor told her, That he was not then at leiſure to hear her. The woman, not ſatisfied with this anſwer, cried out to him aloud, *To what purpoſe, then, are you emperor?* With which frankneſs *Adrian* was ſo well pleaſed, that, poſtponing all other affairs, he heard her with great patience, and diſmiſſed her fully ſatisfied (3). The *Roman* people demanding one day with great noiſe in the theatre ſomething, which *Adrian* was no way inclined to grant them, he ordered the public crier to command ſilence with the imperious word *Tacete*, *Be ſilent*, uſed by *Domitian* on the like occaſion; but the crier, inſtead of obeying him, ſaid only, *The emperor begs you would be ſilent*; which *Adrian* was ſo far from reſenting, that he commended his prudence, and amply rewarded it (4).

(1) *Spart.* p. 8. (2) *Dio, l.* lxix. *p.* 789. (3) *Idem, p.* 790. (4) *Idem ibid.*

nished [m]. His liberality knew no bounds; he allotted large sums for the maintenance of poor children of both sexes, and in that excelled even *Trajan*. Upon such of the senators as were by misfortunes reduced to poverty, he settled pensions suitable to their rank, and the number of their children. Among the populace he distributed yearly an immense quantity of corn, made large presents to such of the knights as were not able to support their dignity, and supplied all those whom he appointed governors of provinces, or commanders of armies, with horses, mules, cloaths, and money, to defray the charges of their journey. During the feast of *Saturn*, he used to send presents to his friends, laying hold of that opportunity to reward them for their fidelity, and attachment to his person. His presents to kings and princes always exceeded those which they had sent him. Such of the public professors as were no longer able to discharge their office as they ought, he dismissed with marks of honour, and handsome allowances. As he spent most part of his reign in visiting the provinces of the empire, he left every-where marks of a magnificence truly great and princely [n]. He is said never to have seized unjustly any man's property [o]; neither would he ever receive legacies left him by persons who were not known to him, or by such of his friends as had children [p].

His liberality.

He shewed on all occasions an high respect for the senate, consuls, and other magistrates, transacting nothing without their advice. He scarce ever failed assisting at their assemblies, when he was either at or near *Rome*, and usually waited on the consuls to their houses. He would not suffer the *Roman* knights to sit as judges in the cause of a senator, though that had been customary when the cause was pleaded before the emperor in person; neither would he allow of any appeals from the senate to him [q]. He administred justice with great impartiality, following therein the advice of *P. Jubentius Celsus*, *Salvius Julianus*, and *Neratius Priscus*, all three men of great probity, and the best civilians in *Rome*. He narrowly inquired into the conduct and behaviour of his ministers, discharging them when guilty of the least injustice or misdemeanour. He allowed his freedmen no power; and such as pretended to have any, in order to gain by that means credit or wealth, he punished with the utmost severity (C). He was an enemy to

Respects the senate.

Is impartial in the administration of justice.

Allows no power to his freedmen.

[m] Spart. & Dio, ibid. Philost. soph. c. 27.

[n] Spart. p. 10. Dio, p. 790.

[o] Dio, ibid.

[p] Spart. p. 9.

[q] Idem, p. 17.

(C) Observing one day from his window one of his freedmen walking between two senators, he sent one of his attendants to give

to all pomp and parade; whence he would never ſuffer the ſenators to attend him but upon buſineſs. He uſually returned from the ſenate in a ſedan, that the ſenators might be diſpenſed from accompanying him to the palace. His medals are all very plain, without the uſual titles of *emperor*, *high pontif*, *father of his country*, &c. He would not ſuffer his name to be put upon any of the ſtately buildings which he erected, except upon the temple which he built in honour of *Trajan*; but, at the ſame time, was pleaſed, that ſeveral aqueducts and cities ſhould bear his name [r]. Out of *Rome* he laid quite aſide the port and majeſty of an emperor; in his garb and dreſs he little varied from a common ſoldier; his diet was ſuch as chance preſented; he uſually marched on foot, with his head bare, making no diſtinction between the frozen mountains of the *Alps*, and the ſcorching deſerts of *Africa*; he viſited the ſoldiers in perſon when ſick, took particular care of their proviſions, made them preſents, *&c.* but, at the ſame time, put down the uſe of arbours, ſhady walks, bowers, *&c.* baniſhing from the camp whatever ſeemed in the leaſt to encourage luxury and idleneſs. He was acquainted with every ſoldier in the army, knew his age, remembred his exploits, if he had performed any, *&c.* He preferred none but men of courage, ſtrength, and good characters, ſaying, *Such as the officers are, ſuch will the ſoldiers ſoon be.* By this means he revived and reſtored the antient military diſcipline, which, by the negligence of many princes, had been decaying ever ſince the time of *Auguſtus* [s].

He revives the antient military diſcipline.

His vices. He is generally blamed by the antients as too inquiſitive, and prying into every one's ſecrets, though they no-way concerned him; as addicted to the moſt infamous pleaſures, and abandoned to all manner of ſuperſtition; which was the chief cauſe of his perſecuting the Chriſtians, whom he looked upon as enemies to the idolatrous worſhip of his gods [t]. He took great delight in hunting, and is ſaid to have killed bears, lions, and other wild beaſts, with his own hand. He founded a town in *Mœſia*, which he called *Adrianotheræ*, that is, Adrian's *chace*, becauſe he had killed a bear there. He loved his hunt-

[r] Spart. p. 9, 10. [s] Idem, p. 5. Dio, p. 790—792.
[t] Dio & Spart. ibid. Ammian. l. xxv. Hier. chron. Tertul. apol. c. 5.

give him a box on the ear, and tell him, that it did not become him to walk between two perſons to whom he might one day be a ſlave (5).

(5) *Spart. p.* 10.

ing-

ing-horſes and dogs to ſuch a degree, that he built them tombs, and wrote himſelf their epitaphs [u]. He was the firſt emperor, as *Spartian* obſerves [w], who let his beard grow, to cover ſome ſcars, which disfigured that part of his face.

HAVING thus premiſed a ſuccinct account of the virtues and vices of *Adrian*, we ſhall now proceed to the hiſtory of his reign, according to the order of time. Having cauſed himſelf to be declared emperor on the eleventh of *Auguſt* of the year 118. he immediately wrote to the ſenate, excuſing his having aſſumed that title without their conſent and authority, alleging, that he had been forced to it by the ſoldiery. He begged they would confirm the title, without conferring other honours upon him till he deſerved them. In the ſame letter he ſolemnly promiſed never to put any ſenator to death, nor to tranſact any affair of conſequence without their counſel and advice [x]. He doubled the donative given by other emperors to the ſoldiery, and appointed *Tatianus*, or *Attianus*, formerly his guardian, with *Similis*, captains of the prætorian guards (D). *Adrian* had no ſooner taken poſſeſſion of the empire, than he deprived the brave *Luſius Quietus*, who had ſerved with great credit under *Trajan*, of the command of his countrymen the *Moors*, ſuſpecting him as if he aſpired at the empire. As to the conqueſts made by his predeceſſor, he reſolved to abandon them all; and accordingly withdrew his troops from *Armenia*, *Meſopotamia*, and *Aſſyria*; ſo that the *Euphrates* became anew the boundary of the *Roman* empire. He allowed the *Armenians* to chooſe themſelves a king; and, as the *Parthians* were diſſatisfied with *Parthamaſpates*, whom

His letter to the ſenate.

Adrian abandons the countries conquered by Trajan.

[u] SPART. p. 12, 13. DIO, p. 792. [w] SPART. ibid.
[x] DIO, l. lxix. p. 788.

(D) *Similis* was a man of great probity, moderation, and prudence; and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in quality of centurion under *Trajan*, who had a particular value for him. As it was much againſt his will, that he accepted the command conferred upon him by *Adrian*, he reſigned it three years after, withdrew into the country, and there ſpent in retirement the ſeven remaining years of his life. A little before he died, he compoſed his own epitaph, importing, that he had been ſeventy ſix years upon the earth, but lived only ſeven (6). *Tatianus* was a man of a quite different character; for he adviſed *Adrian*, upon his acceſſion to the empire, to put ſeveral perſons to death; and was thought to have been the chief author of the murders which that prince committed about two years after (7).

(6) *Spart, cum not. Salmaſ. p.* 19. *Dio, p.* 796. (7) *Spart. & Dio, ibid.*

Trajan

Trajan had raiſed to the throne, he appointed him king of ſome neighbouring nation; and ſuffered the *Parthians* to recal *Coſrhoes*, whom *Trajan* had driven out two years before [y]. He was likewiſe determined to abandon *Dacia*; but his friends prevailed upon him to keep a province, in which ſuch numbers of *Roman* citizens had ſettled. However, he ordered the arches of the famous bridge built by *Trajan* over the *Danube* to be broken down, fearing the barbarians might make themſelves maſters of it, and invade the *Roman* territories [z]. *Adrian*, having given the neceſſary orders for maintaining the tranquillity of the Eaſt, and appointed *Catilius Severus* governor of *Syria*, left *Antioch*, and ſet out for *Rome*, which he did not reach till the next year [a]. *Epiphanius* tells us, that, before he left the Eaſt, he went into *Egypt*; and that, paſſing by *Jeruſalem* forty-ſeven years after it had been taken by *Titus*, on that occaſion he reſolved to rebuild it; which deſign, however, he did not put in execution before the latter end of his reign [b].

THE following year *Adrian* entered upon his ſecond conſulſhip, having been named to that dignity by *Trajan* before he died, together with *Fuſcus Salinator*, who had married the daughter of *Servianus*, *Adrian*'s niece [c]. This year *Adrian* returned to *Rome*, where he was received by all ranks of people with extraordinary demonſtrations of joy; but he could by no means be prevailed upon to accept the triumph, which had been prepared for *Trajan*, and was by the ſenate decreed for him. At his motion, that honour was conferred upon the image of *Trajan*, which *Adrian* himſelf ſeems to have carried [d]. Soon after his entrance into the city, he remitted to the inhabitants of *Rome* and *Italy* all debts, without reſtriction, due from them to the exchequer, and to particular perſons in the provinces what was owing by them for the laſt ſixteen years, burning in *Trajan*'s new ſquare all the bonds and regiſters relating to thoſe debts, in order to ſecure every one againſt ſuch claims. The ſum which he forgave on this occaſion amounted to ſeven millions of our money, and upwards. No wonder, therefore, that ſuch a generous action is ſo much extolled by the hiſtorians of thoſe times, and mentioned in moſt of the inſcriptions and medals of this and the

He arrives at Rome; *but refuſes the triumph decreed him by the ſenate.*

Remarkable inſtances of his generoſity.

[y] SPART. p. 10. DIO, l. lxviii. p. 776. [z] EUTROP. in Adrian. & DIO, ibid. [a] SPART. p. 3. [b] EPIPHAN. menſ. c. 14. [c] IDAT. CASSIODOR. ONUPH. in faſt. [d] SPART. ibid.

following

following year (E). Beſides, he leſſened the taxes both at *Rome*, and in the provinces; and eaſed the cities of the great burden, which had been laid upon them by *Trajan*, of ſupplying ſuch as traveled for the ſervice of the public with horſes, chariots, and carriages, which was thenceforth done at the charge of the emperor [c].

THE following year *Adrian* was conſul the third time; but reſigned the faſces after four months, and never after reſumed them. He had for his collegue one *Ruſticus*, of whom we find no further mention. This year the *Sarmatians*, and the *Roxolani*, whoſe country bordered on the *Palus Mæotis*, invaded *Illyricum*; which obliged *Adrian* to leave *Rome*, and haſten into *Mœſia*, where he defeated the barbarians upon their return from *Illyricum*. Thoſe who eſcaped, ſaved themſelves by ſwimming croſs the *Danube*, and ſoon after ſent embaſſadors to *Adrian*, who granted them honourable terms, and by that means put a ſpeedy end to the war. They afterwards quarreled with one another, and choſe *Adrian* for their umpire, who compoſed their differences to the general ſatisfaction of each party. Having thus both terrified the barbarians, and at the ſame time gained their affections, he appointed *Martius Turbo*, whom he had recalled from *Mauritania*, governor of *Pannonia* and *Dacia*, and led his army into *Illyricum*; whence he wrote to the ſenate, complaining of *Cornelius Palma*, *L. Publius Celſus*, *Domitius Nigrinus*, and *Luſius Quietus*, as if they had formed a conſpiracy againſt him. They were all conſulars, men of extraordinary parts, and had been greatly eſteemed and beloved by *Trajan*; but nevertheleſs the ſenate, out of complaiſance to the emperor, ordered them immediately to be put to death, without ſo much as acquainting them, that they had been accuſed. As no one believed them guilty of the crime laid to their charge, their death drew upon the emperor the public hatred, who thereupon left *Illyricum*, and haſtened back to *Rome*, where he openly declared upon his oath, that they had been executed againſt his will, and without his knowlege; but was not believed, ſays *Dio Caſſius*, by thoſe who knew, that *Palma* and *Celſus* had been always his enemies, and that he was jealous of *Nigrinus* and

The Sarmatians *and* Roxolani *defeated.*

Four conſulars put to death.

[c] SPART. p. 17.

(E) On one of the medals, which has reached our times, *Adrian* is repreſented with a torch in his hand, ſetting fire to the bonds, with this legend, *He enriches the whole world* (8).

(8) *Span. L.* ix. *p.* 811. 815.

Quietus, who were equally beloved and eſteemed by the *Roman* people [f].

Several other perſons accuſed and condemned.

BESIDES theſe four excellent men, as *Dio Caſſius* ſtiles them, ſeveral other perſons of great merit and diſtinction were accuſed and condemned, as privy to the ſuppoſed conſpiracy; which filled the city with dread and terror. But *Adrian* himſelf, having got rid of thoſe whom he chiefly feared, put a ſtop to the cruel and unjuſt proceedings of the ſenate by an edict, forbidding any one to be accuſed or tried upon the law of majeſty. He was deſirous of having *Tatianus*, formerly his guardian, and now captain of the prætorian guards, put to death; for he was a man of an haughty and imperious temper, and aſſumed greater power and authority, than the emperor was willing to grant him; but nevertheleſs *Adrian*, not thinking it adviſeable to ſpill more blood, diſſembled his hatred for the preſent, and prevailed upon *Tatianus* to reſign his command, by offering him a place in the ſenate, and the conſular ornaments; which he readily accepted. *Martius Turbo*, governor of *Pannonia* and *Dacia*, and one of the beſt officers of his age, was put in his room, as was *Septicius Clarus* in the room of *Similis*, who this year reſigned of his own accord, and retired from the city [g]. Toward the end of the year, the emperor went into *Campania*, where he relieved with great generoſity the poor inhabitants of all the cities through which he paſſed.

THE next conſuls were *L. Catilius Severus*, whom *Adrian* had appointed governor of *Syria* three years before, and *Titus Aurelius Fulvus*, who ſucceeded *Adrian* in the empire, and is commonly known by the name of *Antoninus Pius* [h]. This year *Adrian*, who uſed to ſay, that an emperor ought to imitate the ſun, who illuminates not one place, but all the corners and regions of the earth, began his progreſs, with a deſign to viſit in perſon all the provinces of the empire, and examine the ſtate of each country ſubject to *Rome*, that he might not be obliged to depend intirely upon the accounts tranſmitted to him by his miniſters and governors. Thus he employed almoſt the whole remainder of his reign, that is near ſeventeen years (F). He began his progreſs with *Gaul*, where he viewed all the

Adrian *reſolves to viſit all the provinces of the empire.*

Year of the flood 2469. Of Chr. 121. Of Rome 869.

[f] DIO, l. lxix. p. 788. [g] Idem, p. 795, 796. SPART. p. 7. [h] ONUPH. in faſt. p. 220.

(F) From ſeveral antient coins we learn, that he viſited the following countries, *Gaul*, *Spain*, *Germany*, *Mauritania*, *Africa*, *Libya*, *Sicily*, *Achaia*, or *Greece*, *Eubœa*, *Macedonia*, *Egypt*, and the city of *Alexandria*, *Palæſtine*, *Arabia*, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, *Pamphylia*, *Lycia*, *Cappadocia*, *Phrygia*, *Aſia*, *Bithynia*, *Thrace*, *Mæſia*, and

the chief cities, and *Roman* forts, and ſignalized himſelf by extraordinary bounties, relieving with great generoſity the poor inhabitants in all the places through which he paſſed. From *Gaul* he went into *Germany*, where lay the flower of the *Roman* troops; and therefore he ſpent ſome time there, in order to revive, and eſtabliſh among them, the antient military diſcipline; for he did not leave *Germany* till the beginning of the following year, when *Annius Verus*, grandfather to the emperor *Marcus Aurelius*, and *Augur*, or, as he is called in the *Alexandrian* chronicle, *Augurinus*, were conſuls.

He goes into Gaul, and thence into Germany.

DURING their conſulate, *Adrian*, leaving *Germany*, returned to *Gaul*, and from thence paſſed over into *Britain*, where he is ſaid to have reformed many abuſes [i]. The greateſt part of the iſland was, when he arrived in *Britain*, ſubject to *Rome*; but the northern nations had, upon the departure of *Agricola*, revolted, and recovered their antient liberty. *Adrian* did not think it adviſeable, nor worth his while, to make war upon them, and reduce them anew; but, in order to ſecure the countries belonging to the *Romans* againſt the incurſions of the warlike *Caledonians*, he cauſed a mighty wall to be built, extending from the river *Eden* in *Cumberland* to the *Tine* in *Northumberland*, eighty miles in length [k]. In other countries too, where the barbarians were not ſeparated from the *Romans* by rivers, he ordered walls to be made of earth, ſays *Spartian* [l], which were ſtrengthened with ſharp ſtakes driven deep into the ground. In *Britain* he diſgraced and diſcharged his ſecretary *Suetonius Tranquillus*, no doubt the hiſtorian, and *Septicius Clarus*, captain of the prætorian guards, for their diſreſpectful behaviour towards the empreſs *Sabina* [m].

Croſſes over into Britain.

His wall there.

HAVING ſettled the affairs of *Britain*, he returned to *Gaul*, and built at *Niſmes* a magnificent palace in honour of *Plotina*, *Trajan*'s widow (G). From *Gaul*, *Adrian* went into *Spain*, and paſſed the winter at *Tarraco*, now *Tarragona*, where he rebuilt Spain;

He returns to Gaul, and thence goes into Spain;

[i] SPART. p. 6. [k] Idem ibid. USSER. Britan. eccleſ. antiq. p. 1024. Dublin. 1635. [l] SPART. ibid. [m] Idem ibid.

and *Dalmatia* (9). No mention is made, on any of the medals which have reached us, of *Britain*, *Armenia*, or *Dacia*; which provinces, it is certain, he viſited, as we ſhall relate hereafter.

(G) No remains of this ſtately edifice, or baſilic, as *Spartian* calls it, are now to be ſeen; but the antiquaries take the magnificent amphitheatre, which the inhabitants call *les Arenes*, the *Pont du*

(9) *Birag. p.* 175. 177.

rebuilt the temple of *Auguſtus*, founded by *Tiberius*, and held a general aſſembly of the ſtates of *Spain*, in order to compoſe the differences which ſubſiſted amongſt them, about the raiſing of levies to recruit the *Roman* armies. At *Tarraco* he narrowly eſcaped being killed by a ſlave, who, while the emperor was walking in his maſter's garden, aſſaulted him with a drawn ſword. *Adrian*, cloſing with him, ſeized him, and delivered him to the guards, who were haſtening to his aſſiſtance: but afterwards, finding the ſlave was diſordered in his ſenſes, he committed him to the care of the phyſicians, and took no farther notice of the attempt (H).

where he is in danger of being aſſaſſinated.

Returns to Rome.

FROM *Spain* the emperor returned to *Rome* in the month of *April*, as appears from an antient inſcription, *Acilius Aviola* and *Cornelius Panſa* being then conſuls: but he did not ſtay there long: for, either in the end of this, or the beginning of the following year, when *Quintus Arrius Pætinus* and *Caius Ventidius Apronianus* were conſuls, he was, according to St. *Jerom* and *Euſebius* [n], at *Athens*. During his ſtay in that city, the *Cephiſus* happening to break over its banks, and lay under water great part of the city of *Eleuſina*, he cauſed a bridge to be built over that river, and provided againſt its overflowing for the future [o]. From *Athens* he paſſed into the Eaſt, where he apprehended a war with the *Parthians*; but prevented it by a conference, with whom, hiſtory does not inform us; but it was, in all likelihood, with *Coſrhoes* king of the *Parthians*. The following year, *Manius Acilius Glabrio* and *Caius Bellicius Torquatus* being conſuls, *Adrian* returned from the Eaſt through *Aſia*, and viſited *Cilicia*, *Lycia*, *Pamphylia*, *Cappadocia*, *Bithynia*, and *Phrygia*; ordering temples, ſquares, and other edifices, to be built at his expence in moſt of the chief cities of thoſe provinces, eſpecially in *Nicomedia*, *Nicæa*, and *Cyzicus*. He likewiſe viſited the iſlands of the *Archipelago*, and arrived in the beginning of the following year, *P. Cornelius Scipio Aſiaticus*

Goes to Athens, *and from thence into the Eaſt.*

Viſits ſeveral provinces, and paſſes the winter at Athens.

[n] EUSEB. chron. p. 211. [o] HIER. in chron.

gard, and ſeveral other antient buildings, which are ſtill to be ſeen in that city, to have been raiſed by *Adrian*, or by his ſucceſſor *Antoninus* (1).

(H) *Adrian* did not viſit the city of *Italica*, whence his family originally came; but diſtinguiſhed it with many privileges (2). *Gellius* quotes a diſcourſe made by the emperor in the ſenate in favour of *Italica*, *Utica*, and other free cities, demanding the rights and priveleges of colonies, though *Adrian* himſelf thought the condition of free cities preferable to that of the colonies (3).

(1) *Vide Salmaſ. in Spart. p.* 23.
(2) *Idem, p.* 6. & *Dio, p.* 792.
(3) *Aul. Gel. l.* xvi. *c.* 13.

ticus

ticus and *Vettius Aquilinus* being conſuls, in *Achaia*, and paſſed the remaining part of the winter at *Athens*, where he was initiated in the rites of *Ceres* and *Proſerpine*, called the *Eleuſinian myſteries*, following therein the example of *Hercules*, and *Philip* king of *Macedon*.

Viſits Sicily, *and returns to* Rome.

FROM *Athens*, after he had preſided there at the public games, and beſtowed innumerable favours upon the *Athenians*, he ſailed to *Sicily*, where he was led by his curioſity to viſit the top of mount *Ætna*, in order to view from thence the riſing ſun, believed to exhibit there all the colours of the rainbow. From *Sicily* he returned to *Rome* in the beginning of the following year, when *Annius Verus*, grandfather to the emperor *Marcus Aurelius*, was the third time conſul, with *L. Varius Ambibulus* P. The two next years, the eleventh and twelfth of *Adrian*'s reign, are quite barren of events. The conſuls were *Titianus* and *Gallicanus*, *Torquatus Aſprenas* and *Annius Libo* q. The following year, *P. Juventius Celſus* and *Q. Julius Balbus Marcellus* being conſuls, the cities of *Nicomedia*, *Cæſarea*, and *Nicæa*, in *Bithynia*, were almoſt intirely overturned by an earthquake; but rebuilt at the expence of the emperor, who was thence ſtiled the *Reſtorer of* Bithynia, as appears from ſome medals r. In the beginning of this year *Adrian* was ſtill at *Rome*; for, on the third of *March*, he propoſed ſome difficulties touching inheritances, which were reſolved by a decree of the ſenate, dated the fourteenth of the ſame month s. But, ſoon after, he ſet out again on a new progreſs, paſſing firſt into *Africa*; where, upon his arrival, it rained, after a five years drought; which, together with the many favours he beſtowed upon the inhabitants of that province (for he left every-where ſignal marks of his liberality and good-nature), gained him the affections of all ranks of men. From *Africa* he returned to *Rome*, and there cauſed the obſequies of *Plotina*, to whom he was indebted for the empire, to be performed with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence. She died either while *Adrian* was in *Africa*, or ſoon after his return from thence. He bewailed her with many tears, appeared for nine days in deep mourning, compoſed verſes in her praiſe, and cauſed her to be ranked among the gods t.

Rebuilds ſeveral cities at his own expence.

Croſſes over into Africa, *whence he returns to* Rome.

Plotina *dies, and is ranked among the gods.*

THE next conſuls were *Q. Fabius Catullinus* and *M. Flavius Aper*, during whoſe adminiſtration a temple was built at *Rome*, in honour of that city, and of the goddeſs *Venus*, which

The temple of Venus *and* Rome.

P NORIS, epiſt. conſul. p. 78. DIO, l. lxix. p. 797. q IDAT. ONUPH. &c. in faſt. r EUSEB. in chron. p. 211. BIRAG. p. 123. s Digeſt. v. c. 3. l. xx. NORIS, epiſt. conſul. p. 421. t DIO, p. 792.

Year of the flood 2479. Of Chr. 131. Of Rome 879.

was called the *temple of* Rome, and the *temple of the fortune of* Rome [u]. On account of this temple, *Adrian* changed the antient name of the feaſt, which was yearly kept on the twenty-firſt of *April* for the foundation of *Rome*, calling it *Romana*, inſtead of *Palilia* [w]. This temple was one of the wonders which the emperor *Conſtantius* chiefly admired when he came to *Rome* [x]. It was afterwards conſumed by accidental fire, and rebuilt by *Maxentius* [y] (1). In the beginning of the ſummer,

Adrian returns to Aſia,

Adrian ſet out from *Rome*, with a deſign to viſit anew the provinces of the Eaſt; and, paſſing through *Athens*, purſued his journey to *Aſia*, where he conſecrated ſeveral temples. In *Cappadocia* he purchaſed a great number of ſlaves for the ſervile offices of the camp. To *Coſrhoes* he ſent back his daughter, who had been taken priſoner by *Trajan*, and promiſed to reſtore to him his golden throne; but never performed his promiſe.

and there confers with the Eaſtern kings.

He invited to a conference all the neighbouring kings, and many of them complied with the invitation; to wit, *Malaſſes* king of the *Lazi*, *Reſmagas* king of the *Abaſgi*, *Spadages* king of the *Sauni* or *Sauniges*, *Staquimfan* king of the *Zydretæ*. The territories of theſe princes lay partly eaſt, partly north, of the *Euxine* ſea. Beſides theſe, ſeveral other petty kings came to wait upon *Adrian*, and were by him entertained with great pomp and magnificence, and loaded with rich preſents upon their departure. The *Bactrian* princes did

[u] Ammian. l. xvi. [w] Athen. l. viii. [x] Ammian. ibid. [y] Aur. Vict. p. 526.

(1) When the fabric was ended, *Adrian* ſent the plan of it to the famous architect *Apollodorus*; which was tacitly telling him, that he was not the only great architect in the world: and this was what the emperor meant by ſending the plan after the building was accompliſhed; for though he himſelf had employed him, yet he bore him a private grudge, on account of his having checked him with great acrimony, for pretending, in *Trajan*'s time, to give his opinion concerning certain buildings. *Apollodorus*, who was no flatterer, after having viewed the plan, deſired thoſe who brought it to tell the emperor from him, that the fabric was too low for the place in which it ſtood; and, on the contrary, the ſtatues of *Rome* and *Venus* too tall: "The architect, added he pleaſantly, has taken care, that the goddeſſes ſhall not riſe, nor walk out." *Adrian* was ſo offended at the freedom of this anſwer, that, though he had deſired *Apollodorus* to acquaint him with his ſentiments concerning the building, yet he baniſhed him, and ſoon after, under ſome pretence or other, cauſed him to be put to death (4).

(4) *Dio*, p. 789.

not

not come, but ſent embaſſadors to conclude an alliance with the people of *Rome*. The kings of *Albania* and *Iberia* neither ſent embaſſadors, nor came in perſon; which they repented, when they underſtood how the others had been received and entertained [z]. In *Syria* he went up to the top of mount *Caſius* in the neighbourhood of *Antioch*, to obſerve from thence the riſing ſun, and to offer a ſacrifice to *Jupiter*, who was worſhiped upon that mountain; but he was there overtaken by a violent ſtorm of thunder and lightning, which fell both upon the prieſt, and the victim [a]. From *Syria* he paſſed into *Palæſtine* and *Arabia*, and from thence into *Egypt* [b]. It is obſerved in the *Alexandrian* chronicle, that the famous coloſſus of *Rhodes* ſhook this year, the fourteenth of *Adrian*'s reign, for the firſt time [c].

He viſits Palæſtine, Arabia, *and* Egypt.

THE next year *Servius Octavius Lænas Pontianus* and *M. Antoninus Rufinus* were conſuls. During their adminiſtration, *Salvius Julianus*, one of the moſt learned civilians of his age, compiled, by the emperor's command, the *perpetual edict*, containing all the laws which had been yearly publiſhed by the prætors in their edicts. This collection was called the *edictum perpetuum*, becauſe it was to continue in force for-ever, to be as a body of ſtanding laws, to prevent the great confuſion occaſioned by the new edicts, and to ſerve as a guide and rule in the adminiſtration of juſtice throughout the whole empire [d]. *Adrian* continued in *Egypt* all this and the following year, when *Augurinus* and *Sergianus* were conſuls. At *Peluſium* he viſited the tomb of *Pompey the Great*; and, finding it almoſt intirely demoliſhed, he ordered it to be repaired at his own expence [e], and performed the uſual ceremonies in honour of the deceaſed hero. He diſliked the fickle, turbulent, and ſatirical temper of the *Egyptians*, eſpecially of the *Alexandrians* (K). Their city had, it ſeems, forfeited many

The edictum perpetuum.

He diſlikes the ſatirical temper

of

[z] SPART. p. 27. ARRIAN. in perip. Pont. p. 7. [a] SPART. p. 7. [b] DIO, p. 792. [c] Chron. Alexand. p. 598. [d] Vide VOBURG. hiſt. Roman. Germanic. tit. i. p. 401. Francofurt. 1645. [e] DIO, p. 792. SPART. p. 7.

(K) In a letter which he wrote to *Servianus* his brother-in-law, he tells him, that the *Chriſtians*, *Sarmatians*, and *Jews*, of that country were always ready to change their religion, becauſe they all adored one and the ſame god, their own intereſt; and adds, that they all ſuperſtitiouſly obſerved the motion and aſpect of the ſtars, and pretended to be ſkilled in divination (5). He ſpeaks of a patriarch, who now-and-then viſited *Egypt*, meaning, no doubt,

(5) *Vopiſc. vit. Sat. p.* 245.

of the Alexandrians. *He repairs the city of* Alexandria, *and reſtores to the* Alexandrians *their antient privileges.*

of its antient privileges, probably on account of ſome ſedition; for St. *Jerom* tells us, that it was almoſt intirely ruined by the *Romans* [f]; but *Adrian* not only repaired both the public and private buildings, and reſtored to the inhabitants their former privileges, but heaped new favours upon them; for which they returned him ſolemn thanks, and conferred upon him what honours they could. But this ſenſe of gratitude was not in them long-lived; for he no ſooner left their city, than they publiſhed moſt bitter and virulent lampoons againſt him, and his favourites (L). *Adrian* from *Egypt* paſſed into *Libya Cyrenaica*, where he killed (for he took great pleaſure in hunting) a lion of a monſtrous ſize, which had committed great ravages in that country, and even unpeopled ſome parts of it [g].

[f] Hier. chron. [g] Athen. l. xv. p. 677.

the patriarch of the *Jews* (6). He concludes with this obſervation, that at *Alexandria* no one was ſuffered to be idle; inſomuch that even thoſe who were blind followed ſome profeſſion (7).

(L) In the palace at *Alexandria*, which took up the third part of the city, one quarter was conſecrated to the muſes and ſciences, and thence called the *Muſeum*. There were lodged and entertained, at the expence of the public, men of learning, divided into ſeveral companies or colleges, according to the different ſciences and ſects which they profeſſed. They were all under one head, who was named by the emperor, and honoured with the title of *pontif.* This inſtitution is generally aſcribed to *Ptolemy Philadelphus* king of *Egypt*, who placed there his famous library. The emperor *Claudius* to the antient *Muſeum* added a new one, with large revenues. In the *Muſeum* were always perſons eminent in all the branches of literature, and it was by the learned deemed a great honour to be admitted into this ſociety, or, as it is ſometimes expreſſed, to this table. This diſtinction *Adrian* granted to *Dionyſius* the ſophiſt, whom he greatly eſteemed, and to an *Egyptian* poet named *Pancrates* (8). *Adrian* did not fail viſiting this place, and converſing with the moſt eminent men of that learned ſociety; he examined them, and ſuffered himſelf to be by them examined, aſking them many queſtions, and anſwering thoſe which they propoſed to him (9). The emperor *Caracalla* ſuppreſſed this ſociety in the year 216 (1), but it was afterwards re-eſtabliſhed, and ſubſiſted till the civil wars in the time of *Aurelian*, when that quarter, named *Bruchium*, was utterly demoliſhed (2); inſomuch that, about the latter end of the fourth century, it was quite deſerted, and at ſome diſtance from the city (3).

(6) *Vide Pearſ. de Ignat. c.* 3. & *Vopiſc. vit. Sat.* (7) *Vopiſc. ibid.*
(8) *Strabo, l.* xvii, *p.* 793, 794. *Ammian. l.* xxii. *Dio, l.* lxxvii. *p.* 873. *Athen. l.* vi. & xxvi. (9) *Sport p.* 10. (1) *Dio, ibid. p.* 873.
(2) *Ammian. l.* xxii. (3) *Vide Caſaub. in Span. p.* 36.

WHAT moſt of all rendered *Adrian*'s journey into *Egypt* remarkable, was, the death of *Antinous*, a beautiful youth, greatly beloved by a prince addicted to the moſt unnatural pleaſures. He fell accidentally into the *Nile*, as he was ſailing on that river with the emperor, and was drowned (M). The emperor bewailed him, ſays *Spartian* [h], with all the tenderneſs and weakneſs of a woman lamenting the death of her huſband. To allay in ſome meaſure his grief, he deſired the *Greeks* to rank him amongſt the gods; which they did accordingly: ſo that in a ſhort time all the eaſtern provinces were filled with ſtatues, temples, and chapels, conſecrated to this new divinity (N). *Adrian* cauſed his body to be buried with the utmoſt magnificence, built a city in that place, and changed his tomb into a temple, where he was ſaid to work miracles [i]; which we find expoſed and ridiculed by the pagans themſelves.

The death of Antinous, ſuppoſed to have been ſacrificed by him.

He is ranked among the gods.

[h] SPART. p. 7. [i] ORIGEN. in Celſ. l. iii. p. 132.

(M) This is the account which *Adrian* himſelf gave of his death. But *Dio Caſſius* aſſures us, that the emperor, who had applied himſelf to the ſtudy of magic, being, by the falſe and execrable principles of that art, miſled into a belief, that he ſhould prolong his life by ſacrificing an human victim to the infernal gods, was obliged to accept of the tender which *Antinous* made him of his life, all the reſt preferring their own ſafety to the emperor's. *Adrian* would by choice have rather ſacrificed his deareſt friends, than his beloved catamite; but, as no conſtraint was to be uſed, and none of them cared to prolong the emperor's life at the expence of their own, the offer of *Antinous* was accepted, and he ſacrificed (4).

(N) At *Mantinea* in *Arcadia* a magnificent temple was erected to him by *Adrian*, ſolemn ſports inſtituted, and prieſts appointed to offer victims in honour of the deified pathic (5). It was even pretended, that he uttered oracles; but his anſwers were commonly thought to have been compoſed by *Adrian* (6). The aſtrologers, having diſcovered, or pretending to diſcover, a new ſtar, gave out, that it was *Antinous* (7). The deifying of *Antinous*, and the ſacrilegious worſhip paid him, was made uſe of by the Chriſtian writers as an argument to impugn the divinity of the other gods, who were more antient, but had no better claim to their godhead, than the infamous *Antinous*, and to expoſe the pagan religion. This argument we find wonderfully handled by *Juſtin the Martyr*, who was converted about this time to the Chriſtian religion, and likewiſe by *Hegeſippus*, *Athenagoras*, *Tatian*, *Theophilus* of *Antioch*, *Tertullian*, *Clement* of *Alexandria*, and *Origen*.

(4) *Dio*, *l.* lxix. *p.* 793. (5) *Dio*, *ibid.* *Spart.* *p.* 8. *Spon.* *l.* vii. *p.* 652—657. (6) *Spart.* *p.* 7. *Dio*, *ibid.* (7) *Dio*, *ibid.*

Adrian returns to Syria.

THE following year, when *Hiberus* and *Siſenna* were conſuls, *Adrian* left *Egypt*, and returned to *Syria*, where he paſſed this and the next year, and honoured *Servianus* his brother-in-law with a third conſulſhip, and gave him *C. Vibius Juventius Varus* for his collegue. While *Servianus* was conſul, the emperor wrote a letter to him, giving him an account of the ſtate of *Egypt*, and of *Alexandria* its metropolis [k]. At the ſame time he ſent ſome preſents, both to him, and his wife *Paulina* the emperor's ſiſter, who died ſoon after. As *Adrian* conferred no extraordinary honours upon her after her death, the *Roman* ſenate and people were the more diſpleaſed with thoſe he had beſtowed upon *Antinous* [l]. Early in the ſpring he left *Syria*, in order to return to *Italy*; but made a long ſtay at *Athens*, after having viſited *Thrace* and *Macedon*. During his ſtay at *Athens*, the *Jews* revolted, provoked chiefly, ſays *Dio Caſſius* [m], at *Adrian*'s ſending a *Roman* colony to *Jeruſalem*; at his calling that city, after the name of his family, *Ælia Capitolina*; and his erecting a temple to *Jupiter Capitolinus* in the place where the antient temple ſtood. *Spartian* tells us, that *Adrian* publiſhed an edict, forbidding them to be circumciſed; which prompted them to take up arms, and attempt the recovery of their antient liberty. Be that as it will, *Adrian* had no ſooner left *Syria*, than they openly revolted. But of that revolt, and the fatal conſequences that attended it, we ſhall ſpeak at large in a more proper place.

Viſits Thrace and Macedon, and returns to Athens.

The Alani invade the provinces of the empire.

DIO CASSIUS, after having deſcribed the war which *Adrian* waged with the *Jews*, ſpeaks of another, which broke out about the ſame time, with the *Alani* or *Maſſagetæ*, a people of *Sarmatia*, who, under the conduct of *Pharaſmanes* their king, committed dreadful ravages in *Media*, entered *Armenia*, and penetrated into *Cappadocia*; but ſoon withdraw from thence, not caring to encounter *Flavius Arrianus* governor of that province, who was preparing to meet them [n]. The inſtructions given by *Arrian*, concerning the march of the *Roman* army againſt the *Alani*, and the order to be obſerved in the battle, which, it was thought, would enſue, have reached our times [o]. The *Roman* army conſiſted, as appears from theſe inſtructions, of troops from various nations, commanded by one *Xenophon*, who no doubt ſerved under *Arrian* governor of the province, ſince *Arrian* directs him how he is to conduct himſelf both in the march and battle (O).

ADRIAN

[k] VOPISC. vit. Sat. p. 245. [l] DIO in excerpt. VAL. p. 714. [m] Idem, l. lxix. p. 793. [n] Idem ibid. p. 794. [o] ARRIAN. mandat. in Alan. Upſaliæ, ann. 1664.

(O) We have a deſcription of the *Euxine* ſea by *Arrian*, probably the governor of *Cappadocia*, addreſſed by way of letter to *Adrian*.

ADRIAN in the mean time continued at *Athens*, being mightily taken with the cuſtoms and learning of the *Athenians.* He was there admitted to the great myſteries of *Eleuſina*, different from thoſe in which he had been initiated ſome years before, and celebrated, according to *Euſebius* [p], the ſecond year of each *Olympiad*, that is, every fourth year. He therefore had not left *Athens* in the beginning of the nineteenth year of his reign, which was the one hundredth and thirty-fifth of the Chriſtian æra, and the ſecond of the two hundredth and twenty-eighth *Olympiad.* As he had been created archon of *Athens* before he was emperor, he aſſumed the habit peculiar to that dignity, and, with the other magiſtrates, celebrated the great feſtival of *Bacchus*, diſtributing on that occaſion large ſums, and an immenſe quantity of corn, among the popu-

Adrian's *generoſity to the* Athenians.

[p] EUSEB. chron. p. 214.

Adrian. The author begins his relation with his arrival at *Trebizond*, where, by the emperor's command, a temple was then building in honour of *Mercury.* He embarked at *Trebizond*, in order to view the eaſtern coaſt of the *Euxine* ſea; which he did accordingly, viſiting every-where the *Roman* gariſons; obliging the ſoldiers to perform their military exerciſes before him; paying them their arrears, *&c.* and acquainting the emperor with the ſtate of each gariſon (8). He ſailed by the mouth of the *Phaſis*, the waters of which river he obſerved ſwimming a long time, on account of their lightneſs, upon thoſe of the ſea. At the mouth of the *Phaſis* ſtood a caſtle gariſoned by four hundred *Roman* ſoldiers, and a town inhabited by ſome veterans and ſeafaring men; which, for the greater ſecurity of the place, he ſtrengthened with a new ditch. He ended his voyage at *Sebaſtopolis*, the moſt diſtant city gariſoned by the *Romans.* Of all the barbarous nations, along whoſe coaſts he ſailed, the *Sanni*, called by *Xenophon* the *Drilli*, were the moſt fierce and warlike. They had then no king; and, as they had formerly paid tribute to the *Romans*, *Arrian*, in his letter to the emperor, offers either to reduce them anew, or to extirpate the whole nation (9). We are ſure he did not extirpate them; for we find them mentioned many ages after; neither are we told, that he reduced them. To the account of his voyage along the coaſts of the *Euxine* ſea, he adds a deſcription of the coaſts of *Aſia*, from *Byzantium* to *Trebizond*, and another of the country, from *Sebaſtopolis* to the *Boſporus Cimmerius*, and from thence to *Byzantium*, that the emperor might take what meaſures he thought proper, in caſe he deſigned to concern himſelf with the affairs of *Boſporus*, the king of that country, by name *Cotys*, being juſt then dead. From this relation it appears, that at this time a port was forming, by the emperor's order, at *Trebizond* (1).

(8) *Arrian. perip. Pont. Euxin. p.* 1, 2, 3. (9) *Idem, p.* 4—7.
(1) *Idem, p.* 7—10.

lace.

His buildings there.

lace [q] (P). He embelliſhed the city of *Athens* with many ſtately buildings, eſpecially with a library of marvelous ſtructure. Theſe edifices had been by his orders begun before; but were finiſhed this year, and conſecrated by the emperor himſelf [r]. He likewiſe finiſhed the magnificent temple of *Jupiter Olympius* [s], begun, according to *Philoſtratus* [t], five hundred and ſixty years before. In this temple he dedicated an altar to himſelf, and ſuffered the *Greeks* to build and conſecrate a temple to him, which they called *Panellenion* [u], inſtituting on this occaſion annual ſports. In ſhort, he embelliſhed *Athens* with ſo many noble buildings, that he was looked upon as the ſecond founder of that city; whence one quarter of it was from him called *Adrianopolis*. Many monuments of his generoſity towards the *Athenians* are ſtill to be ſeen [w] (Q). The *Athenians* employed part of the money with which he preſented them, in building a city in the iſland of *Delos*, which they called Adrian's *new* Athens *and* Olympia [x]. The *Athenians* of *Delos* are mentioned in an inſcription ſtill to be ſeen at *Venice* [y]; but now remain only ſome ruins of this city, as well as of the many magnificent buildings, which by the ſuperſtitious pagans were erected in that iſland [z].

Adrian *returns at length to* Rome;

THIS year, the nineteenth of *Adrian*'s reign, and the one hundredth and thirty-fifth of the Chriſtian æra, the emperor left *Athens*, and returned at length to *Rome*, *Lupercus Pontianus* and *Rufus Atilianus* being conſuls [a] (R). He had not been

[q] DIO, p. 795. SPART. p. 9. [r] HIER. chron. WHELER's travels, p. 437. SPART. p. 7. [s] DIO, ibid. [t] PHILOST. ſop. XXV. [u] SPART. cum not. Caſaub. p. 26. [w] Vide WHELER, p. 421——471. [x] EUSEB. chron. p. 215. [y] GRUT. p. 405. [z] WHELER, p. 93, &c. [a] NORIS, epiſt. conſ.

(P) *Dio Caſſius* tells us, that he ſubjected to *Athens* the whole iſland of *Cephalenia* (2); but, in an inſcription addreſſed to *Adrian Olympicus*, as he is there called, the city of *Pale* in that iſland ſtiles herſelf *autonomos*, that is, free, and governed by her own laws (3).

(Q) From a decree of this prince concerning the ſale of oil, produced by *Wheler*, it appears, that at this time all controverſies were determined at *Athens* by the ſenate and people aſſembled by the magiſtrates, with an appeal to the proconſul, or to the emperor (4).

(R) *Dio Caſſius* tells us, that, in the ſhews which he exhibited ſoon after his arrival, the people preſſing him to declare free one

(2) *Dio*, p. 795. (3) *Vide Rein. inſcript.* p. 335. (4) *Vide Wheler*, p. 470.

of

been long in *Rome*, when embaſſadors arrived from *Vologeſes*, probably king of *Armenia*, with complaints againſt *Pharaſmanes* king of *Iberia*, and from the *Iazyges*, a people of *Sarmatia*, who were deſirous to have their antient treaties with the people of *Rome* confirmed by the emperor. *Adrian* received them in a very obliging manner, conducted them to the ſenate, and there read to them an anſwer, which, at the requeſt of the ſenate, he had compoſed beforehand. *Pharaſmanes* came to *Rome* in perſon, with his wife and his ſon, to anſwer the complaints of *Vologeſes*, bringing with him rich preſents for *Adrian*, who repaid them with others far more valuable; and, beſides, preſented him with fifty elephants, and five hundred choſen men, to ſerve him as a guard; enlarged his dominions; ſuffered him to ſacrifice in the capitol; cauſed an equeſtrian ſtatue to be erected to him; and aſſiſted in perſon at a military exerciſe performed by him, his ſon, and the chief men of his court[b] (S).

Year of the flood 2483. Of Chriſt 135. Of Rome 883.

where he receives Pharaſmanes *king of* Iberia.

AFTER *Adrian* had traveled, we may ſay, all over the known world, he fell into a lingering diſeaſe, attended with a frequent bleeding at the noſe, which the phyſicians of thoſe days aſcribed to his going conſtantly with his head uncovered in the greateſt colds, heats, ſhowers, &c. The loſs of blood, as he was advanced in years, was followed by a dropſy, from which as he entertained no hopes of ever recovering, he began to think of a ſucceſſor; when ſeveral perſons of great merit occurred to him; namely, *Servianus*, who had married his ſiſter, and was now in the ninetieth year of his age; *Fuſcus* the grandſon of *Servianus*, and his own great-nephew; *Pletorius Nepos*, his antient and intimate friend; and *Terentius Gentianus*, a man greatly beloved and eſteemed by the ſenate. Theſe he judged, among the great men of *Rome*, the moſt capable of the ſu-

He falls into a lingering diſeaſe.

Begins to think of a ſucceſſor.

[b] Dio, p. 794.

of the charioteers of the circus, who belonged to a private perſon, he returned the following anſwer; "It does not become the *Roman* "people to beg of their empe- "ror the liberty of one who does "not belong to him, nor the "emperor to oblige the perſon "to whom he belongs to grant "him it (5)."

(S) Nevertheleſs, by a ſtrange whim, as we may call it, after ſo many preſents, and ſuch extraordinary honours, he introduced into the amphitheatre three hundred criminals to be devoured by the wild beaſts, or to fight as gladiators, in the embroidered tunics with which *Pharaſmanes* had preſented him, as if they had been fit only for ſuch uſes (6). But this, no doubt, happened after the departure of the *Iberian* prince.

(5) *Dio*, p. 795. (6) *Spart.* p. 9.

preme

He adopts Commodus Verus.

preme power; but nevertheleſs neglecting them, nay, conceiving an irreconcileable hatred to them, for no other reaſon but becauſe they were equal to the empire, contrary to the expectation of all, and the advice of his friends, he made choice of *L. Aurelius Annius Ceionius Commodus Verus*; for he is called by all theſe names, and *Adrian* added thoſe of *Ælius* and *Cæſar*.

His character.

He was ſprung from an illuſtrious family, of which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter; was endowed with many good qualities; had the port and air of a prince; was well verſed in moſt branches of learning, eſpecially poetry; and thought rather not unfit for the empire, than equal to it. He was of a very weak and infirm conſtitution, and at the ſame time intirely addicted to lewdneſs and debauchery; nay, it was commonly thought, that his beauty chiefly recommended him to *Adrian*, who is ſaid to have adopted him, upon condition that he ſhould conſent to his ſatisfying the paſſion which he had conceived for him: but what paſſed between them on this occaſion was never well known, ſays *Spartian* [c], both *Adrian* and *Verus* having bound themſelves by a ſolemn oath to keep it ſecret. The adoption of *Verus* occaſioned great rejoicings in *Rome*. *Adrian* gave a largeſs to the people, diſtributed three thouſand ſeſterces amongſt the ſoldiery, exhibited games in the circus, combats of gladiators, &c. But,

Adrian *repents his choice.*

as the new *Cæſar*'s weakneſs daily increaſed, and he began to vomit blood, *Adrian* ſoon repented his choice, telling the captain of his guards, That he had placed his hopes and ſupport on a falling wall; that he had loſt the four thouſand ſeſterces, which he had diſtributed amongſt the people and ſoldiery; and had adopted not a ſon, but a god, alluding to the cuſtom which obtained among the *Romans*, of deifying their emperors and *Cæſars*. Theſe words, being told by the captain of the guards to others, came at length to the ears of *Verus*, and ſo ſenſibly affected him, that they are thought to have greatly contributed to his death, which happened in the beginning of the following year. The captain of the guards was immediately diſcharged, and baniſhed the court.

Verus *is ſent into* Pannonia.

VERUS, a few days after his adoption, was created prætor, and ſent to govern the province of *Pannonia*; in which employment he acquitted himſelf with reputation, and ſhewed himſelf well qualified for the command of an army. In an inſcription of the following year, the twenty-firſt of *Adrian*'s reign, he is ſtiled *imperator* [d]; whence we may conclude, if there is not ſome miſtake in the inſcription, as father *Pagi* [e]

[c] SPART. in Æl. Ver. p. 14. [d] GRUTER. p. 23. [e] PAGI, p. 137.

pretends, that he waged war in thoſe parts; of which, however, no mention is made by hiſtorians.

THE following year *Adrian* raiſed to the conſulſhip his adopted ſon *Verus*, and gave him for his collegue *Sex. Vetulenus Civica Pompeianus*, whoſe ſiſter *Verus* had married. This year *Adrian* retired to *Tibur*, now *Tivoli*, where he employed his time in building a magnificent villa [g], the ſtately ruins of which are ſtill to be ſeen in the poſſeſſion of the *Roman* Jeſuits at a ſmall diſtance from *Tivoli*. *Aurelius Victor* tells us, that in this retreat he gave himſelf up, as *Tiberius* had done formerly at *Capreæ*, to all manner of lewdneſs; but he was ſoon ſeized with a bloody flux, which reduced him to a miſerable condition. In that ſtate, abandoning himſelf to his natural cruelty, which, till then, he had reſtrained, he ordered many illuſtrious perſons, under various pretences, to be arraigned and executed, and others to be privately murdered. Among the former were *Servianus* his brother-in-law, and his great-nephew *Fuſcus*, who, he pretended, had formed a deſign of ſeizing the empire. *Fuſcus* was but eighteen, and *Servianus* ninety (T). To palliate his cruelty, to which he had, ſays *Spartian*, a great byas, he uſed to lament the unfortunate condition of princes, whoſe lives, he ſaid, were never thought to have been in danger till they were killed [h]. The following year *Ælius Verus Cæſar* was conſul the ſecond time, with *P. Cælius Balbinus Vibullius Pius*, who had been raiſed by *Adrian* to the rank of a patrician, and was one of the anceſtors of *Cælius Balbinus*, whom we ſhall ſee preferred to the empire in the year 237. that is, an hundred years after [i]. This year the *Jewiſh* war being ended, *Julius Severus*, who had utterly reduced that rebellious nation, was appointed governor of *Bithynia*, where he behaved with ſuch juſtice and moderation, having nothing in view but the welfare and happineſs of the people committed to his charge, that his name was famous in that province an hundred years after and upwards [k].

Adrian retires to Tivoli.

Abandons himſelf to cruelty, ordering ſeveral illuſtrious perſons to be put to death.

[f] NORIS, epiſt. conſ. p. 98. [g] SPART. p. 13. [h] Idem ibid. [i] ONUPH. IDAT. &c. GRUTER p. 393. [k] DIO, p. 793.

(T) We are told, that the latter, before he was executed, called the gods to witneſs his innocence, and begged of them that they would puniſh the cruelty and injuſtice of *Adrian*, by reducing him to ſuch a ſtate, that he ſhould wiſh for death, and not have it in his power to die; which happened accordingly (7).

(7) *Dio, p. 795. Spart. p. 12.*

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THE next conſuls were *Camerinus* and *Niger* [l]. In the beginning of this year *Verus*, who had ſpent part of the preceding year in *Pannonia*, being returned to *Rome*, and finding himſelf greatly indiſpoſed, took a medicine, which proving too ſtrong for him, he fell into a ſleep, and died the very day in which he was to return thanks to the emperor for the honour he had done him. The ſpeech which he had prepared for this purpoſe, is commended by *Spartian*, in whoſe time it was ſtill extant [m]. *Dio Caſſius* tells us, that he was carried off by a violent voiding of blood [n]. His funeral was performed with the utmoſt pomp and grandeur, and his aſhes depoſited in the ſtately mauſoleum, which *Adrian* had begun for himſelf. The emperor cauſed him to be ranked among the gods, and, in ſeveral cities, ordered temples to be built, and ſtatues erected to him [o] (U).

Verus dies, and is ranked among the gods.

Year of the flood 2486. Of Chr. 138. Of Rome 886.

VERUS being dead, *Adrian* was ſome time in ſuſpenſe whom he ſhould chooſe in his room [p]; but, at length, ſeeing himſelf deſpiſed, ſays *Aurelius Victor* [q], on account of the weakneſs both of his body and mind, he declared his intention of adopting *Titus Antoninus*, upon condition, that he ſhould adopt *M. Annius Verus*, called afterwards *M. Aurelius*, and *L. Verus*, the ſon of the deceaſed prince of that name. *Antoninus*, having taken ſome time to deliberate, whether he ſhould accept of the adoption upon the terms propoſed by the emperor, in the end conſented to it; and was accordingly adopted, with the uſual ceremonies, on the twenty-fifth of

Adrian adopts Titus Antoninus.

[l] IDAT. PROSPER, &c. [m] SPART. p. 11. [n] DIO, p. 796.
[o] SPART. in Vero. [p] Idem ibid. p. 16. [q] Adrian. vit. p. 11.

(U) He was, as we have hinted above, extremely addicted to luxury and voluptuouſneſs, and paſſed moſt of his time in the company of lewd women; which his wife reſenting, he uſed to tell her, that *wife* was a name of honour, not of pleaſure. He had always in his hands, and even in bed with him, *Ovid*'s books of love, together with *Martial* the epigrammiſt, whom he uſed to call his *Virgil*. When he traveled, he was attended by a great many domeſtics, who ran by his chariot, with wings to their cloaths, attired like ſo many *Cupids*, and called by the names of the winds, *Boreas*, *Notus*, *Aquilo*, *Circius*, &c. He had married the daughter of *Nigrinus*, whom *Adrian* put to death in the beginning of his reign, as we have related above; and had by her a ſon named *L. Verus*, whom we ſhall ſoon ſee raiſed to the throne with *Marcus Aurelius*, and ſeveral daughters, of whom one was by *Adrian* betrothed to *Marcus Aurelius*, who nevertheleſs did not marry her. This daughter is thought to be that *Fabia*, who is but too famous in hiſtory.

February

February of this year,[r] and at the same time vested with the tribunitial and proconsular power[r]. Many were displeased with this adoption; but no one more than *Catilius Severus*, governor of *Rome*, who aspired at the empire himself, and began privately to pave himself a way to it; but, being discovered, he was deprived of his place, which was an employment for life. The empress *Sabina* died, it seems, after the adoption of *Antoninus*; for, in an antient inscription, he stiles her his mother[s]. She is thought either to have been poisoned by *Adrian*[t], or so ill used, that she chose to lay violent hands on herself[u]. *Adrian* caused her to be ranked among the gods[w], not caring whether she was in the supernal or infernal regions, provided he was no longer troubled with her bad humour, or pleased his own.

Sabina Augusta dies.

ADRIAN bore his distemper a long time with firmness and patience; but, being, in the end, tormented with violent pains in each joint of his body, he had recourse to magic, says *Dio Cassius*[x]; and, by that means, once discharged his body of the watry humour with which it was filled. But the humour being soon recruited, and his pains increasing daily, he became in a manner furious, put several senators to death, and ordered *Antoninus* to take care, that some others, whom he named, were executed. But that good-natured prince warned them of their danger, and advised them to keep themselves concealed; which they accordingly did, and were saved[y]. In the mean time, the emperor, desirous to end his insufferable pains with his life, often called for a dagger, and for poison, promising impunity, and a great reward, to such as should bring him either. But no one could, by any promises, be prevailed upon to contribute to his death. Having one day by chance found a dagger, he would have stabbed himself with it, had it not, by one of his domestics, been wrested out of his hand. He then commanded his chief physician to give him poison; but he chose rather to kill himself in his presence, than obey his command[z]. He often conjured his most faithful freedmen to dispatch him, and constrained an *Iazygian*, by name *Mastor*, to promise it; but *Mastor* fled, and never appeared till the emperor was dead. Another, whom he had obliged to make the same promise, hastened to *Antoninus*, and acquainted him with it, who thereupon flew to the emperor's room, attended by the captains of the guards, and besought him to bear his illness, since it was unavoidable,

Adrian's impatience in his sickness.

Attempts to lay violent hands on himself.

[r] JULIUS CAPITOL. in vit. Antonin. p. 18. [s] ONUPH. p. 223. [t] SPART. p. 11. [u] VICT. epitome. [w] BRAG. p. 185. [x] DIO, p. 797. [y] AUR. VICT. in Adr. p. 12. Antonin. vit. p. 17. [z] SPART. p. 12.

with more patience and conſtancy; which ſo provoked him, that he commanded the perſon, who had diſcovered his deſign, to be put to death: but *Antoninus* ſaved him, and thenceforth narrowly watched the emperor night and day, ſaying, he ſhould think himſelf a parricide, if he neglected to preſerve his life as long as he could [a] (W).

Adrian *removes to* Baiæ.

FROM *Rome*, *Adrian* removed to *Baiæ* in *Campania*; and there, neglecting the advice of his phyſicians, and often ſaying, that a multitude of phyſicians ſerves only to diſpatch a patient the ſooner, he lived without any rule, choſe what food and drink he liked beſt, and, by that means, haſtened his death. He was convinced of the immortality of the ſoul, and ſeemed apprehenſive of its future ſtate, as appears from the celebrated verſes (X), which he compoſed and uttered a little

His death.

Year of the flood 2487. Of Chr. 139. Of Rome 887.

[a] SPART. p. 12.

(W) *Spartian* writes that two blind perſons were reſtored to their ſight by *Adrian*, while in this condition; but, at the ſame time, owns, that *Marius Maximus*, who flouriſhed before him, looked upon the whole as a fiction and contrivance of *Antoninus*, to perſuade *Adrian*, that he would recover, and, by that means, divert him from laying violent hands on himſelf. One of theſe blind perſons was a woman, who, as ſhe gave out, had been admoniſhed in a dream to forbid *Adrian* to kill himſelf, becauſe he would one day recover; which ſhe neglecting to do, had been ſtruck blind, and ordered to return upon the ſame errand, having been firſt aſſured, that when ſhe had done it, and kiſſed *Adrian*'s feet, ſhe ſhould receive her ſight again. The woman complied with the heavenly admonition, and was accordingly cured, after having waſhed her eyes in the water of the temple of the place from whence ſhe came. The other was a blind man, who, coming out of *Pannonia*, touched *Adrian*, and that inſtant received his ſight. The emperor was then in a violent fever, which is ſaid to have immediately abated (8).

(X) The verſes were;

Animula vagula, blandula,
Hoſpes, comeſque corporis,
Quæ nunc abibis in loca,
Pallidula, rigida, nudula?
Nec, ut ſoles, dabis jocos.

Thus happily imitated by Mr. *Prior*.

Poor, little, pretty, flutt'ring thing,
Muſt we no longer live together?
And doſt thou prune thy trembling wing,
To take thy flight thou know'ſt not whither!
Thy hum'rous vein, thy pleaſing folly,
Lies all neglected, all forgot;
And, penſive, wav'ring, melancholy,
Thou dread'ſt and hop'ſt thou know'ſt not what.

(8) *Spart. p.* 12.

Spartian

little before he expired, inquiring of his ſoul, *whither it deſigned to go.* He died at *Baiæ* on the tenth of *July*, after having lived ſixty-two years, five months, and ſeventeen days, and reigned twenty years, and eleven months, wanting one day [b]. *Antoninus*, whom he had left at *Rome*, and ſent for when he found himſelf at the point of death, arrived, according to *Spartian* [c], juſt before, according to others, ſoon after, he expired. His body was burnt at *Puteoli*, and his aſhes conveyed by *Antoninus* to *Rome*, where they were expoſed in the gardens of *Domitian*, and afterwards depoſited in the magnificent mauſoleum, which *Adrian* had built for himſelf near the *Tiber*, that of *Auguſtus* being quite full [d].

ADRIAN had, by the cruelties committed in the beginning and the end of his reign, provoked the public hatred to ſuch a degree, that the ſenate were for annulling all his acts, and calling ſeveral perſons to an account, who had raiſed themſelves by abuſing the intereſt they had with him. They therefore at firſt unanimouſly oppoſed *Antoninus* demanding for him the ſame honours which had been decreed to other emperors [e]. But *Antoninus* remonſtrating, with great modeſty, that they could not condemn the memory of *Adrian* without annulling his own adoption, and degrading him from the empire; the reſpect and veneration they all had for that prince, who added tears to his intreaties, inclined them at laſt to comply with his demands, eſpecially when they ſaw a great number of perſons appear, who were thought to have been murdered by *Adrian*, but had been ſaved, and carefully concealed, by *Antoninus* [f]. The ſenate dreaded likewiſe the ſoldiery, who were greatly attached to *Adrian* [g]. And thus a prince, abhorred by all as a cruel and bloody tyrant, was ranked among the gods, and divine worſhip decreed him. *Antoninus* built a temple at *Puteoli*, and inſtituted annual ſports to his honour, with prieſts, fraternities, victims, *&c* [h]. But what gave *Antoninus* a far better claim to the title of *pious*, was his interceding with the ſenate in behalf of thoſe who had been baniſhed by *Adrian*, and whom that prince, ſaid he, would have recalled, had he lived longer [i].

The ſenate are for annulling his acts;

but deify him at the requeſt of Antoninus.

No prince, perhaps, ever raiſed ſo many public and private edifices as *Adrian*; for he built in moſt cities of any note,

Adrian's *public works.*

[b] SPART. p. 12. DIO, p. 797. EUTROP. [c] SPART. ibid. [d] JUL. CAPIT. in Anton. DIO, ibid. [e] EUTROP. Antonin. vit. p. 18. [f] AUR. VIC. in Heliog. p. 103. [g] DIO, p. 799. [h] SPART. p. 17. [i] ANTON. in vit. p. 19.

Spartian ſeems to deſpiſe them: which ſhews, that he underſtood as little of poetry, as he did of hiſtory.

eſpecially at *Athens*; and *Greece*, as appears from *Pauſanias*, was full of his ediſices, bridges, and aqueducts (Y). At *Rome* he rebuilt the *Pautheon*, the temple of *Neptune*, the ſquare of *Auguſtus*, the baths of *Agrippa*, and an infinite number of other public edifices, conſecrating them anew, but leaving them the names of their firſt founders [k]. His houſe at *Tivoli* was an extraordinary ſtructure, and adorned with fine paintings, repreſenting, in one apartment, the infernal regions. This palace he ſtiled his *Lycæum*, *Academia*, *Prytanæum*, *Canopus*, *Pœcile*, and *Tempe*, names of the moſt celebrated places abroad, and gave to the ſeveral apartments of it the titles of the different provinces [l]. He built a new bridge over the *Tiber*, now known by the name of *Ponte Sant Angelo*, and near it his own mauſoleum [m], which, from the deſcription *Procopius* gives us of it [n], appears to have been rather a caſtle than a tomb. In the time of the emperor *Juſtinian* it was made uſe of as a caſtle, and is at preſent the chief, we may ſay, the only fortreſs of *Rome*, called by the preſent *Romans* *Caſtel Sant Angelo* (Z). Many cities, either built, repaired, or peopled by *Adrian* with colonies, bore, for ſome time, his name, or that of his family, which was *Ælia*; to wit, *Carthage*, *Jeruſalem*, two cities in *Spain*; *Murſa*, now *Eſſek*, in *Pannonia*; *Stratonice* in *Macedon*; *Palmyra* in *Syria*; *Neocæſaræa* in *Pontus*; *Adrianopolis* in *Thrace*, which ſtill retains it; *Adriane*, or *Adrianopolis*, in *Libya Cyrenaica*; *Antinopolis* in *Egypt*, called alſo *Adrianopolis*; *Adrianothera* in *Myſia*, which ſtill retained that name in the fifth century; and *Adriane*, in the ſame province, the birth-place of *Ariſtides* the ſophiſt, which, however, ſome writers will have to be the ſame city with *Adrianothera* [o].

His houſe at Tivoli.

His bridge on the Tiber, *and mauſoleum.*

Many cities called by his name.

THE regulations which *Adrian* eſtabliſhed for the preſervation of diſcipline among the troops, were afterwards ob-

His military inſtitutions.

[k] SPART. p. 8. [l] Idem ibid. [m] DIO, p. 797.
[n] PROCOP. de bell. Goth. l. i. c. 22. [o] Vide SALMAS. ibid.

(Y) In an antient inſcription, mention is made of a famous aqueduct begun by him in *New Athens*, and ended by *Antoninus* in the third year of his reign. By *New Athens* ſome underſtand a city of *Liguria*, others *New Athens* in the iſland of *Delos* (9).

(Z) *Spartian*, to give us ſome idea of the height of this lofty building, tells us, that the chariot placed on the top of it ſeemed very ſmall to thoſe who ſtood on the ground; but, nevertheleſs, was of ſo large a ſize, that a corpulent man could with great eaſe paſs thro' the openings which repreſented the eyes of the horſes (1).

(9) *Vide Salmaſ. in Spart. p.* 53. (1) *Spart. cum not. Salmaſ. p.* 52.

ſerved

ſerved as the military laws of the *Romans*, and are often quoted by *Vegetius* (A). *Adrian* was the firſt who appointed, that each cohort ſhould have its proper maſons, architects, and ſuch artificers as were employed in raiſing buildings, and adorning them [p]. The regulations which he introduced, with reſpect to the army, to the court, and to the tribunals of juſtice, were ſtill obſerved in the end of the fourth century [q]. He was the firſt who employed the *Roman* knights in quality of ſecretaries, and committed to them the care of his domeſtic affairs, other emperors having employed in ſuch offices only their freedmen [r] (B). The *Romans* had on their eſtates

[p] Victor. epit. [q] Idem ibid. [r] Spart. p. 11.

(A) *Voſſius* is of opinion, that the books of *Mauritius*, which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of hereafter, are a collection of the military conſtitutions of *Trajan* and *Adrian* (2).

(B) *Gothofredus* ſuppoſes *Adrian* to have been the author of a new juriſprudence, eſpecially by his *perpetual edict*, which he ſtiles the fountain of all laws in force among the *Romans*, at leaſt till the publication of the *code* by *Theodoſius* the younger (3). *Spartian* mentions ſome of the laws publiſhed by *Adrian*, namely, that the children of proſcribed perſons ſhould enjoy the twelfth part of their fathers eſtates: that if any one found a treaſure in his own grounds, it ſhould be intirely his; if in thoſe of another, the owner of the ground ſhould have the moiety of it; if in any public place, it ſhould be equally ſhared with the exchequer: that ſuch as had ſquandered away their eſtates, ſhould be publicly whipt in the amphitheatre, and baniſhed the city: that men and women ſhould uſe ſeparate and diſtinct baths: that, if a maſter be found killed in his houſe, not all his ſlaves ſhould be put to death; nay, that thoſe only ſhould be put to the queſtion, who were near enough to have prevented the murder: that maſters ſhould no longer have power of life and death over their ſlaves; but that ſuch ſlaves as deſerved to be capitally puniſhed, ſhould be tried and condemned by the magiſtrates (4). *Porphyrius* informs us, upon the authority of *Pallas*, who wrote before his time, that *Adrian* publiſhed an edict prohibiting all human ſacrifices, which were ſtill offered in ſeveral provinces of the empire (5). However, this execrable cuſtom was afterwards revived, and obtained in *Africa*, where children continued to be immolated to *Saturn* till the time of the proconſul *Tiberius*, who cauſed the inhuman prieſts of that deity to be crucified on the trees, which formed the grove round his temple. Thoſe who executed the ſentence of the proconſul were ſtill living in the beginning of the third century, as we read in *Tertullian* (6); whence it is

(2) *Voſſii epiſt. additæ ad Pearſon. Ignatiana, p.* 234. (3) *Gothofred. cod. Theodoſ. prol. p.* 283. (4) *Spart. cum not. Salmaſ. p.* 52. (5) *Porphyr. apud Euſeb. in triennal. Conſtantin. c.* 16. (6) *Tertul. ap. c.* 9.

eſtates what they called manufactures, or work-houſes, where they kept great numbers of people, eſpecially ſlaves, at work. Theſe houſes were like ſo many priſons, whither maſters ſent ſuch of their ſlaves as had diſobliged them, and even kept them there in chains. Many, to avoid being liſted, or puniſhed for crimes they had committed, fled to theſe work-houſes, and were there kept concealed. Beſides, the owners of theſe manufactures were thought to ſeize paſſengers and ſtrangers, whether ſlaves or freedmen, to ſhut them up in theſe houſes, and oblige them to work, without their ever being afterwards heard of. *Adrian*, therefore, to obviate ſuch inconveniences and diſorders, put down all work-houſes, except thoſe which belonged to the emperor, or to the public [s] (C). Under *Adrian* flouriſhed many perſons eminent in moſt branches of literature, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in our notes (D).

He aboliſhes all private work-houſes.

THE

[s] Vide SALMAS. in Spart. p. 49.

manifeſt, that *Tiberius* did not, as ſome have imagined, govern *Africa* in *Adrian*'s time. It appears from the antient writers, that human ſacrifices were, notwithſtanding *Adrian*'s prohibition, immolated to *Diana* in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, and even in *Rome*, during the ſolemn myſteries, till the time of *Conſtantine*, or rather of *Gratian*, who utterly aboliſhed that execrable practice (7).

(C) *Aulus Gellius* tells us (*), that in *Adrian*'s time a woman of known modeſty, and an unblemiſhed character, was brought to bed eleven months after her huſband's death. The legitimacy of the child being queſtioned by the heirs of the deceaſed, the cauſe was tried before the emperor, who, after having examined a great many unexceptionable witneſſes concerning the character of the woman, and with great care and attention conſulted the books of the antient philoſophers and phyſicians, declared, by a ſpecial decree, that a child might be born eleven months after its conception. *Aulus Gellius* aſſures us, that he himſelf had read this decree.

(D) *Adrian* himſelf ought to be ranked amongſt the writers who flouriſhed at this time; for he publiſhed ſeveral works both in proſe and verſe upon various ſubjects; and, among the reſt, a *Greek* poem intituled, the *Alexandriad*, of which we find the ſeventh book quoted by ſome of the antients (8). *Spartian* ſpeaks of certain books compoſed by him, and publiſhed under the title of *Catacriani*; wherein he pretended to imitate *Antimachus*, whom he preferred to *Homer*. Theſe, ſays the above-mentioned writer, were very obſcure pieces (9): and truly, from the title, they appear to have been ſuch as *Spartian* deſcribes them. *Fro-*

(7) *Lact. inſt. l.* i. *c.* 21. *Euſeb. in triennal. Conſtantin. c.* 16. *Prud. in Sym. l.* i. *p.* 217. *Tatian. p.* 164. (*) *Aul. Gell. l.* iii. *c.* 16. (8) *Vide Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 11. *Dio, l.* lxix. *p.* 783. (9) *Spart. in Adr.*

len

THE emperor *Titus Antoninus* derived his origin, on the father's ſide, from the city of *Nemauſus*, now *Niſmes*, in *Languedoc* [t]. His anceſtors are ſaid by *Aurelius Victor* to have lived

Antoninus, *ſurnamed* ThePious.

[t] JUL. CAP. in Antonin. cum not. SALMAS. Pariſ. 1620.

ben printed in 1551. a dialogue between *Adrian* and *Epictetus*, wherein the emperor propoſes ſeveral queſtions, which are anſwered by the philoſopher (1). Some of his *Greek* and *Latin* verſes have reached our times, beſides thoſe which we read in his life by *Spartian* (2), who ſpeaks of them with great contempt. But his judgment is of no weight with us, who find them mightily extolled by the beſt writers of thoſe times (3). *Photius*, who had peruſed his declamations, commends both his ſtile and thonghts (4). We find the firſt book of his diſcourſes quoted by the antients, and the quotation relates to ſome remarks on the *Latin* grammar (5). Beſides his military inſtitutions, ſome writers aſcribe to him a treatiſe concerning the manner of drawing up an army in battalia, which was long unknown, and firſt diſcovered in the reign of the emperor *Anaſtaſius*, about the latter end of the fifth century, and publiſhed, with ſome additions, by *Mauritius*, or *Urbicus*, then conſul (6). In the year 1664. was printed at *Upſal* in *Sweden*, a treatiſe on the military art and ſtratagems, aſcribed to *Mauritius*; but that piece was done long after the time of *Mauritius* the conſul, ſince mention is there made of the *French*, *Turks*, *Sclavonians*, &c (7). *Adrian* was, according to *Dio Caſſius* and *Spartian*, ſo fond of glory, that he wrote his own life in ſeveral books; but cauſed them to be publiſhed under the names of ſuch of his freedmen as were perſons of learning (8). Among theſe was *Phlegon*, a native of *Tralles* in *Aſia*, who wrote a treatiſe on the *long-lived*, and another on *wonderful things*. Some fragments of theſe works are ſtill extant (9; and from a paſſage in the former it appears, that he had not put the laſt hand to that piece in the nineteenth year of *Antoninus*'s reign, the 156th of the Chriſtian æra. *Suidas* aſcribes to *Phlegon* a deſcription of *Sicily*, three books of *Faſti*, an account of the famous places in *Rome*, and their names, and ſixteen books of the *Olympiads*, to the 229th, begun in the year 137. of the Chriſtian æra. This piece contained an account of the moſt remarkable things that in each *Olympiad* had happened in any part of the world. From the 177th *Olympiad*, which has been conveyed to us by *Photius*, that work ſeems to have been exceeding well digeſted: had it reached our times, it would have cleared up ſeveral obſcure paſſages in hiſtory. *Pho-*

(1) *Geſner. epit. p.* 2. (2) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 11. (3) *Vide Voſſ. poet. Lat. p.* 51. & *Salmaſ. in Spart.* (4) *Phot. c.* 100. (5) *Vide Salmaſ. ibid.* & *Aul. Gell. l.* x. *c.* 13. (6) *Voſſ. epiſt. additæ ad Pearſ. Ignatiana.* (7) *Maur. tactic. p.* 253, 364, 384. (8) *Dio, p.* 795. *Spart. p.* 6. (9) *Phot. p.* 256. *Suid. p.* 1071. *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. ibid.*

lived at *Lanuvium*, or rather *Lavinium*, in the neighbourhood of *Rome*: perhaps they ſettled there, after having removed from

tius finds fault with the author for the trifling accounts he gives of all thoſe who gained prizes in the *Olympic* games, and inſerting in his work all ſorts of oracles. He likewiſe cenſures his ſtile, as not quite pure, and altogether *Attic*. In *Photius*'s time only the five firſt books were extant, which ended with the 177th *Olympiad*; but the author had carried his hiſtory down to *Adrian*'s time. It was addreſſed to one *Alcibiades*, belonging to that prince's life-guard (1). In the thirteenth book of this work he is thought to have mentioned the darkneſs which happened at our Saviour's dea h (2). He ſpeaks of the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, concerning which *Photius* quotes a long paſſage out of his fourteenth book (3). He is frequently cited by *Stephanus* the geographer. *Suidas* tells us, that *Phlegon* made an epitome of his ſixteen books of the *Olympiads*, which epitome conſiſted of eight books; and that he likewiſe abridged the hiſtory of the victors in the *Olympic* games; and adds, that he publiſhed other works, which he does not mention (4). *Phlegon*, in his book of *wonderful things*, deſcribes an hippocentaur, taken on a mountain of *Arabia*, and ſent by the king of that country to the emperor, without doubt, *Adrian*, while he was in *Egypt*. The monſter died, but was embalmed by the governor, conveyed to *Rome*, and there placed in the imperial palace; where thoſe may ſee it, concludes *Phlegon*, who queſtion the truth of my relation (5). St. *Jerom* tells us, that *Antony*, the famous anchoret, was met in the deſert by an hippocentaur, who ſpoke to him, and directed him what way he was to keep (6). *Phlegon* relates another hiſtory, no leſs ſurpriſing, of a young woman, who about ſix months after her death appeared again, walked, converſed, eat, and drank, as ſhe had done formerly; which coming to the ears of her parents, they flew to ſee her, and, accordingly, had that ſatisfaction. But the young woman told them, that their curioſity would prove fatal to her, and put an end to her ſecond life; which words ſhe had ſcarce uttered, when ſhe fell dead at their feet. Such a ſurpriſing event, being divulged in an inſtant, drew vaſt crouds to the place from all quarters. *Phlegon* haſtened thither with the reſt, and ſaw the body of the deceaſed laid out upon a bed; "but, not ſatisfied "with that ſight, I cauſed the "burying-place of the family to "be opened, ſays he, when I "obſerved the bed, on which "the young woman had been "laid ſix months before, empty." He relates the moſt minute circumſtances of this wonderful event, names the perſons who were preſent, *&c* (7).

Favorinus, well known by the writings of *Aulus Gellius*, who was his diſciple, and by thoſe of

(1) *Photius*, c. 97. (2) *Hier. chron. p.* 158. *Orig. in Matthæum, p.* 438.
(3) *Phot. p.* 167. (4) *Suid. p.* 1071. (5) *Phleg. mir. c.* 34.
(6) *Hier. in vit. Paul. heremit.* (7) *Phleg. mir. c.* 1. *p.* 13, 14.

Philoſtratus,

from *Niſmes.* The *Aurelian* family, which was the preſent emperor's, is thought to have been very antient; but was not diſtin-

Philoſtratus, was a native of *Arles* in *Provence*, and from his birth an eunuch, by profeſſion a philoſopher and ſophiſt, and well ſkilled both in the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues. He ſtudied under *Dio Chryſoſtomus*, and, beſides *Aulus Gellius*, had for his diſciple the celebrated *Herodes Atticus*, whom he appointed his heir. He wrote a great many works quoted by the antients (8); but his ſtile ſeemed to ſome deſtitute of the gravity becoming a philoſopher (9). He was for a long time *Adrian*'s chief favourite; but that prince, growing in the end weary of him, as well as of the reſt of his friends, took delight in mortifying him, by preferring to him perſons of no merit; which the *Athenians* no ſooner underſtood, than they pulled down and broke to pieces a ſtatue, which they had erected to him. When *Favorinus* was informed of the affront, Socrates, ſaid he, without the leaſt emotion, *would have been glad to have come off ſo cheap* (1). *Suidas* obſerves, that he and *Plutarch* ſtrove who ſhould write moſt books. They lived in great friendſhip, and *Plutarch* even inſcribed one of his works to *Favorinus* (2), who died, it ſeems, about the latter end of the reign of *Antoninus* (3). *Galen* mentions one *Demetrius* of *Alexandria*, who, imitating the ſtile of *Favorinus*, whoſe diſciple he was, uſed daily to declaim in public upon what ſubject ſoever was propoſed to him (4). *Dionyſius* of *Miletus* was likewiſe a philoſopher of great note, highly favoured by *Adrian*, raiſed to the equeſtrian order, and appointed governor of ſome province, but in the end diſgraced. He ſtudied under *Iſæus*, of whom we have ſpoken in the reign of *Trajan*. *Philoſtratus* clears him from a charge brought againſt him, namely, that of being addicted to the ſtudy of magic (5). *Heliodorus* likewiſe felt the effects of *Adrian*'s inconſtancy; for the emperor, being in the end diſguſted with him, wrote ſome moſt virulent letters againſt him (6). One of the ſame name, perhaps the ſame perſon, was according to *Dio Caſſius*, for ſome time ſecretary to *Adrian* (7).

Of all the philoſophers who flouriſhed in thoſe times, *Epictetus* is by far the moſt renowned: *Aulus Gellius* calls him the greateſt man the ſect of the Stoics had ever produced (8). He is ſuppoſed to have been a native of *Hierapolis* in *Phrygia*, was for ſome time a ſlave, and belonged to *Epaphroditus*, whom *Suidas* calls one of *Nero*'s life-guard (9). This is, without all doubt, *Nero*'s celebrated freedman, to whom *Joſephus* inſcribed moſt of his works, and who was afterwards put to death by *Domitian*, as we

(8) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 10. *Suid. p.* 1022. *Philoſtr. vit. ſoph. p.* 493.
(9) *Lucian. in vit. Demonactis, p.* 549. (1) *Philoſt. ibid. Dio, p.* 719.
(2) *Jonſ. l.* iii. *c.* 7. *Gell. l.* ii. *c.* 26. (3) *Jonſ ibid.* (4) *Galen. prog. com. p.* 45c.
(5) *Philoſt. vit. ſoph p.* 522, *&c.* (6) *Spart. p.* 7. (7) *Dio, l.* lxix. *p.* 789.
(8) *Aul. Gell. l.* i. *c.* 2. (9) *Suid. p.* 996.

have

have related in that prince's reign. *Celſus*, the famous champion of idolatry, writes of *Epictetus*, that while his maſter was one day ſqueezing his leg very hard, in order to torment him, *Epictetus* ſaid to him very calmly, *You'll break my leg*; which happening accordingly, *Did not I tell you*, ſaid he, ſmiling, *that you would break my leg* (1)? *Epictetus* was, as is ſuppoſed, ſet at liberty, but remained always very poor (2). Being obliged, by *Domitian*'s edict, baniſhing all philoſophers, to quit *Rome* in 94. he retired to *Nicopolis* in *Epirus*; whence he returned, upon that prince's death, and lived at *Rome* till the time of *M. Aurelius*, ſays *Suidas* (3), by whom, as well as by his predeceſſor, he was, according to *Themiſtius*, held in great eſteem and veneration (4). But we cannot fall in with the opinion of theſe writers, ſince *M. Aurelius* uſed to look upon it as a great happineſs, not that he had learnt any thing of, or converſed with, *Epictetus*, but that he had read his writings (5). *Epictetus* reduced all his philoſophy to two points only; to wit, *to ſuffer evils with patience, and enjoy pleaſures with moderation*; which he expreſſed with theſe two celebrated words, ἀνέχου καὶ ἀπέχου; that is, *Suffer and abſtain* (6). He was againſt the celibacy of the philoſophers, but nevertheleſs ſeems to have obſerved it himſelf (7). He publiſhed ſeveral works, none of which, except his *enchridion*, or *manual*, has reached us (8). But *Arrian*, his diſciple, publiſhed a great work, which he pretends to conſiſt intirely of what he had heard him ſay, and ſet down, as far as he could remember, in *Epictetus*'s own terms (9).

Arrian, a native of *Nicodemia*, was one of the moſt learned men of his age, and, on account of his eloquence and knowlege, commonly ſtiled *the ſecond* Xenophon. He was preferred at *Rome* to the higheſt poſts of honour, and even to the conſulſhip (1); whence moſt writers take him to be the *Flavius Arrianus*, who, while he was governor of *Cappadocia*, repulſed the *Alani*, as we have related above. He lived at *Rome* under *Adrian*, *Antoninus*, and *M. Aurelius* (2). *Themiſtius* tells us, that *Trajan* forced him from his retirement, in order to employ him as a miniſter in ſtate-affairs (3). He publiſhed in eight books the familiar diſcourſes of *Epictetus*; but only four of them have reached us (4), which are inſcribed to one *L. Gellius*. He publiſhed twelve books more, containing the ſpeeches of *Epictetus* (5), and wrote his life. *Photius* quotes ſeveral other books compoſed by him; to wit, the hiſtory of *Bithynia*, his native country, the hiſtory of the *Alani*, and that of the *Parthians*, in ſeventeen books, which he brought down to the war which *Trajan* waged with them (6). He deſcribed the expeditions of *Alexander the Great* in ſeven books, which are ſtill extant; and is

(1) *Orig. in Celſ. l.* vii. (2) *Aul. Gell. l.* ii. *c.* 18. & *l.* xv. *c.* 11. (3) *Suid. p.* 996. (4) *Themiſt. orat.* v. (5) *Jul. Cap. in Antonin.* (6) *Aul. Gell. l.* xvii. *c.* 19. (7) *Lucian. in vit. Demonac. p.* 555. (8) *Suid. p.* 996. (9) *Arrian. Epic. p.* 1. (1) *Phot. c.* 58. (2) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 11. (3) *Themiſt. orat.* xvii. (4) *Phot. c.* 58. (5) *Idem, c.* 58. (6) *Idem ibid.*

though

thought by *Photius* to have excelled all who wrote on the ſame ſubject (7). He publiſhed, in ten books, the lives of the ſucceſſors of *Alexander*; and gave, in one book, ſays *Photius*, an account of *India* (8). This account of *India* is now reckoned the eighth book of the hiſtory of *Alexander* (9). Beſides theſe works mentioned by *Photius*, *Lucian* aſcribes to him the life of a famous robber, named *Telebous* (1). We have already mentioned his deſcription of the coaſts of the *Euxine Sea*; but that of the coaſts of the *Red Sea*, though commonly aſcribed to him, is thought by the learned to have been done by one who flouriſhed before *Adrian*, and was cotemporary with *Pliny* the elder (2). Beſides the works of *Arrian* already mentioned, we have ſtill his *tactica*, whereof the beginning has been long ſince loſt: to his *tactica* are commonly added his inſtructions concerning the march of the army againſt the *Alani*, and the order to be obſerved in the battle.

Plutarch was a native of *Chæronea* in *Bœotia*, where he was born in the reign of *Claudius*, about the year 50. of the Chriſtian æra. He ſtudied under *Ammonius*, an *Egyptian* philoſopher, in the reign of *Nero*; and in that of *Domitian* taught at *Rome*; where, amongſt his other diſciples, he had the famous *Arulenus Ruſticus*, who was put to death by *Domitian* in 90 (3). We are told, that he was preceptor to *Trajan* (4); which we can hardly believe, ſince that prince was as old as *Plutarch* (5), and had, from his youth, been brought up in the camp. *Suidas* writes, that *Trajan* diſtinguiſhed him with conſular honours (6), meaning, no doubt, the conſular ornaments; and ordered the magiſtrates of *Illyricum* to adviſe with him in all affairs of importance. He continued at *Rome* till the death of *Trajan*, when he returned to his own country, and there bore the chief employments (7). He had ſeveral children, one of whom, by name *Lamprias*, publiſhed a catalogue of his father's hiſtorical pieces, which has reached us, but is imperfect (8). The philoſopher *Sextus*, one of the preceptors of the emperor *M. Aurelius*, was nephew to *Plutarch* (9). *Plutarch* publiſhed a great many works, which are to every one well known, being tranſlated into all the modern languages. His ſtile is not quite pure and *Attic*. Among the works commonly aſcribed to him, ſome are thought to have been written by others; and many of his works have been loſt, as appears from the citations of *Gellius*, *Origen*, *Euſebius*, *Eunapius*, *Theodoret*, and others. *Marcus* and *Caninius Celer*, two celebrated ſophiſts, flouriſhed under *Adrian*, and publiſhed ſome declamations (1). *Polemon*, another famous ſophiſt, in great favour with *Adrian*, was a native of *Laodicea* upon the *Lycus*, which ſome place in *Caria*, others in

(7) *Phot. c.* 58. (8) *Idem, p.* 91. (9) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 11.
(1) *Lucian. in vit. Alex. Præſt.* (2) *Vide Salmaſ. in Solin. & Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 7. (3) *Ruald. vit. Plut.* (4) *Idem, p.* 29. (5) *Vide Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 10. (6) *Suid. p.* 546. (7) *Ruald. c.* 25.
(8) *Idem, c.* 6. (9) *Idem. c.* 5. & *Suid. p.* 729. (1) *Philoſt. ſoph.* 24.

Phrygia

Phrygia; but ſpent the greateſt part of his life at *Smyrna*, whither the youth flocked from all parts to hear him. He was ſeveral times ſent by that city in quality of embaſſador to the emperor *Adrian*, of whom he obtained great ſums for the inhabitants, though that prince was more addicted, ſays *Philoſtratus* (2), to the *Epheſians* than *Smyrneans*. As *Adrian* ſhewed an extraordinary kindneſs for him, he took care to turn it to his own advantage, and ſoon appeared with a train and equipage ill ſuiting his profeſſion; which drew upon him the envy of many, and the hatred of all. *Antoninus* treated him with great reſpect, though he had juſt occaſion to complain of his ruſticity, or rather inſolence. *Herodes Aticus*, having heard him declaim, ſent him a conſiderable ſum, which, however, he refuſed, as too ſmall; ſo that *Herodes*, to content him, was obliged to ſend him one much larger, which he condeſcended to accept. The king of *Boſporus*, who was well verſed in moſt branches of learning, coming to *Smyrna* to ſee that city, and the learned men there, ſhewed a great deſire of conferring with *Polemon*: but the proud and ſelf-intereſted philoſopher would neither viſit him, nor be viſited by him, till the king had ſent him a preſent of ten talents; and then he deigned to admit him into his houſe (3). Being greatly tormented with the gout, he retired to *Laodicea*, his native city, and there, in the fifty-ſixth year of his age, placing himſelf among his dead anceſtors, ordered the tomb to be ſhut up, that the ſun, as he ſaid, might never ſee him ſilenced (4). He left no writings beſides declamations. Under *Trajan* and *Adrian* flouriſhed, according to *Suidas* (5), *Ptolemæus Chennus*, *Zenobius*, *Cephaleo*, and *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*. *Ptolemæus* wrote ſeveral books, and, among the reſt, one intituled *the ſurpriſing hiſtory* (6). *Zenobius* taught at *Rome* under *Adrian*, and tranſlated the hiſtory of *Salluſt* into *Greek*. He likewiſe made a collection of proverbs, which is ſtill extant (7). He is ſometimes called *Zenodotus*. *Cephaleo*, being baniſhed his own country, retired into *Sicily*, where he publiſhed, in the reign of *Adrian*, an hiſtory, beginning with *Ninus*, and ending with *Alexander* (8). *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, deſcended from the famous hiſtorian of that name, was a ſophiſt, and is commonly ſtiled *Dionyſius* the *Atticiſt*, and the *muſician*, becauſe he applied himſelf chiefly to the ſtudy of muſic, and publiſhed ſeveral works upon that ſubject, and one among the reſt divided into thirty-ſix books, and containing an account of the moſt famous poets, and players upon inſtruments (9).

Herennius Philo, born in the city of *Byblos* in *Phœnicia*, wrote one book on *Adrian*'s reign, twelve on the choice of books, and thirty on various cities, and the eminent perſons they had produced: the latter work was abridged by one *Ælius Severus Athenæus* (1). *Origen* quotes a

(2) *Philoſt. ſoph.* 35. (3) *Idem ibid.* (4) *Idem ibid. & Suid.* *p.* 554. (5) *Suid. p.* 646. 1126. 1447. (6) *Phot. c.* 197. (7) *Voſſ.* *l.* ii. *c.* 11. (8) *Suid. ibid. Phot. c.* 68. (9) *Suid. p.* 743. *Voſſ. c.* 12. *Jonſ.* *l.* iii. *c.* 8. (1) *Suid. p.* 2065. *Voſſ. Hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 10.

paſſage

Paſſage out of *Herennius Philo* concerning the *Jews*, for whom, it ſeems, he had no great kindneſs (2). *Philo* tranſlated into *Greek* the hiſtory of *Phœnicia* written by *Sanchoniatho*, in his native language, about the time of the *Trojan* war (3). The preface, and ſome paſſages of this tranſlation, have been conveyed to us by *Euſebius* (4). *Philo* himſelf wrote the hiſtory of *Phœnicia*, which is quoted by *Euſebius* (5), and *Stephanus* of *Byzantium* (6). *Hermippus* of *Berytus*, or of that neighbourhood, was one of *Philo*'s diſciples, and highly eſteemed by *Adrian*, tho' the ſon of a freedman. He wrote five books upon dreams, which are quoted by *Tertullian*, and others (7). The book of *legiſlators*, quoted by *Origen* (8), is generally aſcribed to another *Hermippus*, a native of *Smyrna*, who flouriſhed long before *Adrian*'s time. *Paulus* of *Tyre*, cotemporary with *Philo*, publiſhed a treatiſe of *rhetoric*. He obtained of *Adrian* the title of *metropolis* for the city of *Tyre* (9). *Leander Nicanor* of *Alexandria*, the ſon of *Hermias*, publiſhed ſeveral grammatical and hiſtorical pieces (1). *Diogenianus*, a native of *Heraclea*, publiſhed ſeveral writings of grammar and geography, which *Heſychius* made uſe of in compiling his *lexicon* (2). His collection of antient proverbs is ſtill extant. Under *Adrian* flouriſhed, according to *Voſſius* (3), *Jaſon* of *Argos*, who compriſed in four books the hiſtory of *Greece*, to the death of *Alexander*. *Ælian*, author of the *tactica*, lived at this time; for he addreſſed his work to *Adrian*. Another writer of the ſame name flouriſhed about an hundred years after; whence it is no eaſy taſk to determine, which of theſe two was the author of the *hiſtory of animals*, of the *hiſtoria varia*, and of other pieces which are, by the antients, aſcribed to an *Ælian*, but long ſince loſt.

Under *Adrian* flouriſhed the two *Latin* hiſtorians *Suetonius* and *Florus*. *C. Suetonius Tranquillus* was the ſon of *Suetonius Lenis*, or *Lætus*, a *Roman* knight, who, at the battle of *Bedriacum*, commanded a legion in quality of tribune, as we have related in its proper place. The hiſtorian was born about that time; for he was very young in 88. that is, twenty years after the death of *Nero* (4). *Pliny* the younger had a great kindneſs for him, kept him conſtantly with him, and wrote to one of his friends, that the more he knew him, the more he loved him, on account of his probity, ingenuity, prudent conduct, and application (5). We may therefore ſuppoſe him to be the *Tranquillus*, whom, in one of his letters, he encourages to plead a cauſe, without being under any apprehenſion from a dream, which ſeemed to threaten him with bad ſucceſs (6). In another letter (7), he ſeems very anxious about purchaſing for him a little place of

(2) *Orig. in Celſ. l.* i. *p.* 13. (3) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* i. *c.* 1. (4) *Euſeb. præp. l.* i. *c.* 9. (5) *Idem ibid. l.* iv. *c.* 16. (6) *Voſſ. ibid. l.* ii. *c.* 10. (7) *Tertull. de anim. c.* 46. *Voſſ. ibid. Orig. in Celſ. Suid. p.* 1043. (8) *Orig. ibid.* (9) *Suid. p.* 465. (1) *Suid. p.* 229. *Voſſ. ibid. l.* ii. *c.* 12. (2) *Suid. p.* 737. (3) *Voſſ. ibid.* (4) *Suet. vit. Oth. & Dom.* (5) *Plin. l.* x. (6) *Plin. l.* i. *ep.* 18. (7) *Idem ibid. ep.* 24.

retire-

retirement near *Rome*, proper for a man of ſtudy and application. In other letters he exhorts him to publiſh his writings, ſince they were finiſhed (8); and aſks his advice even as to his own conduct on a particular occaſion (9). He obtained for him the poſt of a tribune; which *Suetonius* begged him to confer upon *Cæſennius Silvanus*, his kinſman: this generous action is greatly extolled by *Pliny*. *Suetonius* married, but had no children. However, *Pliny*, from *Bithynia*, wrote to *Trajan*, begging him to grant to his friend the privileges, which thoſe enjoyed who had three children (1). The emperor ſeldom granted ſuch favours; but, nevertheleſs, could not help complying with the requeſt of *Pliny* (2). *Suetonius* was afterwards ſecretary to *Adrian*, but diſcharged on account of his diſreſpectful behaviour towards the empreſs *Sabina* (3). *Suidas* ſtiles him a *Latin* grammarian, and aſcribes to him ſeveral grammatical works; adding, that he likewiſe wrote a book upon the ſports of the *Greeks*, two upon the ſhews of the *Romans*, two upon the *Roman* laws and cuſtoms, one of the life of *Cicero*, a catalogue of illuſtrious *Romans*, and the lives of the emperors, which has reached our times (4). He wrote, likewiſe, in three books, the hiſtory of the kings, which *Paulinus* abridged in verſe (5). His book concerning the inſtitution of offices, quoted by *Priſcian*, is probably the ſame with that of the *Roman* laws and cuſtoms. He wrote, according to the ſame *Priſcian*, eight books *of the prætors*. A book, likewiſe, intituled *de rebus variis*, is, by ſome, aſcribed to him. From the great number of authors, who have quoted his works, it appears, that they were generally read, and greatly eſteemed, both by the *Greeks* and *Latins*. *Tertullian* quotes his book of the *Roman* ſhews (6), and St. *Jerom* that of illuſtrious men, upon the plan of which he wrote his own (7): perhaps the lives of the illuſtrious grammarians, orators, and poets, commonly aſcribed to *Suetonius*, were part of that work. The life of *Pliny* the elder is thought not to have been done by *Suetonius*, but by a much more modern writer (8). *Vopiſcus*, ſpeaking of his hiſtory of the twelve *Cæſars*, calls him an impartial and correct writer; but adds, that he cannot compare him to *Salluſt*, *Livy*, *Tacitus*, or *Trogus* (9). His writings are no leſs lewd and infamous, ſays St. *Jerom*, as quoted by *Voſſius* (1), than were the lives of the emperors, whoſe hiſtory he writes. And truly, both he and *Lampridius* have mixed too much lewdneſs, as well as meanneſs, in their writings; whence they are juſtly cenſured by *Rualdus*, as teaching their readers to be vicious (2).

Florus is thought to have been a native of *Spain*, and of the lineage of the *Seneca's*; that his family-name was *L. Annæus Seneca*; and that, being adopted by one *Florus*, he took the name of *L. Julius Florus*. We read of

(8) *Plin. l.* v. *ep.* 11. (9) *Idem, l.* ix. *ep.* 34. (1) *Idem, l.* x. *ep.* 100. (2) *Idem ibid. ep.* 101. (3) *Spart. p.* 6. (4) *Suid. p.* 934. (5) *Auſ. ep.* 19. (6) *Tertull. ſpec. c.* 5. (7) *Hier. vir. illuſ. præf.* (8) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* i. *c.* 31. (9) *Vopiſc. in Firm.* (1) *Voſſ. ibid.* (2) *Ruald. in vit. Plut. c.* 28.

one

diſtinguiſhed very early with preferments in *Rome* (E). *T. Antoninus* was born at *Lavinium*, on the nineteenth of *September* of

one *Julius Florus*, who, in the reign of *Tiberius*, taught rhetoric in *Gaul* with great applauſe (3). *Spartian*, in the life of *Adrian*, quotes ſome verſes compoſed by a poet named *Florus*, whom moſt writers take to be the epitomizer of the *Roman* hiſtory; for that epitome was written in the reign of *Trajan*, and ſeems to be the product of a poetical genius. It is greatly eſteemed by the learned, who nevertheleſs find fault with the author for not obſerving with due punctuality the order of time. It is not an abridgment of *Livy*; for with him the author often diſagrees. Whether the ſummaries prefixed to each book of *Livy*'s hiſtory were done by *Florus*, is uncertain (4). The poet *Florus* uſed, it ſeems, to frequent taverns and eating-houſes; which was looked upon in thoſe days as highly unbecoming perſons of a liberal education. Hence *Florus* having written to *Adrian* the following verſes;

Ego nolo Cæſar eſſe,
Ambulare per Britannos,
Scythicas pati pruinas.

I would not aim at *Cæſar*'s ſphere,
To walk thro' *Britain*, void of fear;
And ſuffer *Scythian* froſts ſevere.

Adrian anſwered thus;

Ego nolo Florus eſſe,
Ambulare per tabernas,
Culices pati rotundos.

Florus, I envy not thy ſphere,
Taverns to haunt in queſt of chear,
And ſuffer gnats to ſting thee there (5).

Aulus Gellius mentions one *Terentius Scaurus*, a celebrated grammarian, who flouriſhed under *Adrian*; and highly commends *T. Caſtricius*, whoſe diſciple he himſelf had been (6); but neither of them ſeems to have left any works behind them. *Scaurus* had been preceptor to *Adrian*; his ſon was preceptor to *L. Verus*; and his grandſon, or rather great-grandſon, to *Alexander Severus* (7).

(E) His grandfather *Titus Aurelius Fulvus*, or *Fulvius*, was the firſt conſul of the *Aurelian* family. His father *Aurelius Fulvus* was likewiſe honoured with that dignity, and univerſally eſteemed on account of his extraordinary

(3) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* i. *c.* 30. (4) *Idem ibid.* (5) *Spart. p.* 8. (6) *Aul. Gell. l.* xi. *c.* 15. & 13. (7) *Vide Caſaub. in vit. L. Ver. p.* 35.

accom-

of the year 86. *Domitian* being then conſul the twelfth time, with *Cornelius Dolabella*. He is ſtiled by *Julius Capitolinus*, who wrote his life, *T. Aurelius Fulvius Boionius Antoninus*; but from ſeveral antient inſcriptions it appears, that, inſtead of *Fulvius*, we ought to read *Fulvus* [u]. As from his infancy he behaved himſelf in a very dutiful and obliging manner towards all his relations, many of them left him their eſtates, by which means he became exceeding rich. He was a great lover of the country, and country-diverſions; but nevertheleſs did not decline public employments, in which he acquitted himſelf with great reputation, and univerſal applauſe. He was conſul in 120. afterwards one of the four conſulars appointed by *Adrian* to govern *Italy*, and then ſent into *Aſia* with proconſular authority; where, by the mildneſs of his government, his affability, and engaging behaviour, he gained the eſteem and affections of perſons of all ranks. Upon his return to *Rome*, *Adrian* appointed him one of his council, and tranſacted nothing without his advice [w]. He married *Annia Galeria*, the ſiſter of *Marcus Aurelius*'s father, and had by her two ſons and two daughters. The eldeſt of the daughters was married to *Lamia Syllanus*, but died ſoon after: ſhe was probably named *Aurelia Fadilla*; for we find one of that name called, in an antient inſcription, the daughter of the emperor *T. Antoninus* [x]. The other, named *Annia Fauſtina*, was married to *M. Aurelius*, her couſin-german [y]. The two ſons, *M. Aurelius Fulvus Antoninus*, and *M. Galerius Aurelius Antoninus*, muſt have died very young; for no mention is made of them in hiſtory.

His iſſue.

His character. ANTONINUS is celebrated by all the antients as one of the beſt princes that ever ſwayed a ſceptre. His behaviour to all was extremely obliging: he was always ready to hear with patience the meaneſt of the people: to no one was ever admit-

[u] Vide SALMAS. in not. ad Anton. vit. p. 47. [w] DIO, l. lxx. p. 800. JUL. CAP. p. 17. [x] Vide MABILL. analect. c. 4. p. 500. [y] JUL. CAP. p. 18—23.

accompliſhments and integrity. *Arrias Antoninus*, his grandfather on the mother's ſide, was twice conſul, and eſteemed one of the greateſt and moſt virtuous men in *Rome* (8). He married *Boionia Procilla*, deſcended from an illuſtrious family; and had by her *Arria Fadilla* the mother of *Antoninus*, who, after the death of her huſband *Aurelius Fulvus*, married *Julius Lupus*, and had by him a daughter named *Julia Fadilla*. This daughter died before the emperor, but left a ſon named *Mummius Quadratus* (9).

(8) *Jul. Cap. in Antonin.* (9) *Idem, p.* 25.

tance denied to his palace or preſence, eſpecially when they came to complain of his officers, miniſters, or procurators. He was an utter enemy to all pomp and oſtentation. His table, ſays his hiſtorian, was rich without extravagance, and frugal without meanneſs. He never courted the favour of the people, but ſeemed rather to deſpiſe popular applauſe, which had been the idol of moſt of his predeceſſors. He never flattered others, nor ſuffered any one to flatter him. He obſerved with great exactneſs, but without the leaſt affectation, the *Roman* laws and ceremonies. He offered in perſon, as high pontif, the ſacrifices, which for other emperors had been offered by inferior prieſts; and never failed to aſſiſt, unleſs prevented by ſome indiſpoſition, at all public acts of religion, ſhewing always a profound reſpect for the Deity [z] (F). As he never admitted any to his friendſhip, with whom he was not thoroughly acquainted, he was a moſt conſtant friend, hearkened to no calumnies againſt them, nor entertained any fears or jealouſies, as *Adrian* had done, who in the end was weary of all his old friends, and diſcharged them with ignominy. He was naturally of a ſweet and mild temper, ever inclined to mercy, which he ſhewed even to the moſt vicious and wicked, chooſing rather to deprive them of the means of doing miſchief, than to puniſh them according to their deſerts. During his long reign of twenty-three years, he is ſaid never to have done any thing that ſavoured of cruelty, ill-nature, or could give to any perſon whatſoever juſt motive of offence [a] (G).

His religion, conſtancy in friendſhip, &c.

His clemency and mildneſs.

T. An-

[z] Jul. Cap. p. 18—23. Paus. l. viii. [a] Jul. Cap. p. 18. Dio, l. lxx. p. 800.

(F) It appears from an inſcription of the year 143. that the ſenate erected a monument to his honour, in conſideration of his great and extraordinary regard for the public ceremonies (1).

(G) When he arrived in *Aſia*, with the character of proconſul, he choſe to lodge the firſt night in the houſe of *Polemon* the celebrated ſophiſt, which was the beſt and largeſt in *Smyrna*. But the proud and unmannerly ſophiſt, who was then in the country, returning home about midnight, and finding the proconſul in his houſe, inſtead of thanking him for the honour he had done him, made ſuch complaints of the liberty he had taken, as the clown was pleaſed to ſtile it, that *Antoninus*, to quiet him, was obliged to leave the houſe at that time of night, and ſeek for a lodging elſewhere. However, when *Antoninus* was raiſed to the empire, *Polemon* did not fail to come to *Rome* to wait upon him. The emperor received him in a moſt obliging manner, and ordered him

(1) *Rein. inſcript. p.* 308.

What prompted Adrian *to adopt him.*

T. ANTONINUS was adopted by *Adrian*, as we have related above, upon the death of *Ælius Verus Cæsar*. Some authors write, that *Adrian* was induced to prefer him to so many other great men, by the particular respect, and tender regard, which *Antoninus* shewed to his father-in-law, whom, as he was very old and decrepit, he used constantly to conduct to the senate, attending him like a slave: *Adrian*, seeing him one day leading and supporting the old man, was so pleased to be lodged in the palace; but at the same time put him in mind of what had passed at *Smyrna*, by ordering his domestics to take care, that no one turned him out of his apartment (2). A comedian complaining to the emperor, that *Polemon* had driven him out of the theatre at mid-day, *Antoninus* answered, "He drove me "out of my lodgings at mid-"night, and nevertheless I made "no complaints (3)." As *M. Aurelius* was weeping for the death of one of his preceptors, the courtiers, creatures for the most part void of humanity, represented to him, that it was beneath a prince to shew so much tenderness and concern; but *Antoninus* checked them with the following remarkable words; *Pray, let him weep; and give him leave to be a man; for neither philosophy, nor the imperial dignity, ought to extinguish in us the sentiments of nature* (4). The emperor going one day to see the fine house of *Valerius Omulus*, and admiring there, amongst other things, certain pillars of porphyry, he asked him, where he had purchased them. But *Omulus*, instead of being pleased to see the emperor take notice of the ornaments of his house, returned him this rude answer, *In other peoples houses you must learn to be deaf and dumb* (5). Thus *Omulus*, who was a man of a satirical temper, and given to raillery, treated on this, and several other occasions, the good-natured prince, who could not, as he often owned, prevail upon himself to punish any person for bare words, however free and disobliging. Having sent for *Apollonius* the celebrated Stoic, who resided at *Chalcis* in *Syria*, to instruct *M. Aurelius* in the principles of that sect, the philosopher flew to *Rome*, attended by a great number of disciples, all *Argonauts*, says *Lucian* (6), gaping after the golden fleece. Upon their arrival *Antoninus* invited *Apollonius* to court, in order to deliver his disciple to him. The haughty pedant answered with great insolence, that the master was not to come to the disciple, but the disciple to the master; which words being related to *Antoninus*, *Does* Apollonius, *then*, said he, smiling, *think it a more troublesome journey from his lodgings to the palace, than from* Chalcis *to* Rome? However, he ordered *M. Aurelius* to wait upon him (7).

(2) *Philos. soph. p.* 25. (3) *Idem ibid.* (4) *Jul Cap. p.* 18——23. (5) *Idem ibid.* (6) *Lucian. in vit. Demonact. p.* 552. (7) *Jul. Cap. p.* 23.

with

with that ſight, that he adopted him for that very reaſon [b]. But *Adrian* could not by this alone be prompted to confer ſo great an honour upon one, who had given ſo many proofs of his extraordinary talents and ability. He choſe him, therefore, becauſe he judged him to be, of all the great men in *Rome*, the beſt qualified for the ſovereign power [c]. He was adopted on the twenty-fifth of *February* of the year 139. and at the ſame time inveſted with the proconſular and tribunitial power, honoured with the name of *Cæſar*, now peculiar to the preſumptive heir of the empire, and diſtinguiſhed, as we conjecture from ſome antient coins, with the title of emperor [d], which had hitherto been given to none but the ſovereign (H). *Adrian* adopted *Antoninus* upon condition that he ſhould adopt *M. Annius Verus*, the ſon of his wife's brother, and *L. Commodus* the ſon of *L. Verus Cæſar*, which he did accordingly before the death of *Adrian*, probably the ſame day on which he himſelf was adopted [e].

His generoſity.

THE next day *Antoninus* returned the emperor thanks in the ſenate for the honour he had conferred upon him, diſtributed large ſums among the ſoldiery and populace, employing on this occaſion his own, and not the public money; and, beſides, paid what *Adrian* had promiſed them. All the cities of the empire uſed, on ſuch occaſions, to preſent the adopted prince with ſums of money inſtead of crowns, which were thence called *aurum coronarium*. Theſe ſums the generous prince remitted intirely to the cities of *Italy*, and a moiety to all the reſt. He even contributed, out of his private fortune, a great deal towards the works which *Adrian* was carrying on, and obeyed that prince, ſo long as he lived, with as much reſpect and ſubmiſſion as the meaneſt of his ſubjects, except when he attempted to murder himſelf, or others [f]. *Adrian* dying at *Baiæ*, on the tenth of *July*, he prevailed upon the

He cauſes Adrian *to*

[b] JUL. CAP. p. 17. [c] DIO, l. lxix. p. 796, 797.
[d] GOLTZ. p. 70. [e] SPART. in Adr. p. 12. JUL. CAP. p. 16. DIO, p. 797. [f] JUL. CAP. p. 18.

(H) We are told, that his ſucceſſion to the empire was preſaged long before by many omens. While he governed part of *Italy* in quality of proconſul, one from among the croud cried out to him, while he was adminiſtring juſtice, *May the gods proſper your undertakings*, Auguſtus! Upon his arrival in *Aſia*, the prieſts of the city of *Tralles* in *Lydia* received him not with the uſual ſalutation, *Ave, proconſul! Hail, proconſul!* but ſtiled him emperor. At *Cyzicus*, a crown belonging to the ſtatue of one of the gods was found upon that of *Antoninus*, &c (8).

(8) *Jul. Cap. p.* 8.

be ranked among the gods.

Why honoured with the title of Pius.

senate, much against their will, to confer such honours upon him as had been decreed to the best of emperors; and continued all those in their employments, who had been preferred by him. It was, according to some writers, on account of this tender and filial respect for the memory of his father, that the senate decreed him the glorious surname of *Pius*. Others think, that they distinguished him with that title in regard of the great care he had of his father-in-law in his old age, or of *Adrian* in his sickness, or because he saved many whom *Adrian* had commanded to be murdered; or, finally, on account of the natural sweetness of his temper, and the extraordinary respect he shewed on all occasions for religion, and all religious persons [g]. Be that as it will, he bears the epithet of *Pius* in several medals of this very year, and is chiefly known by it in history [h]. *Pausanias* thinks he deserved not only this title, but that likewise which was given to *Cyrus*, to wit, *the father of mankind*, in consideration of the paternal care he seemed to have of all men [i]. *Commodus*, and the emperors who succeeded him, assumed the same title; which served only to render their wickedness the more remarkable [k]. This year *Antoninus* was likewise honoured with the title of *Augustus*, and of *high pontif*, and his wife *Faustina* with that of *Augusta*. He refused many other honours which the senate offered him, and, among the rest, the title of *the father of his country* [l]; which, however, he accepted the following year [m] (I).

Honours conferred upon him by the senate.

We know but very little of the actions of this great prince, and are almost quite at a loss as to the order of them, with respect to what we know. *Julius Capitolinus*, who wrote his

[g] Jul. Cap. p. 17. Paus. lib. viii. p. 275. Dio, lib. lxx. p. 799.
[h] Spanh. l. viii. p. 714.
[i] Paus. l. viii. p. 275.
[k] Idem ibid.
[l] Dio, lib. lxx. p. 799.
[m] Goltz. p. 71. Jul. Cap. p. 18.

(I) We are told, that *Antoninus*, in the beginning of his reign, ordered the proconsul of *Africa* to consult the goddess *Cœlestis*, who was worshiped at *Carthage*, about his successors, and the state of the empire; and that the pretended deity, after having uttered, like other oracles, many things obscure and unintelligible, repeated the name of *Antoninus* eight times; whence it was concluded, that *Antoninus* should reign eight years. But, as he reigned near twenty-three, another construction was long after put upon the oracle; to wit, that eight emperors should reign bearing the name of *Antoninus* (9); which interpretation we shall examine in the reign of the emperor *Opilius Macrinus*.

(9) *Jul. Cap. in Macrino.*

life,

life, and inſcribed it to the emperor *Dioclesian*, is but a very indifferent hiſtorian, and greatly confuſed and perplexed in his accounts. What *Dio Caſſius* wrote of *Antoninus* has been loſt eight hundred years ſince, and conſequently before *Xiphilin* undertook the epitomizing of that author; ſo that we can only give our readers a general idea of this excellent prince's government and conduct. He lived, according to *Julius Capitolinus*, after his acceſſion to the empire, in the ſame manner as he had lived while he was yet a private perſon; no alteration appeared in his behaviour towards his friends, nor had any of his enemies ever the leaſt motive to be grieved for his preferment. He would ſuffer none but ſlaves to wait upon him, ſhewing on all occaſions the greateſt reſpect imaginable for the equeſtrian and ſenatorial orders. He never tranſacted any buſineſs of conſequence without the advice of the ſenate, paying them, when emperor, that regard which he deſired to ſee paid to them by other emperors while he was a ſenator. He frequently gave an account, even to the people, of all his actions and negotiations. When he demanded the conſulſhip, or other employments, either for himſelf or his children, he appeared like a private perſon among the other candidates; which ſhews, that he allowed the people, according to their antient right, to chooſe the magiſtrates. *M. Aurelius* owns, that *Antoninus* convinced him by his example, that one might lead a private life even in a court.

His extraordinary reſpect for the ſenatorial and equeſtrian orders.

He moderated moſt of the impoſts and tributes, and ſtrictly injoined his receivers and collectors to exact them without any ſeverity or oppreſſion, ſaying, that he choſe rather to be poor, than have his coffers filled at the expence of an oppreſſed people. He was no ſooner raiſed to the empire, than he diſpoſed of the greateſt part of his private eſtate in favour of the indigent citizens; and, the empreſs *Fauſtina* repining at his generoſity, he told her, That a prince ought to have no private intereſt, no private property, and nothing in view but the public welfare. He choſe for governors of provinces ſuch only as were perſons of known integrity, and is ſaid never to have preferred an undeſerving man to any employment whatſoever. Hence ſome continued in their poſts during the whole time of his reign; for he was not for removing ſuch as diſcharged their office to the ſatisfaction of the people, unleſs they themſelves deſired it, as did *Orfitus* governor of *Rome*, and ſome others. *Gavius Maximus* was for the ſpace of twenty years captain of the prætorian guards; and others held their employments during the whole time of his reign. His paternal eſtate, which was very great, he laid out in bounties and largeſſes; but was very ſparing of the public money: whence at his death his private coffers were found empty, but the exchequer full. He deprived

He leſſens the tributes.

Prefers only men of merit.

Takes care of the public revenues.

deprived ſeveral uſeleſs perſons of the penſions which had been ſettled upon them by *Adrian*, ſaying, he could not bear to ſee the ſtate devoured by thoſe who were no-way ſerviceable to it, but lived in idleneſs upon the labours of others (K). Tho' he was thus ſparing of the public money, yet no one ever charged him with avarice; for he gave daily inſtances of an unbounded generoſity.

Inſtances of his equity.

He would accept of no legacies from ſuch as had children, and ordered the eſtates of thoſe who had been condemned for extortion, to be reſtored to their children, after the perſons, whom they had pillaged, had been fully ſatisfied. Under no prince fewer eſtates were confiſcated, than under him. He utterly extirpated the whole tribe of informers, and was ready, upon the leaſt misfortune that happened to any city or province, to leſſen their tribute and taxes [n]. Many obtained the privileges of *Roman* citizens for themſelves, and not for their children, who, in that caſe, remained *Greeks*, according to the expreſſion of an antient hiſtorian, and conſequently were incapable of enjoying their fathers eſtates, which fell to the exchequer, if the deceaſed had no *Roman* citizen amongſt his relations. But this regulation, favourable indeed to the avarice of princes, but repugnant to humanity, *Antoninus* utterly aboliſhed [o]. He beſtowed great privileges and

Favours men of learning.

ſalaries, in all the provinces of the empire, upon ſuch men of learning as undertook the educating of youth; maintained incredible numbers of children, whoſe parents were indigent; ſupplied all ſenators and magiſtrates with large ſums, to defray the expences of their neceſſary journeys; and ſpent conſiderable ſums in ſhews and ſpectacles, complying therein with the inclinations of the people, though he himſelf had an utter diſlike to ſuch diverſions.

His public works.

Though he was no-way addicted to building, yet he raiſed a great number of ſtately edifices at *Rome*, and in the neighbourhood. He cauſed a port to be made at *Caieta*, now *Gaeta*, repaired that of *Terracina*, finiſhed *Adrian*'s magnificent mauſoleum, built a ſtately palace at *Lorium* in *Hetruria*, about ten miles from *Rome*, in which place he had been educated; and contributed large ſums towards the repairing of ſeveral antient buildings in *Greece*, *Ionia*, *Syria*, and *Africa*. The village of *Pallantium* in *Arcadia* was by him made a city, and exempted from all manner of tribute, becauſe *Evan-*

[n] Jul. Cap. p. 20—50.

[o] Pausan. l. viii. p. 273.

(K) Among thoſe whom he thus treated, was *Meſomedes*, a lyric poet, whom *Adrian* had rewarded with a yearly penſion, on account of ſome verſes in praiſe of his beloved *Antinous*.

der

der was ſuppoſed to have built, and peopled with the inhabitants of that village, a city in the place where *Rome* ſtood [p].

Promiſes to put no ſenator to death, and keeps his promiſe.

He promiſed, in the beginning of his reign, to ſpill the blood of no ſenator; which promiſe he obſerved ſo religiouſly, that, one being convicted of parricide, he contented himſelf with baniſhing him, even after he had owned his crime, to a deſert iſland. *Attilius Tatianus* and *Priſcianus* being accuſed of conſpiring againſt the life of the emperor, the latter laid violent hands on himſelf, and the former was only baniſhed. Of his ſon, *Antoninus* took particular care, and brought him up as if he had been his own child. He would ſuffer no inquiry to be made after their accomplices, anſwering the ſenate, when they preſſed him to it, "I do not care the world ſhould "know by how many perſons I am hated." He never engaged in any war which he could avoid, and was often heard to ſay, that he had rather ſave one citizen, than deſtroy a thouſand enemies.

Is eſteemed even by the enemies of Rome.

By this means he gained the affections, not only of his own people, who looked upon him as their father and protector, but likewiſe of the declared enemies of *Rome*, who entertained ſuch an opinion of his equity, juſtice, and moderation, that, in their diſputes, they choſe him for their judge and arbitrator; and truly no *Roman* emperor was ever more eſteemed and revered by all foreign nations, than *Antoninus*. The king of the *Parthians*, having raiſed a formidable army, and invaded *Armenia*, retired, contrary to the expectation of all, and diſbanded his troops, upon the receipt of a letter from *Antoninus*. The kings of *Hyrcania*, *Bactria*, and *India*, ſent embaſſadors to him, courting his friendſhip, and deſiring his alliance. *Pharaſmanes* king of *Iberia* came in perſon to wait upon him at *Rome*, and ſhewed a far greater reſpect and veneration for him, than he had formerly done for *Adrian*. The *Lazi*, the *Armenians*, the *Quadi*, and ſeveral other nations, readily received ſuch princes as he was pleaſed to appoint over them, though they were not then ſubject to the empire [q]. *Antoninus* is by ſome hiſtorians compared, by others even preferred, to *Numa*, on account of the tranquillity which *Rome* enjoyed during the greateſt part of his reign, and his extraordinary care of all things belonging to the worſhip of the gods, and to religion (L).

ADRIAN

[p] JUL. CAP. p. 17—20. PAUSAN. l. viii. p. 273. [q] JUL. CAP. p. 20. BIRAG. p. 194. SPART. l. ix. p. 831, 832.

(L) *Julius Capitolinus* tells us, that he was by perſons of all ranks revered to ſuch a degree, that neither the people nor ſoldiery

ADRIAN died, as we have related above, on the tenth of *July* 139. *Camerinus* and *Niger* being conſuls. Theſe were ſucceeded by the emperor *Antoninus*, the ſecond time conſul, and *Caius Bruttius Præſens*. This year *Antoninus* gave his daughter *Annia Fauſtina* in marriage to *M. Aurelius*, whom he created *Cæſar*, and, at the requeſt of the ſenate, though this year only quæſtor, named for the conſulate of the year enſuing; which he diſcharged with him, as appears from an antient inſcription on a monument raiſed to the honour of *Marcus Aurelius*, by the two captains of the prætorian guards *Petronius Mamertinus* and *Gavius Maximus*, and by the other officers of the ten prætorian cohorts, and the city-guards [r] (M). The next conſuls were *M. Peducæus Syloga* and *T. Hoenius Severus* [s], during whoſe adminiſtration one *Celſus* revolted; but all we know of his revolt is, that on this occaſion the empreſs *Fauſtina* was greatly diſpleaſed with the kindneſs which the good-natured emperor ſhewed to his enemies [t]. Soon after, *Fauſtina* died, and was, notwithſtanding the diſſolute life ſhe had led, at the requeſt of *Antoninus*, honoured with divine worſhip, prieſts, temples, ſtatues of gold and ſilver, *&c.* Games were inſtituted to her honour, and her ſtatue was, by *Antoninus*'s order, carried amongſt thoſe of the other gods at the *Circenſian* ſports. The emperor was not

Marries his daughter Fauſtina *to* M. Aurelius.

The empreſs Fauſtina *dies, and is ranked among the gods.*

[r] GRUT. p. 258. [s] CUSPIN. p. 353. ONUPH. in faſt. p. 225. [t] Coſſ. vit. per VULCAT. p. 43.

diery could, for the ſpace of an hundred years and upwards, look upon any one as truly emperor, who did not bear the name of *Antoninus*; which was therefore aſſumed by all his ſucceſſors during a whole century: nay, *Severus* appointed, that the name of *Antoninus* ſhould be peculiar to the emperors, like that of *Auguſtus* (1); ſo great was the veneration he had for *Antoninus!* That great name was indeed profaned and diſhonoured by *Antoninus Caracalla*; but nevertheleſs reſpected to ſuch a degree, even after his reign, that the emperor *Macrinus* obliged his ſon *Diadumenus* to aſſume it, fearing the ſoldiers would not acknowlege him emperor, unleſs diſtinguiſhed by that ſtill venerable name (2).

(M) In another inſcription, which antiquaries take to be of this year, *Antoninus* is ſtiled the benefactor and preſerver of the city of *Mopſueſtia*, for having maintained the inhabitants in the poſſeſſion of their antient rights and privileges (3). From a third inſcription we learn, that *Antoninus* ended this year an aqueduct, which had been begun by *Adrian* at *New Athens* in the iſland of *Delos* (4).

(1) *Spart. in Get. p.* 9[illegible]. (2) *Idem in Diad.* (3) *Onuph. p.* 225. (4) *Idem, p.* 224.

unacquainted

unacquainted with her irregular conduct; but had done all that lay in his power to keep her diſorders concealed from the multitude [u].

THE following year, *Lucius Cuſpius Rufinus* and *Lucius Statius Quadratus* being conſuls, *Antoninus* inſtituted ſolemn ſports at *Puteoli*, in honour of *Adrian*, which were ſtiled *Pia* and *Pialia*, and were to be celebrated the ſecond year of each *Olympiad* [w]. The next conſuls were *C. Bellicius Torquatus* and *Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herodes* (N). In the following conſulſhip of *Lollianus Avitus* and *Claudius Maximus*, the *Brigantes* in *Britain* revolted; but were ſoon reduced by *Lollius Urbicus* governor of that province, who deprived them of great part of their country, ſubdued the more northern nations, and built a new wall between the friths of *Forth* and *Clyde* [x]. For the victories gained by *Lollius*, *Antoninus* was honoured, as appears from ſome antient medals, with the title of *Britannicus* [y]. The next year *Antoninus* entered upon his fourth conſulſhip, having for his collegue *M. Aurelius Cæſar*, the ſecond time conſul, and gave the manly robe to *Lucius Verus* his adopted ſon, who had ended the fourteenth year of his age on the fifteenth of *December* of the preceding year. He imitated therein *Auguſtus*, who had taken upon him the conſular dignity when he gave the manly robe to *Caius* and *Lucius Cæſars*. The ſame year *Antoninus* conſecrated the temple which he had built to the honour of *Adrian*, and on that occaſion diſtributed conſiderable ſums among the populace [z]. In the next conſulſhip of *Sex. Erucius Clarus* and *Cn. Claudius Severus*, ſome diſturbances were raiſed in *Germany* and *Dacia*; Atticus Herodes *is raiſed to the conſulſhip.*

The Britgantes *revolt, and are reduced.*

[u] JUL. CAP. p. 18.
[x] Vide ALFORD. annal. Britan. eccleſ. antiq. p. 1024.
[z] JUL. Cap. p. 36.
[w] Idem, p. 13. PAGI, p. 211.
[y] Vide CASAUB. in SPART. p. 50.

(N) The latter, who is greatly extolled by *Aulus Gellius* (5) and *Philoſtratus* (6), was a native of *Athens*, and the moſt eloquent orator of his time. He had an extraordinary talent at making ſpeeches off-hand; but, not having ſucceeded as he expected in one which he made, while he was yet a youth, before the emperor *Adrian*, he attempted to drown himſelf in the *Danube*. He inſtructed *M. Aurelius* and *L. Verus* in the *Greek* tongue, and was greatly eſteemed by *Antoninus*, who appointed him governor of the free cities of *Aſia*. He died in the fifteenth year of the reign of *Marcus Aurelius*, and 176. of the Chriſtian æra; and left behind him many ſpeeches, letters, and other works, none of which have reached our times.

(5) *Aul. Gell. l.* ix. *c.* 2.
(6) *Philoſt. ſoph.* 27.

but

but were ſoon compoſed by the governors of thoſe provinces. The *Alani* likewiſe, attempting to invade the *Roman* dominions, were driven back into their own country with no ſmall loſs [a].

DURING the adminiſtration of the following conſuls *Largus* and *Meſſalinus*, the emperor inveſted *M. Aurelius* with the tribunitial and proconſular power. By *Fauſtina* the daughter of *Antoninus*, he had already a daughter named *Lucilla*, who was afterwards married to *L. Verus*. The emperor on all occaſions ſhewed a particular eſteem for *M. Aurelius*, conſulted him in all affairs of moment, often followed his advice, and ſuffered him to govern as if he had been his partner in the ſovereign power, giving no ear to the malicious inſinuations of thoſe who attempted to eſtrange his mind from the young prince, as if he wiſhed for his death [b]. As the conduct of *L. Verus* was very different from that of *M. Aurelius*, the emperor treated him in a quite different manner, not beſtowing upon him either the title of *Cæſar*, or any other peculiar to the apparent heir of the empire; nay, he did not, during the whole time of his reign, inveſt him with any power whatſoever; which was a plain indication, that he diſliked him; and not without reaſon, as we ſhall ſee hereafter; and only ſuffered him, becauſe he had been obliged by *Adrian* to adopt him [c].

Shews a great eſteem for M. Aurelius;

but none for L. Verus.

IN the conſulate of *Torquatus* and *Julianus*, the *Moors* took up arms, upon what provocation we know not; but were utterly defeated, driven quite out of their own country, and obliged to ſhelter themſelves in the moſt diſtant parts of *Libya* beyond mount *Atlas* [d]. The three following years were quite barren of events. In the firſt, *Servius Scipio Orfitus* and *Q. Nonius Priſcus* were conſuls; in the ſecond, *Glabrio Gallicanus* and *Vetus*; and, in the third, *Quintilius Condianus* and *Quintilius Maximus*. The two latter were brothers, and are mightily extolled by the antients, on account of their learning, their experience both in civil and military affairs, their wealth, and, above all, in regard of their mutual unity and concord; for they acted on all occaſions, ſays *Dio Caſſius*, as if they had not been two, but one perſon: whence they are known in hiſtory by the name of the *Quintilii*. They governed the provinces together, the one being lieutenant to the other; were conſuls together; wrote to the emperor, received anſwers, judged cauſes, publiſhed books, in common; and were in the end unjuſtly condemned and executed together, by order of the emperor *Commodus*, as we ſhall relate in the

The two brothers Quintilii.

[a] JUL. CAP. p. 19. [b] Idem, p. 24. [c] Idem in Ver. p. 36. [d] PAUSAN. l. viii. p. 273. [e] DIO, l. lxxi. p. 814. CASAUB. in SPART. p. 94. PHILOST. ſoph. 27.

hiſtory

history of that prince's reign [e]. They were natives of *Troas*, and highly esteemed by *M. Aurelius*, under whom they governed *Greece* in 173. and *Pannonia* in 178. They published a treatise on agriculture, whereof some fragments have reached our times [f].

THE following year, the fifteenth of *Antoninus*'s reign, *Sextus Junius Glabrio* and *C. Omulius Verianus* being consuls, that eminent champion of the Christian religion *Justin the Martyr* published his first apology, and presented it to the emperor, to his adopted sons, and to the senate. As *Antoninus* was a prince of a mild disposition, he was so far moved be it, and by the informations which he had received from other parts of the empire, that he wrote a letter to the whole province of *Asia* in favour of the distressed Christians, which he concluded with these words: *If any one for the future shall molest the Christians, and accuse them merely on account of their religion, let the person who is arraigned be discharged, though he is found to be a Christian, and the accuser be punished according to the rigour of the law* [g]. At the same time the emperor wrote in behalf of the Christians to the *Athenians*, *Thessalonians*, *Larisseans* in *Thessaly*, and to all the *Greeks* [h]. These letters put a stop to the persecution; which, however, broke out anew, and raged with great violence, under *Marcus Aurelius*, *Antoninus*'s successor, as we shall relate hereafter. Antoninus favourable to the Christians.

THE following year, when *C. Bruttius Præsens* and *A. Junius Rufinus* were consuls, the *Tiber*, overflowing its banks, laid the lower parts of *Rome* under water. The inundation was followed by a fire, which consumed a part of the city, and a famine, which swept off great numbers of the citizens, notwithstanding the care which the good-natured emperor took to have corn conveyed to the city from the most distant provinces. The same year the cities of *Narbonne* in *Gaul*, and *Antioch* in *Syria*, and the great square at *Carthage*, were in great part consumed by accidental fire; but soon restored by *Antoninus* to their former condition [i]. This year *L. Verus* discharged the office of quæstor, and exhibited on that occasion public shews, at which he presided, sitting between *Antoninus* and *M. Aurelius*. The following year he was raised to the consulship, and had for his collegue *T. Sextius*, or, as he is called by others, *Sextilius Lateranus*. *C. Julius Severus* and *M. Rufinus Sabinianus* discharged that office next, and were succeeded by *M. Ceionius Silvanus* and *C. Serius Augurinus*, during whose consulship the cities of *Cos* and *Rhodes*, Several calamities. Year of the flood 2503. Of Chr. 155. Of Rome 903.

[e] Vide CASAUB. in SPART. p. 94. [g] EUSEB. lib. iv. c. 26. JUST. apol. p. 100. Chron. Alex. p. 608. 610. [h] EUSEB. ibid. & l. iv. c. 13. [i] JUL. CAP. p. 20. VICT. epit.

with

with ſeveral others in *Lycia* and *Caria*, were overturned by a violent earthquake; but ſoon reſtored to their former luſtre, *Antoninus* contributing thereto immenſe ſums, and making good the loſſes which the inhabitants had ſuſtained [k]. The four following years are quite barren of events: the conſuls were *Barbarus* and *Regulus*; *Tertullus* and *Sacerdos*; *Plautius Quintillus* and *M. Statius Priſcus*; *Appius Annius Bradua* and *T. Vibius Bradus*. The two latter were ſucceeded by *M. Aurelius Cæſar* the third time, and *L. Verus* the ſecond time conſul.

Is taken ill, and dies.

Year of the flood 2811. Of Chriſt 163. Of Rome 911.

During their adminiſtration, the emperor was ſeized with a violent fever at *Lorium*, one of his country-ſeats; which in a few days put an end to his life on the ſeventh of *March*, after he had lived ſeventy-three years, five months, and ſixteen or ſeventeen days, and reigned twenty-two years, ſeven months, and twenty-ſix days. When he found death approaching, he ſent for the captains of the prætorian guards, and the chief officers of the court, and in their preſence confirmed his adoption of *M. Aurelius*, and recommended to him the empire, without taking the leaſt notice of *Lucius Verus*. He then ordered the golden image of *Fortune*, which always ſtood in the emperor's bedchamber, to be removed to the room of *M. Aurelius*. When the tribune came for the parole, the word he gave him was *Equanimity*. He left his paternal eſtate to his daughter, and legacies to all his friends and domeſtics. Though he died in an advanced age, he was no leſs lamented by all the ſubjects of the empire, than if he had been ſnatched from them in the bloom of his youth [l]. His funeral was performed with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence, and his body depoſited in the pompous mauſoleum of his predeceſſor *Adrian*; on which occaſion two funeral orations were pronounced, one by *M. Aurelius*, and another by *L. Verus*. He was by the ſenate ranked among the gods, a temple was built to his honour, prieſts, ſacrifices, and annual ſports inſtituted, *&c* [m]. *Gordianus*, who aſſumed the title of *Auguſtus* at *Carthage* in the year 237. wrote in his youth an elegant poem, intituled, *Antoniniades*, deſcribing the lives, the wars, the public and private actions, of *Antoninus*, and his ſucceſſor *M. Aurelius*, named likewiſe *Antoninus* [n]; but that work has not reached our times. Some ſpeeches were publiſhed under the name of *Antoninus*, which *Marius Maximus* maintained to be his, tho' they were commonly thought to have been written by others [o]. Of the

He is univerſally lamented.

[k] Jul. Cap. p. 21. [l] Idem, p. 22. [m] Idem ibid.
[n] Idem in Gord. [o] Idem in Anton. p. 21.

writers

writers who flouriſhed under him, we ſhall ſpeak in our note (O).

M. AURE-

(O) Theſe were *Juſtin*, *Julius Paulus*, *Appian*, *Callinicus Sutorius*, *Calviſius Taurus*, *Apollonius*, *Ptolemy* the aſtrologer, *Fronto*, *Telephus*, and *Claudius Maximus*. *Juſtin* is thought to have inſcribed his abridgment of *Trogus Pompeius* to the emperor *Antoninus Pius*. That writer, in an antient manuſcript, is ſtiled *M. Junianus Juſtinus*. His work was known to St. *Jerom*, St. *Auſtin*, and *Oroſius*, who often copies him. Some have confounded *Juſtin* the hiſtorian with *Juſtin the Martyr*, who flouriſhed about the ſame time; but never publiſhed any work in the *Latin* tongue, not even the apologies, which he wrote at *Rome*, and preſented to the emperor. *Trogus Pompeius*, whoſe hiſtory *Juſtin* abridged, is ranked among the beſt hiſtorians of *Auguſtus*'s reign, and put upon the level with *Livy*, *Salluſt*, and *Tacitus* (7). *Julius Paulus* publiſhed ſeveral poetical pieces, and is commended by *Aulus Gellius*, on account of his great erudition and probity. He lived in *Gellius*'s time; but died before that grammarian began to write: whence he is thought to have flouriſhed under *Adrian* and *Antoninus* (8). *Appian*, who wrote the *Roman* hiſtory in *Greek*, was a native of *Alexandria*, pleaded ſome time at *Rome*, and was afterwards employed by the emperors to take care of their private eſtates and revenues (9). He lived in the reigns of *Trajan*, *Adrian*, and *Antoninus*, and was writing in the year 900. of *Rome*, the tenth of *Adrian*'s reign (1). His *Roman* hiſtory is, properly ſpeaking, a ſeparate and diſtinct hiſtory of all the nations ſubject to *Rome*, from the earlieſt times to the reign of *Auguſtus*, tho' he ſometimes carries it down to the time of *Adrian* (2). He ſpeaks of the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* under *Adrian*, as happening in his time (3). His hiſtory of the wars of *Africa*, *Syria*, *Parthia*, *Pontus*, *Iberia*, *Spain*, *Illyricum*, and of *Hannibal* and *Mithridates*, with five books of the civil wars, of which he wrote ſeven, have reached us: and, beſides, ſome fragments of ſeveral other hiſtories copied by M. *Valois* from the collections of *Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus*. He likewiſe wrote the hiſtory of the wars of *Judæa*, and of that which *Trajan* waged with the *Dacians* (4). *Photius* admires the elegance of his ſtile; but chiefly commends him as an unbyaſed writer, and one who, in his accounts, aimed moſtly at truth (5). He borrowed many things of *Polybius* and *Plutarch*, whom he often copies (6). *Scaliger* is of opinion, that many things, unworthy of ſo great an hiſtorian, have been, by the ignorant tranſcribers, inſerted into his hiſtory of *Syria*. His plan, which was to write the hiſtory of *Rome*, and of all the

(7) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. c.* 19. & 23. (8) *Aul. Gel. l.* i. *c.* 22. *l.* v. *c.* 4. *l* xvi. *c.* 10. *l.* xix. *c.* 7. *Voſſ. poet. Lat. p.* 52. (9) *Appian. in Syr. Suid. p.* 353. (1) *Appian. p.* 7. (2) *Idem, p.* 4. *Evagr. l.* vi. *c.* 24. (3) *Appian. in Syr. p.* 83. (4) *Idem ibid. p.* 19. *Phot. c.* 57. (5) *Phot. ibid.* (6) *Voſſ. hiſt, Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 13.

provinces

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus

M. AURELIUS is, by all the antients, reckoned the beſt prince that ever ſwayed a ſceptre, and his reign commonly ſtiled

provinces of the empire, was much admired by *Evagrius* (7). *Callinicus Sutorius* was a native of *Petra* in *Arabia*; but ſpent moſt part of his life at *Athens*. He wrote the hiſtory of *Alexandria* in ten books, quoted by St. *Jerom* (8), and publiſhed ſeveral other pieces on various ſubjects (9). Some fragments in *Greek*, by one *Callinicus*, publiſhed by *Leo Allatius*, are aſcribed by *Voſſius* to *Callinicus Sutorius* (1). But *Jonſſius* ſuppoſes *Callinicus Sutorius* to have flouriſhed in the time of the emperor *Gallienus*, to whom, and not to *Galen* the celebrated phyſician, he inſcribed, in his opinion, one of his works (2). *Calviſius Taurus* is often mentioned by *Aulus Gellius*, who went to hear him while he inſtructed the *Athenian* youth in the principles of the *Platonic* philoſophy (3). He was a native of *Tyre*, according to *Philoſtratus*; but, according to *Suidas* (4), and *Euſebius* (5), of *Berytus*. He publiſhed ſeveral works, one among the reſt, ſhewing the difference between the doctrine of *Plato*, and that of *Ariſtotle*. *Aulus Gellius* quotes a treatiſe written by him on anger, and the firſt book of his comments upon *Plato*'s *Gorgias* (6). The ſame writer commends him on account of his abſtinence; for he lived chiefly upon lentils (7). *Telephus*, who inſtructed *L. Verus* in the *Greek* tongue, was born in *Pergamus*, and wrote a book on the rhetoric of *Homer*; another on the perfect agreement between that poet and *Plato*; the lives of ſuch poets as had written comedies or tragedies; inſtructions on the choice of books; a deſcription of *Pergamus*, with the hiſtory of its kings and laws; an account of the laws and cuſtoms of *Athens*; and a collection of epithets (8). *Claudius Maximus* was by birth a *Tyrian*, and one of *M. Aurelius*'s preceptors, whom he inſtructed in the principles of the *Stoics*. He publiſhed ſeveral philoſophical pieces, and diſcourſes on the *Platonic* philoſophy, which have reached our times, and are deſervedly eſteemed by the learned. Some writers are of opinion, that he was conſul in the year 144. and afterwards proconſul of *Africa* (9). We have already mentioned *Apollonius* the Stoic, who was another of *M. Aurelius*'s preceptors, and whom that prince went frequently to hear, even after he was raiſed to the empire. Moſt writers aſcribe to him a work mentioned by *Photius*; wherein the author gives an account of illuſtrious women, of ſuch eſpecially as had applied themſelves to the ſtudy of philoſophy (1). *Ptolemy*, the celebrated aſtrologer and geographer, flouriſhed under *Adrian* and *Antoninus*. He made his laſt aſtronomical obſervation on a *Wedneſday*, the ſecond of *February*, in

(7) *Evag. l.* vi. *c.* 24. (8) *Hier. in Dan.* (9) *Suid. p.* 1360.
(1) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 13. (2) *Jonſ. l.* iii. *c.* 9. (3) *Aul. Gel. l.* xviii. *c.* 10. (4) *Suid. p.* 871. (5) *Euſeb. in chron.* (6) *Aul. Gel. l.* i. *c.* 26. *l.* vi. *c.* 14. (7) *Idem, l.* xvii. *c.* 8. (8) *Suid. p.* 897. (9) *Vid. P. Pagi, p.* 144. (1) *Jonſ. l.* iii. *c.* 9. *Phot. p.* 161. *Spanh. p.* 53.

the

ſtiled *The golden age*; for he made good the ſaying which he *ſurnamed* had borrowed of *Plato*, and had often in his mouth; to wit, The Phi- That ſtates would be happy, when princes were philoſophers P. loſopher.

P Dio, l. lxxi. p. 815. Jul. Cap. in M. Aur. p. 33.

the year 141. but, nevertheleſs, *Suidas* ſuppoſes him to have lived to the reign of *M. Aurelius*, and gives us a catalogue of his works. His geography is greatly commended by the antients; but we are told, that ſome of the manuſcript copies of that work are very different from the printed books (2). *Suidas* writes, that he was born in *Alexandria*; but *Voſſius* maintains, that he was a native of *Peluſium*, and ſuppoſed to have been an *Alexandrian*, becauſe he made his aſtronomical obſervations in that city (3). *Sulpitius Apollinaris*, a celebrated grammarian, is often mentioned by *Aulus Gellius*, who ſeems to have entertained a great opinion of him (4). He left ſome letters, and ſome grammatical writings, wherein he found fault with another grammarian, by name *Cæſellius Vindex* (5). Some of his obſervations upon *Terence* have reached our times (6). *M. Cornelius Fronto* is extolled by the antients, as one of the beſt orators of his age, and by ſome put upon the level with *Cicero*. *Aulus Gellius* tells us, that he never viſited him, which he did frequently while he was yet very young, without profiting much by his inſtructions (7). In *Adrian*'s time he paſſed for the moſt eloquent orator of that age, and was afterwards appointed by *Antoninus* to teach *M. Aurelius* and *L. Verus* the *Latin* eloquence. *M. Aurelius* valued him above all his preceptors, cauſed a ſtatue to be erected to him in *Rome*, and honoured him with the conſular dignity (8). St. *Jerom* ſtiles him an illuſtrious orator (9); and *Sidonius* ſpeaks of him as the author of a particular kind of diction, more grave, and leſs flouriſhed, than that of the antient orators (1). He publiſhed ſeveral harangues, one of which, againſt *Pelops*, was highly eſteemed, and preferred to all the reſt (2). *Soſipater Chariſius* publiſhed ſome letters of his, and other writings, on the propriety of words, in the collection of authors, who have written on the *Latin* tongue (3). *Sidonius* commends one *Leo*, a man of great rank in the fifth century; for adopting the ſtile of *Fronto*, from whom he was deſcended (4). We read in *Minutius Felix*, that one *Fronto*, a native of *Cirtha* in *Numidia*, publiſhed ſome diſcourſes againſt the Chriſtians, which were in great requeſt about the beginning of the third century (5). Theſe diſcourſes are, by ſome able critics, aſcribed to *Fronto* the orator.

(2) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* iv. *c.* 17. *Cyp. diſput. append. c.* 16. (3) *Voſſ. ibid.* (4) *Aul. Gel. l.* iv. *c.* 17. *l.* xiii. *c.* 17, *&c.* (5) *Aul. Gel. l.* vi. *c.* 6. *l.* xx. *c.* 6. *l.* xiii. *c.* 19, *&c.* (6) *Vide Calviſ. an.* 163. (7) *Gell. l.* ii. *c.* 26. (8) *Jul. Cap. in Aurel. p.* 23. (9) *Hier. in chron.* (1) *Sid. l.* i. *epiſt.* 1. *l.* iv. *epiſt.* 3. (2) *Sid. l.* viii. *ep.* 10. (3) *Vid. Caſaub. in Spart. M. Aur.* (4) *Sid. l.* viii. *epiſt.* 3. (5) *Min. Fel. p.* 8.

He

His extraction, preferments.

He was of the *Annian* family, which ſome writers derive from *Numa Pompilius*. However that be, it is certain, that his great-grandfather *Annius Verus*, originally of *Succubæ*, a city of *Bætica* in *Spain*, was the firſt ſenator of the *Annian* family, and afterwards created prætor. His ſon, who bore the ſame name, was by *Veſpaſian* raiſed to the rank of a patrician, appointed governor of *Rome*, and honoured twice with the conſulſhip. He had three children, *Annius Verus*, the father of *M. Aurelius*; *Annius Libo*, who was conſul; and *Annia Galeria Fauſtina*, who was married to the emperor *Antoninus Pius*. *Annius Verus* married *Domitia Calvilla*, called alſo *Lucilla*, the daughter of *Calviſius Tullus*, who had been twice conſul, and had by her *M. Aurelius*, and a daughter named *Annia Cornificia*. *M. Aurelius* was born in *Rome*, during his grandfather's ſecond conſulſhip, on the twenty-ſixth of *April*, of the year 121. His firſt name was *Catilius Severus*, that of his mother's grandfather, who had been governor of *Rome*, and twice conſul. Upon the death of his father, who died in his prætorſhip, he was adopted by his grandfather *M. Annius Verus*, and took his name. The emperor *Adrian* uſed to call him *M. Annius Veriſſimus*, on account of his great ſincerity; and, under that name, *Juſtin the Martyr* addreſſes him in his ſecond apology. When he was adopted by *Antoninus*, he took the names of *M. Ælius Aurelius Verus*, the name of *Aurelius* being peculiar to the family of *Antoninus*, and that of *Ælius* to the family of *Adrian*, into which *Antoninus* had been adopted. Upon his acceſſion to the empire, he left the name of *Verus* to *L. Commodus*, his brother by adoption, and took for himſelf that of *Antoninus*; but is generally diſtinguiſhed from his predeceſſor, either by the prænomen of *Marcus*, or the ſurname of *Philoſophus*; which was given him by the unanimous conſent of hiſtorians, and not by any public act or decree of the ſenate [q].

His education.

He was from his tender years brought up by the emperor *Adrian*, whom *Dio Caſſius* calls his kinſman [r]. That prince would have willingly adopted him, and named him for his ſucceſſor; but choſe in his room, as he was then too young, *T. Antoninus*, who had married his aunt, obliging him to adopt his nephew [s]. *Annius Verus*, his grandfather, committed the care of his education, while he was yet an infant, to a matron, who lived in his houſe; but *M. Aurelius* thanks the gods, that he was but a ſhort while under her tuition [t]; for *Adrian*, taking him from his grandfather, brought him up

[q] Dio, l. lxix. p. 797. Jul. Cap. in M. Aur. Justin. apol. ii. Grut. p. 300. [r] Dio, ibid. [s] Jul. Cap. p. 23. Eutrop. [t] M. Aur. de ſeip. l. i. c. 14.

in the palace, employing the greateſt men of that age to inſtruct him in every branch of literature. He applied himſelf to the ſtudy of philoſophy under the celebrated ſophiſt *Apollonius Sextus* of *Chæronea*, *Plutarch*'s nephew, *Junius Ruſticus*, *Claudius Maximus*, *Cinſia Catullus*, and *Claudius Severus*; to that of eloquence under *Herodes Atticus*, and *M. Cornelius Fronto*; and to the ſtudy of the law under *L. Voluſius Metianus*, or, as ſome ſtile him, *Mæcianus*, the moſt learned civilian of that age. *M. Aurelius* is ſaid to have excelled in all theſe branches of learning, and to have been one of the greateſt orators, philoſophers, and civilians, of his time. He delighted chiefly in the ſtudy of philoſophy, was thoroughly acquainted with the tenets and principles of the different ſects, and, when he was but twelve years old, entered himſelf among the philoſophers, wore their habit, and practiſed all their auſterities, lying on the ground, faſting, and abſtaining from ſeveral meats. He ſhewed, even after he was emperor, great reſpect to thoſe who had inſtructed him, eſpecially to *Junius Ruſticus*, of whom we have ſpoken in our notes; tranſacted nothing without his advice (for he was a perſon well verſed in the arts both of peace and war); ſaluted him always before the captains of the guards; raiſed him twice to the conſulſhip; and, after his death, prevailed upon the ſenate to erect him a ſtatue. He ſhewed no leſs gratitude and veneration towards his other maſters, ſetting up in his cloſet their images in gold, viſiting frequently their ſepulcres, and adorning them with crowns, victims, and flowers.

His ſtudies and learning.

His reſpect to his preceptors.

HIS great application to the ſtudy of philoſophy, and the auſterities he practiſed, impaired his health to ſuch a degree, that he became very weak and infirm, tho' naturally of a robuſt conſtitution [u] (P). As he led a very regular life, he lived, notwithſtanding his bad health, almoſt to the age of ſixty, and performed great things, applying himſelf to the diſpatch of buſineſs with more care and aſſiduity, than any of his predeceſſors had done. He had an utter averſion to all ſorts of ſhews, ſports, and diverſions, being naturally grave and ſerious; but nevertheleſs appeared at them ſometimes, tho' very ſeldom, that he might not ſeem to condemn thoſe

Practiſes the auſterities of the philoſophers.

His averſion to ſhews, and all diverſions.

[u] JUL. CAP. in M. Aur. M. ANTON. l. i. c. 3.

(P) To ſtrengthen his ſtomach, greatly weakened by faſting when he was but a youth, he uſed to take every day ſome treacle, which was made up for him by one of his phyſicians, named *Demetrius*, and, after his death, by the celebrated *Galen* (6).

(6) *Galen. prog. p.* 460. *de antidot. c.* 2. *& lib. de ther. p.* 457.

who frequented them. He uſed, while he was emperor, to read, write, or to talk to his miniſters about public affairs, during the whole time of the ſports; for which he was often raillied by the populace, but deſpiſed their railleries [w]. When he was but ſixteen, he made over his paternal eſtate to his ſiſter, ſaying, that his grandfather's eſtate was enough for him. *Adrian* adopted *Antoninus Pius*, as we have related above, upon condition, that he ſhould adopt *M. Aurelius*, at that time eighteen years old, and *L. Commodus*, who was only in the ſeventh or eighth year of his age, but already *Adrian*'s grandſon by adoption, being the ſon of *L. Ælius Cæſar*. Theſe adoptions happened, in all likelihood, on the ſame day that *Antoninus* was adopted, that is, on the twenty-fifth of *February*, of the year 139. *M. Aurelius* was ſo far from being elated with his new dignity, that, on the contrary, he could not help betraying great uneaſineſs and concern, telling thoſe, who came to congratulate him upon his promotion, that they knew not how difficult and dangerous a thing it was to command. *Adrian* at the ſame time appointed him quæſtor for the enſuing year, tho' he had not yet attained the age required by the laws of *Rome* for the diſcharge of that dignity [x]. The ſame prince had betrothed to him, when he was but fifteen, the daughter of *L. Verus Cæſar*, named, as is commonly believed, *Fabia*; and appointed, that *Antoninus* ſhould give his daughter *Annia Fauſtina* to young *Lucius*. But, upon the death of *Adrian*, *Antoninus* propoſed a match between his daughter and *M. Aurelius*, who agreed to it, married her ſome years after, and had a daughter by her in the year 172. the ninth of *Antoninus*'s reign, named *Lucilla*, who was married to *L. Verus* in 164. and afterwards to *Pompeianus* (Q).

ANTONINUS having declared, a little before he died, *M. Aurelius* his ſucceſſor, and recommended to him the empire, and his daughter, in the preſence of the chief officers of the court, the ſenate, as ſoon as he expired, obliged *M. Aurelius*,

[w] JUL. CAP. p. 23. [x] Idem, p. 24.

(Q) He had ſeveral other daughters by her, of whom three were ſtill alive in the year 193. and one was put to death by *Caracalla* in 212. *Annia Fauſtina* brought him likewiſe ſeveral ſons, to wit, *Commodus*, who was afterwards emperor, *Antoninus Geminus*, *Severus*, or rather *Verus*, ſtiled on ſome medals *Annius Verus*, *T. Aurelius Antoninus*, and *T. Ælius Aurelius*. *Commodus* and *Antoninus Geminus* were twins (7).

(7) *Jul. Cap. in Aur. & in L. Ver. p.* 39. *Herodian. l.* i. *p.* 46. *& l.* iv. *p.* 546. *Grut. p.* 252. *Pagi, p.* 180.

ſays the author of his life, to accept the ſovereignty, and take upon him the management of affairs, without ſo much as mentioning *L. Verus*, who was likewiſe the ſon of *Antoninus* by adoption, but very different in his temper and conduct both from his father and brother, being intirely abandoned to all manner of debauchery, and more inclined to tread in the footſteps of *Nero* and *Caligula*, than to imitate the virtues of *T. Antoninus* and *M. Aurelius* [y]. *Antoninus*, who was well acquainted with his temper, had never inveſted him with any power, nor even conferred upon him the title of *Cæſar*. However, *M. Aurelius* immediately declared him not only *Cæſar*, but *Auguſtus*, and his partner in the ſovereign power; ſo that *Rome* ſaw herſelf then for the firſt time governed by two ſovereigns at once. As they were at the ſame time conſuls, this year, the 163d of the Chriſtian æra, is diſtinguiſhed in the *faſti*, and inſcriptions, by the conſulate of the two *Auguſti*. This action of *Marcus Aurelius* is cried up by *Ariſtides* as the greateſt, and the moſt heroic and magnanimous, that is recorded in hiſtory of any prince [z]. In raiſing *Lucius* to the empire, he gave him the name of *Verus*; ſo that he was thenceforth named *Lucius Verus*, inſtead of *Lucius Commodus*: he added that of *Antoninus*, which he aſſumed himſelf; whence he is ſtiled, in moſt antient inſcriptions, *M. Aurelius Antoninus* [a]. The two emperors went together from the ſenate to the camp of the prætorian guards, where they promiſed the ſoldiers a bounty of twenty thouſand ſeſterces, *M. Aurelius* ſpeaking for both. They performed afterwards, with great pomp, the funeral of their deceaſed father, cauſed him to be ranked among the gods, and inſtituted a new college of prieſts, called *Aureliani* (from the name of his family), or *Aurelian* prieſts. They both governed with great mildneſs and unity, *Lucius* behaving himſelf rather as *Aurelius*'s lieutenant, than his partner in the ſovereignty. Their adminiſtration was ſuch, that no one had occaſion to regret the loſs of *Antoninus*, whoſe meaſures were purſued by both princes. That their union might be the more laſting, *M. Aurelius* betrothed his daughter *Lucilla* to *L. Verus*; and, on that occaſion, both princes added a great number of children to thoſe, who were ſupplied with corn at the public expence [b].

He takes L. Verus for his partner in the ſovereignty.

They both govern with great mildneſs and unanimity.

BUT the tranquillity and happineſs, which *Rome* and the whole empire enjoyed under the two ſovereigns, was ſoon interrupted by a dreadful inundation of the *Tiber*, which happened in the beginning of the following year, when *Ruſti-*

Many calamities happen in the begin-

[y] JUL. CAP. in M. Aur. p. 25. & in Ver. p. 36. [z] ARIST. orat. xvi. p. 421. [a] Vide GOLTZ. p. 34. [b] JUL. CAP. p. 25.

ning of their reign.

cus and *Aquilinus* were conſuls, overturned many private houſes and public buildings in the city, carried away great numbers of people and cattle, and laid under water the neighbouring country to a great diſtance. This inundation was followed by earthquakes, conflagrations in ſeveral provinces, and a general infection of the air, which produced an infinite number of inſects, that deſtroyed what the flood had ſpared, and occaſioned a famine in *Rome*. Theſe calamities were in great meaſure allayed by the care and preſence of the two emperors, who, at their own expence, ſupplied the diſtreſſed city with corn, and made good the loſſes ſuſtained by particulars [c]. At the ſame time the *Parthian* war broke out, the *Catti* made irruptions into *Germany* and *Rhætia*, and the *Britons* began to revolt. Againſt the latter was diſpatched *Calpurnius Agricola*, and *Aufidius Victorinus* againſt the *Catti*: but it was thought proper, that *L. Verus* ſhould march in perſon againſt the *Parthians*, while *M. Aurelius* continued at *Rome*, where his preſence was judged neceſſary. The good emperor was not diſpleaſed to have ſuch a ſpecious pretence of removing his collegue from *Rome*, hoping that a warlike life would give him a diſtaſte to the idle amuſements and debaucheries of the town: but he was therein greatly diſappointed, as we ſhall ſee hereafter [d]. What ſucceſs attended *Agricola* and *Victorinus*, we are no-where told. All we know of the wars with theſe nations is, that *Didius Julianus*, who reigned after *Pertinax*, is ſaid to have overcome the *Chauci*, and likewiſe the *Catti*, who had made inroads into the *Roman* dominions. The war in *Britain* muſt have likewiſe laſted a long time; for it was not ended eight years after, when that of the *Marcomanni* broke out [e].

The Parthians *declare war.*

As for the *Parthians*, they had at this time for their king *Vologeſes*, probably the ſon of *Coſrhoes*, who reigned in the times of *Trajan* and *Adrian*. *Antoninus* had refuſed to reſtore to him the golden throne, which had been ſeized by *Adrian*. This perhaps occaſioned the war; for, before *Antoninus* died, the *Parthian* had made vaſt preparations, and, ſoon after his death, appeared in the field at the head of a formidable army [f].

Diſturbances in Armenia.

Great diſturbances, of which we find but a very confuſed account in the antients, happened likewiſe at this time in *Armenia*, raiſed, in all likelihood, and fomented, by the king of the *Parthians*. *Sohemus* king of *Armenia* was driven from the throne, and the king of the *Henochii*, a people dwelling between the *Caſpian* and *Euxine* ſeas, was killed by a petty

[c] Jul. Cap. p. 25. [d] Idem in Ver. p. 37. [e] Spart. in Julian. p. 60. [f] Arist. orat. ix. p. 119. Jul. Cap. in Aur. p. 25.

prince,

prince, named *Tiridates*, who was afterwards taken priſoner by the *Romans*, and by *M. Aurelius* confined to *Britain* [g]. *Severinus*, a native of *Gaul*, and governor of *Cappadocia*, having entered *Armenia* at the head of ſeveral legions, was there attacked by the *Parthians* near a place called *Elegia*, and cut off with all his men: we are told, that not a ſingle perſon of the whole army eſcaped the general ſlaughter. *Dio Caſſius* aſcribes this victory to *Vologeſes*; but he obtained it by *Oſrhoes*, or, as *Lucian* calls him, *Othryades*, who commanded the army, and was, in all likelihood, ſome prince of the royal family of *Parthia*, on whom *Vologeſes* deſigned to beſtow the crown of *Armenia* [h].

A whole Roman army cut off by the Parthians.

VOLOGESES, elated with this victory, entered *Syria* at the head of a very numerous army, committing dreadful ravages both in that province, and in *Cappadocia*, which he likewiſe invaded, after having put to flight *Attidius Cornelianus*, who commanded in *Syria*. Againſt ſo formidable an enemy, it was judged proper, that one of the emperors ſhould march in perſon; and accordingly *L. Verus* ſet out from *Rome* this year for *Syria*. *M. Aurelius* accompanied him as far as *Capua*, whence he was ſcarce returned to *Rome*, when news were brought him, that his collegue had been ſeized at *Canoſa* with a violent diſtemper, occaſioned by the debaucheries and diſorders to which he had abandoned himſelf on the road: for the luxurious prince, inſtead of purſuing his march with all poſſible expedition, and haſtening to ſave *Syria*, which was over-run by the *Parthians*, and ready to revolt from *Rome*, ſtopped in all the cities through which he paſſed, ſpending his time in banquets and revels, and plunging himſelf into the moſt infamous debaucheries. Upon the news of his illneſs, *M. Aurelius* cauſed vows and ſacrifices to be offered for his recovery, and took a ſecond journey to ſee him. When he began to recover, *M. Aurelius* returned to *Rome*; and *L. Verus* ſoon after purſued his journey, paſſing over into *Greece*, and from thence into *Aſia*, *Pamphylia*, and *Cilicia*. As he ſtopped in every place that could afford him any kind of diverſion, he arrived, when the year was already far ſpent, in *Syria*; and, chooſing *Antioch* for the place of his reſidence, abandoned himſelf there to all manner of lewdneſs and debauchery, while the officers, who commanded under him, carried on the war. Theſe were *Statius Priſcus*, *Avidius Caſſius*, *Martius Verus*, *Saturninus*, *Fronto*, and *Tatianus*, all perſons of great experience, and generally eſteemed the beſt commanders of that age. As for the emperor *Verus*, he

Vologeſes *king of the* Parthians *invades* Syria.

L. Verus *goes into the Eaſt.*

His debaucheries on the road.

He abandons himſelf to all manner of pleaſures, and ſuffers his lieutenants to carry on the war.

[g] DIO, l. lxxi. p. 802. [h] LUCIAN. pſeud. p. 485. & hiſt. p. 347. DIO, p. 802.

was so taken up with his pleasures and diversions, that, tho' the war lasted four years, he never once appeared at the head of his army, which consisted of the flower of the *Roman* troops; but wallowed in all manner of lewdness at *Antioch*, *Daphne*, and *Laodicea*, while his officers were signalizing themselves in the field [i]. All we know of this war is, that many great exploits were performed in *Armenia*, *Syria*, *Mesopotamia*, *Media*, and upon the banks of the *Tigris* [k]; that the *Romans* besieged *Edessa* in the province of *Osrhoene*, and gained many signal victories [l]; that *Osrhoes* was once forced to save himself by swimming cross the *Tigris* [m]; that the *Parthians* received a dreadful overthrow at *Europa*, a city of *Syria*, on the *Euphrates*, a little below *Zeugma* [n]; and that in the end, *Osrhoes*, who commanded the *Parthian* troops, having lost his army, was obliged to conceal himself in a cave [o] (R).

The Parthians *overthrown.*

While *L. Verus* wallowed in all sorts of pleasures at *Antioch*, *M. Aurelius* made it his whole study to reform, by his example, and several wholsome laws, the manners of the *Romans*, to redress abuses, to reward the virtuous, and reclaim, rather by gentle means than severity, the vicious. The people enjoyed, under his mild administration, all the blessings of liberty; and were truly no less free, than their ancestors had been in the best times of the republic. He paid a greater deference to the senate than *Antoninus* himself had ever done, referring to them the decision of such causes as belonged to his own tribunal, and undertaking nothing without their advice; to which he readily submitted, saying, "It was more "reasonable for him to follow the advice of so many wise "men, than for so many wise men to follow his." He never failed attending the senate, delivering his opinion there like a private senator. He administred justice in person with great assiduity and impartiality; heard with patience such as complained of his ministers; and endeavoured, so far as was consistent with equity, to dismiss no one from his presence dissatisfied. He suffered no criminal to be condemned or executed,

Rome *happy under* M. Aurelius.

His clemency and good-nature.

[i] Jul. Cap. in M. Aur. p. 26. & in Ver. p. 37. Philost. soph. 27. Dio, in excerpt. Val. p. 775. & l. lxxi. p. 802. [k] Lucian. hist. p. 362. [l] Idem, p. 358. [m] Idem, p. 356. [n] Idem, p. 361. [o] Idem, p. 356.

(R) *Lucian*, who wrote about this time, is not ashamed to tell us, that, in the above-mentioned battle, three hundred and seventy thousand of the enemy were killed; and that the *Romans* lost only two men, and had but nine wounded (8).

(8) *Lucian. hist. p.* 357.

till

till he had examined with great care and attention the charge, and heard what the perſon accuſed could allege in his defence. He was naturally inclined to mercy; but nevertheleſs puniſhed ſuch as were guilty of any enormous crime with the utmoſt rigour. However, we have innumerable inſtances of his clemency, and very few of his ſeverity (S).

Artaxata *taken by the* Romans.

THE following year *L. Ælianus*, or *Lælianus*, and *Paſtor*, being conſuls, *Statius Priſcus* made himſelf maſter of *Artaxata*, and a place called *The new city*, which ſoon became, ſays *Dio Caſſius*, the firſt city of *Armenia*. *Priſcus* being ſoon after ſent againſt the *Parthians*, *Martius Verus* took upon him the command of the troops in *Armenia*; and partly by force, partly by his wiſe conduct, and obliging behaviour, prevailed upon the *Armenians* to ſubmit to the *Romans*, and to reſtore *Sohemus* to the throne, who, being driven out by *Vologeſes*, had reſided ſome time at *Rome*, and had been there created ſenator, and honoured with the conſulſhip [p]. On ſeveral medals of this year mention is made of the reduction of *Armenia* by *Verus*, who, in ſome inſcriptions, is ſaid to have given a king to *Armenia* [q]. Tho' he had no ſhare, as we have related above, in that conqueſt; yet the ſenate diſtinguiſhed both him and *M. Aurelius* with the title of *Armeniacus*, and both aſſumed this year that of *imperator* [r], no doubt, for the reduction of *Armenia*.

Armenia *reduced.*

M. Aurelius *marries his daughter* Lucilla *to* L. Verus.

THE following year, when *Macrinius* and *Celſus* were conſuls, *M. Aurelius* ſent his daughter *Lucilla* into *Syria*, to be married there to *L. Verus*, to whom ſhe had been for ſome time betrothed. She was attended by her ſiſter *Cornificia*, by *Civica Pompeianus*, uncle to *L. Verus* by the father, and by many other perſons of diſtinction. *M. Aurelius* would have willingly accompanied her in perſon into the Eaſt; but parted with her at *Brunduſium*, and returned to *Rome*, that he might not ſeem to aſſume to himſelf the glory of finiſhing the *Parthian* war [s]. The next year, the fourth of *M. Aurelius*'s reign, *Gavius Orſitus* and *L. Arrius Pudens* being conſuls,

[p] Dio, p. 804. [q] Occo, p. 302, 303. [r] Occo, ibid. [s] Jul. Cap. p. 26.

(S) *Aurelius Victor* tells us, that he obliged the inhabitants of *Nicæa* to ſend yearly to *Rome* a certain quantity of corn, for having beaten one of their citizens, by name *Hipparchus*, a man of great learning, and extraordinary accompliſhments (9). They continued to pay this tribute to the time of *Conſtantine*, by whom it was remitted.

(9) *Aur. Vict. in Conſtant. Ariſtid. orat.* ix. *Dio, p.* 804. *Jul. Cap. in M. Aur. p.* 26.

The Parthians *utterly defeated by* Caſſius, *who takes moſt of their cities*, &c.

Year of the flood 2515.
Of Chriſt 167.
Of Rome 915.

Vologeſes, having attacked the *Romans* at the head of a very numerous army, was utterly defeated by *Caſſius*; who, purſuing the advantages of his victory, advanced to *Cteſiphon*, took that city, and laid the palace of the *Parthian* monarchs in aſhes. He likewiſe made himſelf maſter of *Edeſſa*, of *Babylon*, and all *Media*. The city of *Seleucia* on the *Tigris* opened its gates to him, and received the *Romans* as friends; but nevertheleſs *Caſſius* ordered the inhabitants, to the number of four hundred thouſand ſouls, to be inhumanly maſſacred, and the city to be utterly demoliſhed (T). On his return, he loſt great numbers of his men, who died of diſtempers, or periſhed for want of proviſions [t]. For theſe ſucceſſes the ſenate beſtowed on *L. Verus*, tho' he had never ſtirred from *Antioch*, the glorious title of *The conqueror of the* Parthians *and* Medes, as appears from ſeveral antient inſcriptions and medals of this and the following year [u] (U). The war being ended, *Lucius Verus* appointed kings over the foreign nations which had ſubmitted to *Rome*; and left the ſenators, who had attended him, governors of the *Roman* provinces (W).

[t] Dio, p. 802. Lucian. hiſt. p. 358. Ammian. l. xxiii.
[u] Occo, p. 283. Birag. p. 218. 236.

(T) Some writers aſcribe this calamity to the treachery of the inhabitants; others to the cruelty of *Caſſius*, who thus retaliated upon the *Parthians* the dreadful ſlaughters, which the *Romans* had in former times ſuffered from them.

(U) Of this war the antients give us no farther account; but from *Rufus Feſtus* (1), and *Dio Caſſius* (2), it appears, that, towards the end of the reign of *Commodus*, the provinces of *Oſrhoene* and *Adiabene*, with the city of *Niſibis* in *Meſopotamia*, were ſubject to the *Romans*. Many *Greek* hiſtorians immediately publiſhed accounts of this war; but were guilty, it ſeems, of conſiderable miſtakes; which prompted *Lucian* to compoſe his treatiſe on the manner of writing hiſtory (3).

(W) *M. Aurelius* had ſent *Annius Libo*, his couſin-german, into *Syria*, to govern that province in quality of lieutenant, while *L. Verus* reſided there; but he dying ſuddenly, *L. Verus*, upon his leaving *Syria*, appointed *Cæſonius Vectilianus* governor of that province in his room. *Libo* was ſaid to have been poiſoned by *Verus*, not able to bear with his haughty and imperious temper. But *Antoninus* gave no credit to that report; nay, at the requeſt of *Verus*, he ſuffered *Agaclytes*, one of his collegue's freedmen, to marry *Libo*'s widow, and even aſſiſted at the nuptial ceremonies, tho' no-way pleaſed with the marriage (4).

(1) *Feſt. p.* 551. (2) *Dio, l.* lxxv. *p.* 848. (3) *Lucian. de hiſt. p.* 347. (4) *Dio, p.* 811. *& Jul. Cap. in Aur. p.* 22. *& Ver. p.* 38.

The

THE next year, *Q. Servilius Pudens* and *L. Fufidius Pollio* being conſuls, *L. Verus* returned to *Rome*, which he entered in triumph with *M. Aurelius*, who took his children with him in the triumphal chariot. The title of *Parthicus* was given by the ſenate to both emperors, and both aſſumed that of *Father of their country*, which *M. Aurelius* had declined till the return of his brother. *L. Verus*, after his triumph, begged, that the title of *Cæſar* might be conferred on the two ſons of *M. Aurelius*, to wit, *Commodus* and *Annius Verus*; who accordingly received it on the twelfth of *October*, of this year. The return of *L. Verus* proved fatal, we may ſay, to the whole world; for he carried the plague into all the provinces through which he paſſed; ſo that the infection not only ſpread through *Italy*, but extended to the moſt diſtant countries that were ſubject to, or had any communication with *Rome*, or the *Romans* (X). *M. Aurelius* cauſed ſuch of the common people as died, to be buried at his own expence; and enacted, on that occaſion, ſome laws concerning burials and ſepulcres, which were ſtill in force in *Dioclesian*'s time [w]. The plague was followed by a dreadful famine, by earthquakes, inundations, and other calamities. At the ſame time the *Marcomanni*, one of the moſt warlike nations in *Germany*, invaded the empire, having firſt drawn into their alliance all the barbarous nations which bordered on the *Roman* dominions, from *Gaul* to *Illyricum*; to wit, the *Nariſci*, the *Hermonduri*, the *Quadi*, the *Suevians*, the *Sarmatians*,

L. Verus returns to Rome, and triumphs with M. Aurelius.

A dreadful plague rages in all the provinces of the empire;

and is followed by a famine, by earthquakes, &c.

[w] JUL. CAP. in M. Aur. p. 28. OROS. l. vii. c. 15.

(X) We are told by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, that this plague firſt broke out at *Seleucia*, where the ſoldiers, pillaging the temple of *Apollo*, found a little golden coffer under-ground, which, upon their opening it, caſt out ſuch a peſtilential air, as immediately infected the neighbouring country, and ſoon ſpread into moſt parts of the world (5); but thoſe, who wrote at this very time, and before the infection reached the provinces of the *Roman* empire, aſſure us, that it began in *Ethiopia*, and was thence carried into *Egypt*, and from *Egypt* into the country of the *Parthians*, where it infected *L. Verus*'s army (6). Be that as it will, it was, without all doubt, brought into *Italy* by the troops, which had been employed againſt the *Parthians*, and made a dreadful havock in all the provinces of the empire, raging with great violence for ſome years, eſpecially in *Italy*, and at *Rome*, where it carried off many thouſands, and, among the reſt, great numbers of illuſtrious perſons.

(5) *Ammian. l.* xxiii. *p.* 251, 253. (6) *Lucian. de hiſt. p.* 355.

matians,

matians, the *Victovales*, *Roxolani*, *Baſternæ*, *Coſtobochi*, *Alani*, *Vandali*, *Iazyges*, and ſeveral other nations.

THIS war, which, by the hiſtorians of thoſe times, is called one of the greateſt wars *Rome* ever ſuſtained, was kindled while the flower of the *Roman* troops were yet employed in the Eaſt againſt the *Parthians*; but ſuſpended for ſome time by the addreſs of the commanders on the frontiers, that *Rome* might not be at the ſame time engaged in two ſuch dreadful wars. The affairs of the Eaſt were no ſooner ſettled, and *L. Verus* returned to *Rome*, than *M. Aurelius* acquainted the ſenate, that a war with the *Marcomanni* was inevitable, and of ſuch conſequence, that it required the preſence of both emperors; for *M. Aurelius* did not care to commit the whole management of the war to *Verus*, judging him unfit to carry it on with ſucceſs; and was, on the other hand, unwilling to leave him at *Rome*, where he began to be daily more and more deſpiſed, on account of his enormous debaucheries. The ſenate approved his propoſal; ſo that both emperors, after having offered an infinite number of ſacrifices, and implored, by all ſorts of ceremonies, both foreign and *Roman*, the protection of the gods, left *Rome* about the cloſe of the year, in their military apparel, and haſtened to *Aquileia*, to make the neceſſary preparations there for taking the field early in the ſpring [x].

War with the Marcomanni. Year of the flood 2516. Of Chr. 168. Of Rome 916.

Both emperors ſet out from Rome.

THE next conſuls were the emperor *L. Verus* the third time, and *M. Quadratus*, nephew to the emperor *Antoninus Pius*. Early in the ſpring the two emperors took the field, and their approach ſtruck the enemy with ſuch terror, that they repaſſed the *Danube*, and even put to death the authors and promoters of the war. The *Quadi*, whoſe king was dead, promiſed not to crown the perſon whom they had choſen in his room, without the conſent and approbation of the emperors. Moſt of the nations, who had taken arms, diſpatched embaſſadors either to the emperors, or their generals, to make their ſubmiſſions, and aſk pardon for having diſturbed the peace of the empire. Hereupon *Verus*, who had left the diverſions of the city much againſt his will, and panted after them, was for returning immediately to *Rome*; but *M. Aurelius*, ſuſpecting the ſincerity of the barbarians, continued ſome time at *Aquileia*, fortifying that place with new works; and then paſſed, together with *Verus*, the neighbouring *Alps*; provided with great care for the ſafety of *Italy* and *Illyricum*; and returned to *Rome* about the end of this year [y]. The following year, *Apronianus* and *Paulus* being conſuls the ſe-

The Marcomanni *and other* German *nations ſue for peace*;

[x] JUL. CAP. in M. Aur. p. 28. & 39.
[y] DIO, p. 808. JUL. CAP. in Aur. p. 28.

cond

cond time, the war ſeems to have broken out anew; for it appears from ſeveral antient inſcriptions, that both princes took this year the title of *imperator*; which was never done, but on occaſion of ſome victory [z]: and in the chronicle of *Euſebius* we read, that the *Romans* gained this year a ſignal victory over the *Marcomanni*, *Quadi*, *Sarmatians*, and *Dacians* [a]. The next year, in the conſulate of *Q. Soſius Priſcus* and *P. Cælius Apollinaris*, the *Germans*, notwithſtanding their late defeat, renewed the war with more vigour than ever; inſomuch that both emperors left *Rome* in the depth of the winter, and returned to *Aquileia*, with a deſign to attack the barbarians early in the ſpring; but the plague beginning to rage there with great violence, they thought it adviſeable to leave the place, and haſten back to the metropolis. As they were on the road in the ſame coach, *L. Verus* was ſeized with an apoplexy near *Altinum*. *M. Aurelius* cauſed him to be immediately taken out of the coach, and blooded; by which means he brought him alive to *Altinum*, where he lay three days ſpeechleſs, and then died, after having lived thirty-nine years, and reigned eight, and ſome months [b]. *M. Aurelius* conveyed his body to *Rome*; cauſed it to be interred with extraordinary pomp by that of his father *L. Cæſar*, in the mauſoleum of *Adrian*; prevailed upon the ſenate, notwithſtanding the hatred they bore him, to rank him among the gods; appointed him prieſts, ſacrifices, *&c.* and took particular care of all his relations, nay, even of his wicked and debauched freedmen, whom, however, he removed from the court, retaining only one of that herd, by name *Eclectus*, who afterwards murdered his ſon *Commodus*, as we ſhall relate hereafter.

but renew the war with great vigour.

Year of the flood 2519. Of Chriſt 171. Of Rome 919.

L. Verus *dies.*

L. Verus was a prince intirely abandoned to all manner of lewdneſs and debauchery, paſſing his whole time in revels and banquets, and often ſcouring the ſtreets in the night-time, as *Nero* had formerly done, and committing great diſorders in the public-houſes and ſtews, which he uſed to frequent in diſguiſe, and mix with the mob, by whom he was often roughly handled. During his four years ſtay in *Syria*, he was ſo taken up with pleaſures, and lewd amours, that he was with difficulty prevailed upon by his officers to march twice to the banks of the *Euphrates*, whence he haſtened back to *Daphne*, one of the ſuburbs of *Antioch*, a place ſo infamous for all manner of lewdneſs, that *to live after the manner of* Daphne, was become a proverb to expreſs the moſt diſſolute

His character.

[z] Occo, p. 285. & 309. [a] Euseb. chron. p. 136.
[b] Jul. Cap. in M. Aur. p. 28. & in Ver. p. 39. Galen. prog. t. iii. p. 459.

and

His debaucheries, revels, banquets, &c.

and luxurious way of living; and that all, who had any regard to their reputation, avoided appearing there. In that place *Verus* abandoned himſelf, without reſtraint, to all ſorts of abominations, while his generals were carrying on the war againſt the *Parthians*, and their allies; which gave occaſion to many ſevere lampoons, the *Antiochians* being greatly addicted to ſatire. But *Verus* preferred his pleaſures to his reputation: he brought with him out of *Syria* a great number of comedians, players, buffoons, *&c.* and paſſed moſt of his time in their company. Soon after his return to *Rome*, he is ſaid to have ſpent at one entertainment ſix millions of ſeſterces; for he preſented each of the gueſts, who were twelve in number, with crowns of gold, and with all the gold and ſilver plate, great part of which was ſet with jewels, which they had made uſe of during the banquet, and likewiſe with golden boxes filled with precious ointments; and, at their parting, he gave to each of them a chariot, and mules richly capariſoned, to carry them home. He turned the court, ſays the writer of his life, into a tavern; for, after he had ſupped with *M. Aurelius*, he uſed to withdraw to his own company, and paſs the whole night in drinking with his debauched companions, and lewd women.

His fondneſs for an horſe.

He was ſo fond of an horſe named *Celer*, or the *Swift*, that he erected a ſtatue to him in gold, fed him with raiſins and almonds, covered him with purple, ordered him to be kept in a room of the palace, and, when he died, erected a ſtately monument to him on the *Vatican*. He ſuffered his ſlaves to be as free with him at all times, as they were with their maſters, according to the *Roman* cuſtom, during the feaſt of *Saturn*; and was intirely governed by them, his freedmen, and his concubines. He built a magnificent villa on the *Clodian* way, and there ſpent moſt of his time in reveling with his freedmen, and ſuch women as were infamous for their lewdneſs. He once invited thither *M. Aurelius*, who complied with his invitation, and ſtayed five days with him, hoping to reclaim him from his vices by the example of his regular and blameleſs conduct; but, finding he was not to be reclaimed, the good emperor bore with him patiently, diſſembled his diſorders, concealed them as much as lay in his power, and even endeavoured to excuſe them. However, it was privately whiſpered abroad, that *Verus*'s horrible exceſſes, and his arbitrary manner of proceeding after his return from the Eaſt, occaſioned a miſunderſtanding between him and *M. Aurelius*, who was thought to have intimated in his ſpeech to the ſenate, that he was not much grieved for the death of his collegue, which enabled him to do good to all without controul or reſtraint; nay, as the beſt of princes are often

mali-

maliciously censured, *M. Aurelius* was said to have delivered himself from so troublesome a collegue, either by poison, or by ordering his physician *Posidippus* to let him blood unseasonably [c] (Y).

M. Aurelius *is said by some to have caused him to be murdered.*

M. AURELIUS, now delivered from so vicious and troublesome a partner, made it his whole study to oblige all with his engaging behaviour, and unbounded generosity. He seemed to excel not only his predecessors, but even himself, governing with such moderation and mildness, as can hardly be expressed [d]. The necessary preparations for the war with the *Marcomanni* ingrossed at this time his whole care and attention. His lieutenants gained, it seems, some advantages over that formidable enemy in the very beginning of the ensuing year, while *M. Cornelius Cethegus* and *C. Erucius Clarus* were consuls; for, soon after the death of *L. Verus*, and before the twenty-fifth of *February*, of this year, he took upon him the title of *imperator*, as appears from several medals and inscriptions [e]. However, the *Marcomanni* soon resumed their courage, and, falling upon *Vindex*, captain of the guards, cut both him and most of his men in pieces [f]. After this victory, they approached the *Roman* territories, where they were met by the flower of the troops of the empire. Hereupon a bloody battle ensued, which lasted many hours, both the *Romans* and barbarians fighting with incredible courage and resolution; but at length the *Romans* were utterly defeated, and put to flight, after having lost near

M. Aurelius *prepares for the war against the* Marcomanni.

The Romans *defeated with great slaughter.*

[c] Jul. Cap. p. 28—34. [d] Idem, p. 29. Eutrop.
[e] Birag. p. 221. [f] Dio, l. lxxi. p. 803.

(Y) *Dio Cassius* seems inclined to believe, that *M. Aurelius* thought it expedient to prevent, by that means, *Verus* from raising disturbances in the state (7); for he is said to have formed a conspiracy, with a design to murder *M. Aurelius*, and reign alone (8). But it is a crime, say other historians, to imagine, that such a prince as *M. Aurelius*, to whom flattery itself has never equaled any other, would by any means contribute to the death of his brother, whatever his life and actions might deserve (9). Only such fratricides as *Caracalla*, and persons guilty of the most enormous crimes, can entertain such thoughts of *Aurelius* (1). Some charged the empress *Faustina* with his death, as if she had poisoned him for having discovered to his wife his incestuous conversation with her. Others said, that he was poisoned by his wife *Lucilla*, jealous of the great passion he had for his own sister *Fabia*, whose power she could not brook (2).

(7) *Dio*, p. 802. (8) *Philost. sopb.* 27. p. 548. (9) *Jul. Cap. in Ver.* p. 39. (1) *Herodian. l.* iv. p. 645. *Aur. Vict.* (2) *Jul. Cap.*

twenty thouſand men. The *Marcomanni* purſued the fugitives to the very walls of *Aquileia*; which city they had taken, had not the *Roman* generals rallied their men with great ſkill and conduct. The barbarians entered *Italy* itſelf, deſtroying all with fire and ſword, and committing every-where moſt dreadful devaſtations [g]. The news of this fatal overthrow filled *Rome* with terror and conſternation. As the plague, which ſtill raged in moſt provinces of the empire, had greatly weakened the army, ſlaves, gladiators, and even the banditti of *Dalmatia* and *Dardania*, were admitted among the troops. Beſides, *M. Aurelius* prevailed upon ſome mercenary *Germans* to ſerve againſt their countrymen.

THUS a conſiderable army was ſoon raiſed; but, as money was wanting to pay them, and defray the other charges of ſo dangerous a war, the good-natured emperor, not being able to prevail upon himſelf to burden his people with new taxes, expoſed to public ſale the furniture of the palace, the gold and ſilver plate, all the valuable pictures and ſtatues belonging to the crown, and even his wife's rich garments embroidered with gold, and a curious collection of pearls, which *Adrian* had purchaſed during his long progreſs through the provinces of the empire, and lodged in a particular cabinet, called *Adrian's cabinet*. The ſale laſted two months, and produced ſuch an immenſe ſum, as enabled the emperor to relieve the people this year, when proviſions were very dear, with an extraordinary largeſs; to defray the charges of a five years expenſive war; and to buy back, when the war was ended, part of what he had ſold, allowing however the buyers full liberty to keep their purchaſes, or return them, and take their money again [h]. When he was upon the point of ſetting out from *Rome*, he married his daughter *Lucilla*, the widow of *L. Verus*, to *Claudius Pompeianus*, who was originally of *Antioch*, and the ſon of a private *Roman* knight, but a perſon of extraordinary merit, and famed for his wiſdom and integrity, which *M. Aurelius* ever preferred to wealth and nobility [i] (Z). However, neither *Lucilla* herſelf, nor her mo-

M. Aurelius ſells the plate, jewels, and rich furniture of the palace, to defray the charges of the war.

[g] DIO, l. lxxi. p. 803. & LUCIAN. pſeud. p. 493. [h] JUL. CAP. in Aur. p. 29. EUTROP. & BIRAG. p. 221. [i] LAMP. in Comm. p. 48. HERODIAN. l. i. p. 464.

(Z) *Julian*, ſurnamed *the Apoſtate*, blames *M. Aurelius* for having left the empire to his ſon *Commodus*, and not to *Pompeianus*, who was every way qualified; whereas *Commodus* was altogether unfit for the diſcharge of ſo great a truſt (3).

(3) *Julian. Cæſ. p.* 13.

ther

ther *Fauſtina*, were pleaſed with the match. *Lucilla* retained the title of *Auguſta*, and all the badges of ſovereignty [k]. Before the emperor left *Rome*, his ſon *Annius Verus Cæſar* died at *Paleſtrina*, in the ſeventh year of his age. *M. Aurelius* loved him with all the tenderneſs of a father; but nevertheleſs bore his death with great firmneſs, comforting the empreſs *Fauſtina*, and the phyſicians, who are ſaid to have occaſioned his death by opening unſeaſonably a ſwelling under his ear [l]. The emperor ſet out at length for *Germany*, whither he ſhewed a great deſire of carrying *Galen* with him; but that celebrated phyſician chooſing to ſtay at *Rome*, the good-natured prince would not preſs him to leave it. He left likewiſe at *Rome* his ſon *Commodus*, under the care of *Pitholaus*, his chief chamberlain, injoining him to employ none but *Galen*, in caſe his ſon ſhould be taken ill during his abſence [m].

Annius Verus, the emperor's ſecond ſon, dies.

THE antients compare this war to the *Punic* and *Cimbrian* wars; but, at the ſame time, give us a very ſuccinct and confuſed account of it. The barbarians, ſay they, laid waſte ſeveral provinces of the empire; defeated great armies. The *Marcomanni* and the *Vandals* made themſelves maſters of *Pannonia*, and held it for ſome time. The *Caſtobochi* overran *Greece*, and advanced as far as *Elatea*, a famous city of *Phocis* in *Achaia*; they overturned cities, and committed every-where dreadful devaſtations [n]. However, they were at length overcome by *M. Aurelius*, who, during this bloody and deſtructive war, gave innumerable inſtances of an extraordinary prudence and intrepidity, chooſing rather to prolong the war, and tire out the enemy, than expoſe his men to unneceſſary dangers. The ſoldiers, animated by the example of their leader, behaved with uncommon bravery; and the captains of the guards, as well as the other generals, ſignalized themſelves in a very eminent manner [o]. The *Marcomanni*, *Quadi*, *Sarmatians*, and *Vandals*, were conſtrained to abandon *Pannonia*, and retire beyond the *Danube*. The emperor purſued them, and, coming up with them as they were paſſing that river, gave them a dreadful overthrow. The *Iazyges* were twice defeated, firſt in *Pannonia*, and the ſecond time as they were croſſing the *Danube* on the ice (A). *Pompeianus*,

The barbarians over-run ſeveral provinces of the empire.

M. Aurelius carries on the war in perſon with great ſucceſs.

[k] JUL. CAP. p. 31. HERODIAN. l. i. p. 427. [l] JUL. CAP. ibid. [m] GALEN. prog. 459. & 461. [n] AMMIAN. l. xxxi. p. 425. JUL. CAP. in Aur. p. 29. PAUSAN. l. x. p. 352. [o] JUL. CAP. p. 31. ARISTID. orat. ix. p. 117.

(A) A *Roman* ſoldier, who was upon guard during the night near the *Danube*, hearing one of his comrades, who had been taken by

peianus, the emperor's ſon-in-law, who commanded a body of troops, deſiring to have *Pertinax* joined in the commiſſion with him, *M. Aurelius* readily complied with his requeſt, tho' he had, not long before, upon ſome complaints, deprived *Pertinax* of an employment which he had in *Dacia*. *Pertinax* was attended with great ſucceſs in his new commiſſion; which induced the emperor to admit him into the ſenate. Being ſoon after convinced, that the complaints brought againſt him were quite groundleſs, to repair the injury he had done him, he honoured him with prætorial ornaments, and appointed him governor of *Rhætia* and *Noricum*, whence he drove the *Germans*, who had broken into that province; and was, on that account, notwithſtanding the meanneſs of his birth, raiſed by the emperor to the conſular dignity [p] (B).

Pertinax *created a ſenator.*

Diſturbances in Egypt;

BEFORE the war with the *Marcomanni* was ended, another broke out in *Egypt*, the robbers and ſhepherds of that country, who were numerous, taking up arms, at the inſtigation of their prieſts, and committing dreadful diſorders. Being headed by one *Iſidorus*, a man of great reſolution and intrepidity, they killed a *Roman* centurion, and ſome ſoldiers, by treachery; and afterwards, the *Egyptians* joining them in great numbers from all parts, they defeated the *Roman* troops in a pitched battle, over-ran the whole country, and would have made themſelves maſters of *Alexandria* itſelf, had not *Caſſius*, whom *M. Aurelius* had appointed governor of *Syria*, marched againſt them. *Caſſius* was reckoned the beſt commander of his age, and had ſignalized himſelf both in the

[p] DIO, p. 810. JUL. CAP. in Pertin. p. 54.

by the barbarians, crying on the other ſide in an affecting manner, threw himſelf, armed as he was, into the river, croſſed it, reſcued his fellow-ſoldier, and returned with him to his poſt (4). *Dio Caſſius* tells us, that the *Roman* ſoldiers having demanded of the emperor a largeſs after a bloody battle, in which they had behaved with extraordinary valour, and obtained a complete victory, he refuſed it, telling them, That he could not enrich them, without impoveriſhing their parents and relations; and adding, as they ſeemed diſſatisfied with this anſwer, That their complaints gave him no uneaſineſs or concern, ſince he was well appriſed, that the gods alone diſpoſed of empires (5).

(B) The emperor, during his firſt expedition againſt the *Marcomanni*, reſided for the moſt part at *Carnuntum*, a city of *Upper Pannonia* upon the *Danube*, which ſome take to be the preſent village of *St. Perronel* in *Auſtria* (6).

(4) *Dio*, *l.* lxxi. *p.* 804, 805. *Aur. Vict. p.* 31. (5) *Dio*, *p.* 803.
(6) *Dio*, *p.* 810. *Baudrand p.* 165.

Parthian

Parthian and *German* wars. However, he did not think it adviſeable to engage ſo bold and deſperate an enemy; but, having found means to ſow diviſions among them, as he was a man of great craft and addreſs, he obliged them at laſt to ſubmit, and lay down their arms [q]. *Caſſius*, having thus quelled the diſturbances in *Egypt*, marched into *Armenia* and *Arabia*, where he performed great exploits; but neither of them, nor of this year, which ſeems to have laſted ſome time, any farther mention is made in hiſtory. At the ſame time the *Moors* over-ran almoſt all *Spain*, ravaging that country with fire and ſword; but were in the end driven out by the emperor's lieutenants. *Severus*, afterwards emperor, was at that time quæſtor of the province of *Bætica* [r]. There were likewiſe ſome diſturbances in the country of the *Sequani*, now the *Franche-Comté*; but theſe the emperor compoſed with his authority, and ſeaſonable ſeverity [s]. The next conſuls were *Herennianus* and *Severus*, uncle to the emperor of that name, who, at his requeſt, was by *M. Aurelius* admitted into the ſenate [t]. During their adminiſtration, a great diſpute ariſing between *Herodes Atticus* and the city of *Athens*, the emperor ſeemed inclined to favour the latter; which ſo provoked *Herodes*, who was a man of a violent and firy temper, that, when the cauſe was to be decided by the emperor then reſiding at *Sirmium*, now *Sirmich*, in *Pannonia*, inſtead of pleading with his uſual eloquence, tranſported with rage, he launched into bitter and ſcurrilous invectives againſt the emperor, telling him, amongſt other things, that he ſuffered himſelf, which was highly unbecoming an emperor, to be governed by a woman, and an infant only three years old; for the empreſs *Fauſtina*, and her young daughter, inſtructed by her, had interceded with the emperor in behalf of the *Athenians*. When he had done railing againſt the emperor, *Baſſæus* (C), captain of the guards, told him,

which are ſuppreſſed by Caſſius.

Spain invaded by the Moors, who are driven out.

[q] Dio, p. 803. Vulcat. Gallican. in vit. Caſſ. [r] Jul. Cap. in Aur. p. 31. & Spart. in Sever. [s] Jul. Cap. ibid. p. 32. [t] Onuph. in faſt. p. 231. Noris, epiſt. conſul. p. 108.

(C) *Baſſæus* is, by *Dio Caſſius*, ſtiled *M. Rufus Baſæus*. He was, according to that writer, a common peaſant; but, being forced into the ſervice, gave ſuch proofs of his courage and integrity, that the emperor created him captain of the guards, tho' he was quite deſtitute of learning, and ſpoke ſo broad, that he could hardly be underſtood (7).

(7) *Dio, p.* 803. *& in excerpt. Val. p.* 717.

That his inſolent behaviour might perhaps coſt him his life. But *Herodes*, without ſhewing the leaſt concern or remorſe, anſwered, That a man of his age had nothing to fear; and immediately withdrew.

The emperor bears patiently the reproaches of Herodes Atticus.

As for the emperor, he heard him the whole time quite unconcerned; and when he withdrew, addreſſing the *Athenian* deputies, *You may allege your reaſons*, ſaid he, *tho'* Herodes *has not been pleaſed to allege his.* He heard them with great attention, and could not help ſhedding tears, when they deſcribed the cruel and arbitrary proceedings of *Herodes*, and his freedmen, who had uſurped a kind of ſovereignty over the city, and oppreſſed the people in a tyrannical manner. However, the emperor did not condemn *Herodes*, but only his freedmen; and the puniſhment which he inflicted upon them was very ſmall, ſays our hiſtorian, and no-way anſwerable to their crimes [u]; nay, to all he remitted part of it, and to one of them, named *Alcimedon*, the whole, thinking him ſufficiently puniſhed by the death of his two daughters, killed by a flaſh of lightning after their arrival at *Sirmium.* Some time after, *Herodes* wrote to the emperor, complaining, that he did not honour him, as he had done formerly, with his letters; and the good-natured prince immediately ſent him an anſwer, filled with the moſt tender and ſincere expreſſions of friendſhip, condeſcending, in a manner, to beg his pardon for having condemned perſons belonging to him [w]. The following year, when *Maximus* and *Orfitus* were conſuls, *M. Aurelius* gained, it ſeems, conſiderable advantages over the *Germans*; for, on all the medals of this year, mention is made of his victories in *Germany*, and on ſome he is ſtiled *Germanicus*; which title was given to his ſon *Commodus* this very year, on the fifteenth of *October* [x]. The next conſuls were *M. Aurelius Severus* the ſecond time, and *T. Claudius Pompeianus*, during whoſe adminiſtration nothing happened, which hiſtorians have thought worth tranſmitting to poſterity.

M. Aurelius *in great danger of being cut off with his whole ar-*

But the enſuing year, when *Gallus* and *Flaccus* were conſuls, *M. Aurelius*, by an event altogether miraculous, eſcaped being cut off with his whole army. This happened beyond the *Danube*, in the country of the *Quadi*, where *M. Aurelius* was this year making war, and near the river *Gran*, which, riſing from the mountains of *North Hungary*, falls into the *Danube* over-againſt the antient city of *Strigonium*,

[u] Dio, p. 803. Philost. ſoph. 27. p. 558—561. [w] Philost. ibid. [x] Birag. p. 223, 225. Lamprid. in Comm. p. 50.

to

to which the *Dan* gives its name [y]. This memorable battle was begun by the enemy's ſlingers and archers, who, from the oppoſite banks of the *Dan*, galled the *Romans* to ſuch a degree, that the emperor thought it adviſeable to paſs the river, and diſlodge them; which was done accordingly, not without great ſlaughter on both ſides; but the enemy retiring in good order, as it had been concerted among them beforehand, drew the *Romans*, who advanced with more bravery than conduct, into a diſadvantageous place, among barren mountains, quite deſtitute of water. The *Romans*, cloſing their ranks, defended themſelves with great bravery, and repulſed the enemy, who thereupon giving over the attack, ſeized the avenues, and blocked them up on all ſides, hoping to reduce by thirſt thoſe whom they could not overcome by force of arms. The *Romans*, finding themſelves thus ſhut up among barren mountains, quite ſpent with their wounds, and the fatigues of the battle, oppreſſed with heat, and tormented with an inſufferable drought, attempted to open themſelves a way through the midſt of the enemy; but, all their efforts proving unſucceſsful, they found themſelves obliged to continue under arms, expoſed to the rays of the ſun, and oppreſſed with a violent thirſt, without being able either to fight or retire. In this deplorable extremity, both ſoldiers and officers began to abandon themſelves to deſpair, while the emperor, more affected with the miſeries of the ſoldiers than his own, flew through all the ranks, endeavouring to inſpire them with courage, and raiſe their drooping ſpirits; but, as they ſaw no poſſible means of eſcaping the preſent danger, his words were to no purpoſe, and nothing was heard but groans and lamentations, nothing ſeen but marks of the utmoſt deſpair.

my by the Marcomanni. Year of the flood 2523. Of Chr. 175. Of Rome 923.

IN this diſtreſs, when they expected every moment to be either cut in pieces, or to become a prey to the barbarous enemy, who ſurrounded them, clouds appeared all on a ſudden gathering in the air; the ſky was overcaſt, and, to their inexpreſſible joy, rain fell in great plenty; which the fainting ſoldiers received, holding their mouths, helmets, and bucklers, up to heaven, as they are repreſented on the famous column of *Antoninus* at *Rome*. In this poſture the barbarians fell upon them; ſo that they were obliged at the ſame time to drink and fight; for they were ſo oppreſſed with drought, that ſuch of them, as were wounded, drank their own blood mixed with the water which they had received in their hel-

They are relieved by a miraculous ſhower.

[y] ONUPH. in faſt. p. 232. TERTUL. apol. c. 5. DIO, l. lxxi. p. 805. BAUDR. p. 330.

mets. As they were more eager to quench their thirſt, than to repulſe the enemy, they had been all cut in pieces, had they not been miraculouſly ſuccoured by a dreadful ſtorm of hail, attended with thunder and lightning, which diſcharged itſelf upon the barbarians, as they advanced againſt them. Thus were ſeen at the ſame time fire and water deſcending from heaven; water to refreſh the *Romans*, and fire to deſtroy their enemies; for either no fire fell upon the *Romans*, or what fell was immediately extinguiſhed; and the rain, which fell upon the barbarians, was ſo far from overcoming the flames which conſumed them, that, on the contrary, it doubled their violence, as if it had not been water, but oil. The enemy, thus deſtitute of water in the midſt of an heavy ſhower, were obliged either to wound themſelves, in order to extinguiſh with their blood the devouring flames, or to have recourſe to the *Romans*, and throw themſelves upon the mercy of *M. Aurelius*, who received and entertained them in a friendly manner[z] (D). After ſo glorious a victory, *M. Au-*

[z] Dio, l. lxxi. p. 805, 806.

(D) Thus *Dio Caſſius* relates this memorable event, ſo much celebrated by *Apollinaris*, *Tertullian*, *Euſebius*, *Julius Capitolinus*, *Themiſtius* in his oration before *Theodoſius*, St. *Jerom*, *Gregory* of *Nyſſa*, the poet *Claudian*, and the chronicle of *Alexandria*. It was ingraved on the famous column of *Antoninus*, with the other exploits of *M. Aurelius* during the *Marcomannic* war, and on another, which *Themiſtius* tells us he had ſeen (8). The truth of this event has been univerſally acknowleged both by the Chriſtian and pagan writers, who nevertheleſs diſagree as to the authors of it. *Dio Caſſius* aſcribes it to a celebrated magician of *Egypt*, named *Arnuphis*, who attended the emperor in this war (9); *Suidas* to a magician, by name *Julianus*, who was originally of *Chaldæa*, and wrote ſeveral books of magic (1). *Julius Capitolinus* (2), *Themiſtius* (3), and the poet *Claudian* (4), pretend, that this ſhower was owing to the emperor's own prayers. In the above-mentioned column of the *Antonini*, it is by the pagans aſcribed to their *Thundering Jupiter*. But all the Chriſtian writers aſſure us, that ſo ſignal a favour was granted by heaven to the prayers of the Chriſtian ſoldiers, who ſerved in the *Roman* army. This *Euſebius* aſſerts upon the authority of *Apollinaris* biſhop of *Hierapolis* (5). The Chriſtians, by whoſe prayers the army was ſaved, are ſaid to have belonged to the legion *Melitina*, mentioned by *Dio Caſſius* (6), or, as *Xiphilin* expreſſes it, to the

(8) *Themiſt. orat.* xv. (9) *Dio, p.* 805, 806. (1) *Suid. p.* 439. (2) *Jul. Cap. in M. Aur. p.* 32. (3) *Themiſt. orat.* xv. (4) *Claud. in conſ. Honor.* 6. *p.* 183. (5) *Euſeb. l.* v. *c.* 5. (6) *Dio, p.* 806.

legion

M. Aurelius was proclaimed emperor the ſeventh time, and the empreſs *Fauſtina* was honoured by the ſenate with the title of *mater caſtrorum*, or, *the mother of armies* [a].

MARCUS

[a] Dio, p. 806.

legion that had been raiſed or quartered at *Melitine*; for the legions, as is well known, often borrowed their names from the places where they were quartered. *Melitine* was one of the chief cities of *Armenia Minor*, and ſtood on the banks of the *Euphrates*. This legion, which, according to *Xiphilin*, conſiſted intirely of Chriſtians, and had been prompted by a viſion, if *Gregory* of *Nyſſa* is to be credited (7), to embrace the true religion, was in all likelihood the twelfth, which by *Titus* had been quartered in the city of *Melitine* in the year 70 (8), and was in *Cappadocia* in the year 230 (9). The province of *Cappadocia* probably comprehended at that time *Armenia Minor*; ſo that we may ſuppoſe it to have been ſtill at *Melitine*; for there we find it placed in a *notitia imperii*, or ſtate of the empire, publiſhed many years after the death of *Severus*. The twelfth legion was diſtinguiſhed by the ſurname of the *Thundering* (1); and *Apollinaris*, as quoted by *Euſebius* (2), tells us, that the legion *Melitina* was honoured with that title by the emperor, by way of reward for the above-mentioned miracle. The ſame thing we read in *Xiphilin*, and in *Onuphrius*, who maintains, that, till the time of *M. Aurelius*, no mention is made of the *Thundering* legion (3). But from an antient inſcription it appears, that the twelfth legion was diſtinguiſhed by that ſurname, even in *Trajan*'s time (4). Of this legion, which ſtill ſubſiſted in the time of *Euſebius* (5), were the forty martyrs of *Sebaſte*, ſo much ſpoken of by the eccleſiaſtic writers of the primitive times (6). But what moſt of all ſeems to confirm the truth of the above-mentioned miracle is, the letter which the emperor himſelf is ſuppoſed to have written to the ſenate, giving them an account of it, and of the victory he gained on that occaſion (7). *Tertullian* aſſures us, that in his letter he aſcribed, tho' in a doubtful manner, his deliverance to the prayers of the Chriſtians: *Having obtained rain*, ſays he, as quoted by *Tertullian*, *perhaps by the prayers of the Chriſtians*. *Euſebius* quotes ſome paſſages of it out of *Tertullian*, and ſpeaks of it in his chronicle as a thing that was ſaid to have been. But St. *Jerom*, in tranſlating that paſſage of *Euſebius*, poſitively affirms, that it was ſtill extant. *Oroſius* and *Xiphilin* only ſay, that it was thought to be extant in their times (8); whence

(7) *Greg. Nyſſ. orat.* ii. *de quadraginta martyr.* (8) *Joſeph. bell. Jud. l.* vii. *c.* 4. (9) *Dio, l.* lv. *p.* 564. (1) *Idem ibid.* (2) *Euſeb. l.* v. *c.* 5. (3) *Onuph. in faſt. p.* 233. (4) *Vide Baron. ad ann.* 176. & *Euſeb. chron. p.* 233. (5) *Euſeb. ibid.* (6) *Greg. Nyſſ. de quadrag. martyr.* (7) *Dio, l.* lxxi. *p.* 806. (8) *Oroſ. l.* vii. *c.* 7. *Dio, p.* 806.

MARCUS AURELIUS could not, however, be yet prevailed upon by his friends to leave *Germany*, and return to *Rome*, being deſirous to reduce the countries of the *Marcomanni*, and the *Sarmatians*, to *Roman* provinces, not out of vanity and ambition, ſays *Dio Caſſius*, but becauſe he found by experience, that he could not rely upon their fidelity. This he would have compaſſed, had he not been interrupted in the midſt of his conqueſts by the revolt of *Caſſius*, which we ſhall relate hereafter. He continued in *Germany* great part of the following year, when *Piſo* and *Julianus* were conſuls; and, having placed twenty thouſand men in the countries of the *Quadi* and *Marcomanni*, haraſſed theſe two nations to ſuch a degree, that they reſolved to abandon their native ſoil, and ſettle elſewhere. But *M. Aurelius*, having received timely notice of their deſign, prevented them from putting it in execution; ſo that their fields being laid waſte, and all communication with the neighbouring nations cut off, they were in the end conſtrained by famine to ſend embaſſadors to the emperor, and ſue for peace. The *Quadi* ſent with their embaſſadors all the *Roman* deſerters, and thirteen thouſand priſoners, whom they had taken during the war; and by that means obtained a peace, upon condi-

The Marcomanni *and* Quadi *ſue for peace.*

it is manifeſt they had not ſeen it. A letter aſcribed to *M. Aurelius* concerning the victory, which he obtained by the prayers of the Chriſtians, has reached our times. It is commonly annexed in *Greek* to the apologies of *Juſtin the Martyr*, and is to be found in *Latin* in *Onuphrius* (9) and *Baronius* (1), tranſlated, as they tell us, from the *Greek* text, which was itſelf a tranſlation from the original *Latin*. They both look upon it as an authentic piece; but, notwithſtanding their judgment, it is by the beſt critics rejected as ſpurious; to whoſe opinion we readily ſubſcribe, finding it frequently contradicts all the hiſtorians who have deſcribed the reign of *M. Aurelius* (2). A modern critic, having taken the whole ſtory of this ſuppoſed miracle in pieces, as it is related by *Euſebius*, and examined every particular circumſtance, proves with ſeveral, in our opinion, unanſwerable reaſons; 1. That there was not an intire legion of Chriſtians in the army of *Antoninus*. 2. That the *Thundering* legion did not take its name from this miracle. 3. That *Antoninus* never aſcribed this miracle to the prayers of the Chriſtians. 4. That *Antoninus*, after this pretended miracle, never publiſhed any edict in favour of the Chriſtians. 5. That the Chriſtians in general did not believe this miracle. Laſtly, That the deliverance of the *Roman* army, tho' undoubtedly true, was no miracle (3).

(9) *Onuph. faſt. p.* 234. (1) *Baron. ad ann.* 176. (2) *Vide P. Pagi, p.* 174. & *Scalig. in chron. Euſeb. p.* 223. (3) *See Moyle, vol.* ii. *p.* 82——103.

tion

tion that they ſhould not for the future traffick within the *Roman* dominions, nor ſettle within ſix miles of the *Danube*. But this peace was ſhort-lived; for the *Quadi*, inſtead of executing the articles of their agreement, joined the *Iazyges*, who were ſtill in arms, and drew over the *Marcomanni*. At the ſame time they drove out *Furtius*, their king, for diſapproving their meaſures, and, of their own authority, appointed one *Ariogeſes* in his room; which *M. Aurelius* reſented to ſuch a degree, that, tho' the *Quadi* promiſed to ſet at liberty fifty thouſand *Roman* captives, upon condition that he concluded a peace with them, and confirmed to *Ariogeſes* the title of king, the emperor would not hearken to the propoſal; but, on the contrary, proſcribed the new prince, and ſet a price upon his head.

HEREUPON the *Quadi*, being joined by the *Marcomanni*, the *Iazyges*, the *Buri*, the *Nariſci*, and many other nations, of whom we find no farther mention in hiſtory, attacked the *Romans*; but were, after a long, bloody, and obſtinate diſpute, put to the rout, and utterly defeated. *Ariogeſes* himſelf was taken priſoner, and brought to the emperor, who, notwithſtanding his late menaces and reſentment, generouſly ſpared his life, and contented himſelf with confining the captive to the city of *Alexandria*, the metropolis of *Egypt* [b]. After this victory, moſt nations in *Germany* ſent deputies to ſue for peace, offering to ſubmit to ſuch terms as the emperor ſhould think fit to impoſe upon them. The *Quadi* ſeem to have continued in arms till the reign of *Commodus*. The *Marcomanni*, after ſo many loſſes, ſubmitted, and obtained a peace, upon condition that they ſhould not ſettle within five miles of the *Danube*. *Zantiches* king of the *Iazyges* came in perſon to wait on *M. Aurelius*, attended by all the great men of the nation; and was by him received into favour, but obliged to retire with his people farther from the *Danube* than the *Marcomanni*. They were a very powerful and warlike people, and had taken above an hundred thouſand priſoners during this war, whom they ſet at liberty upon the concluſion of the peace, this being in all likelihood one of the articles of it. Beſides, they ſupplied *M. Aurelius* with a body of eighty thouſand horſemen, of whom he immediately ſent five thouſand into *Britain*, where the *Romans* were threatened with a new war. The *Buri*, *Nariſci*, and other *German* nations, obtained a peace upon ſuch terms as the emperor would never have granted, had he not been obliged by all means to put an end to this war, in order to

They receive a great overthrow.

The Marcomanni, *and other nations, obtain a peace.*

[b] Dio, p. 808. & excerpt. VAL. p. 717.

Avidius Cassius *revolts.*

lead his troops against *Cassius*, whose revolt was likely to bring dreadful calamities upon the empire, as it had already raised the courage of the barbarians.

His extraction.

AVIDIUS CASSIUS, whom we have frequently mentioned in describing the *Parthian* and *Egyptian* wars, was, as some authors write, descended by the mother from the antient family of the *Cassii*. His father, by name *Avidius Severus*, raised himself, according to the author of his life [c], from the degree of a centurion to the first employments in the state; and was, on account of his extraordinary parts, highly favoured by the emperor *M. Aurelius*, but died before the revolt of his son (E). He was remarkable for maintaining discipline among the troops; but his severity, according to *Vulcatius*, favoured of cruelty; for, if any soldier was found to take but the least thing by violence from the people of the provinces, he caused him to be immediately crucified in the place where the fact was committed: some he ordered to be burnt alive; others, chained together, to be thrown into some river, or into the sea. He used to punish deserters by cutting off their hands and legs, saying, that the sight of a criminal, living in misery, made a deeper impression than his being put to death at one blow. As he has been attended with wonderful success against the *Parthians*, *M. Aurelius*, in his first war with the *Marcomanni*, sent him against the *Sarmatians* their confederates. As he was encamped near the *Danube*, some auxiliaries of his army, upon intelligence that the enemy lay carelessly on the banks of that river, went without his knowlege to attack them, killed three thousand of them, and returned to the camp loaded with booty. Their centurions, who had put them upon this enterprize, and headed them in the action, expected some great reward from *Cassius* for having, with an handful of men, killed such a number of the enemy, while the tribunes and other officers

His severity towards the soldiers.

[c] VULCAT. GALLICAN. in Cassio.

(E) Such is the account which *Vulcatius Gallicanus* gives us of his extraction. But another historian writes, that *Cassius* himself owned, that he had nothing, except the name, common to him with the famous *Cassius*, who killed *Cæsar* the dictator; and adds, that he was originally of *Cyrrhum* in *Syria*, and the son of one *Heliodorus*, who had the good fortune to raise himself by his eloquence to the government of *Egypt* (4). One of *Adrian*'s secretaries was named *Heliodorus*, and him a modern writer takes to have been the father of *Cassius* (5).

(4) *Dio*, *l.* lxxi. *p.* 810. *Aristid. orat.* xxvi. *Dionis*, *p.* 103.

(5) *Vales. in excerpt.*

had neglected so favourable an opportunity. But *Cassius*, looking upon this as a bad precedent, which might be attended with worse consequences, instead of rewarding the centurions, caused them all to be seized, and crucified like slaves. This severity occasioned a mutiny in the army; but *Cassius*, without betraying the least fear, appeared naked and unarmed in the midst of the incensed multitude, crying aloud to them, *Kill me*; *and, to your neglect of duty, add, if you dare, the murder of your general.* This intrepidity allayed their fury; and, no one daring to utter a single word of complaint, they all returned to their tents, and thenceforth made it their whole study to learn and observe the military laws, knowing they served under a general, who could not by any fears or menaces be prevailed upon to wink at their faults, or suffer them to pass unpunished. This instance of severity made such a deep impression on the minds of the *Sarmatians*, that, despairing to conquer a people thus observant of military discipline, and the rules of war, they immediately sent embassadors to the emperor to beg peace for an hundred years [d].

A signal instance of it.

AFTER the first *Marcomannic* war, he was by *M. Aurelius* appointed governor of *Syria*, the emperor judging him the best qualified of any in the empire to restore the antient discipline intirely neglected by the troops quartered in that province (F). Nor was he mistaken in his judgment; for in a few

Appointed governor of Syria.

[d] VULCAL. GALL. in Cassio, p. 46.

(F) The emperor, upon his appointing him governor of *Syria*, wrote the following letter to his lieutenant in that province: "I have given to *Avidius Cassius* the command of the legions "in *Syria*, which *Cæsonius Vectilianus* found, as he informs "me, dissolved in luxury, and abandoned to all sorts of pleasures. He is, you know, a "strict observer of the antient "discipline, without which the "soldiers can never be kept to "their duty. You remember "the old verse,

"*Moribus antiquis res stat Romana virilis.*

"In due observance of our antient laws
"Consists the vigour of the *Roman* cause..

"And truly, the strict observance "of the antient discipline is the "chief support of the empire. "Take care that sufficient provi"sions be got ready for the le"gions, which, if I am not deceived in *Avidius Cassius*, will "not be misapplied." To this letter the lieutenant returned the following answer: "You could not "prefer to the command of the "legions in *Syria* a man better "qualified

He reſtores the military diſcipline among the troops.

a few months the moſt diſſolute were reclaimed from their pleaſures, and luxurious manner of living, the antient diſcipline revived, and the whole army thoroughly reformed. *Caſſius*, upon his arrival at *Antioch*, ordered all the ſoldiers and officers to repair forthwith to their colours; publiſhed a proclamation, forbidding them, on pain of being caſhiered, to appear at *Daphne*; every ſeventh day examined their cloaths, arms, and equipages; and frequently obliged them to perform their exerciſes all in a body, ſaying, It was a ſhameful thing that wreſtlers and gladiators ſhould be continually exerciſed, and not ſoldiers, whoſe labours are leſſened in proportion as they become accuſtomed to them [e]. As for *Caſſius*'s other qualities, the author of his life repreſents him as a man endowed with great virtues, which, however, were allayed with no leſs vices; inſomuch that he was, by ſome, called a ſecond *Catiline* (G).

Is an enemy to monarchy.

Dio Cassius ſpeaks of him, not only as an eminent commander, but as a perſon equal to, and, in every reſpect, worthy of, the ſovereign power [f]. He always abhorred an abſolute and monarchical government, and is by ſome thought to have had nothing elſe in view, when he revolted, but to reſtore the commonwealth to its former authority. He had been charged in the reign of *Antoninus Pius* with a deſign of depoſing that prince; but his father, who was a man of great intereſt at court, having prejudiced the emperor in his favour,

[e] Vulcat. Gall. in Caſſio, p. 47. [f] Dio, l. lxxi. p. 810.

" qualified for that important " truſt than *Avidius Caſſius*: for " only an officer of his ſeverity " can reclaim them from their " voluptuous manner of living, " and put them out of conceit " with the pleaſures of the effe- " minate *Greeks*, to which they " have intirely abandoned them- " ſelves. He will ſhake their " flowers off their heads, and " teach them their duty. The " neceſſary proviſions for the le- " gions are already laid up; and " nothing can be wanting, ſo " long as they have ſuch an ex- " cellent commander as *Avidius* " *Caſſius* (6)."

(G) To us that writer ſeems to contradict himſelf in the character he draws of *Caſſius*; for, in one place, he paints him, not only as ſevere, but cruel and inhuman towards his ſoldiers; and, in another, tells us, that he was greatly beloved by them. How can his being ſtiled a ſecond *Catiline*, on account of his virtues and vices, his good and his bad qualities, be reconciled with what he writes elſewhere? to wit, that, had he attained the empire, he would have proved an excellent prince, a prince of great clemency and moderation (7).

(6) *Vulcat. Gall. in vit. Caſſ.* (7) *Idem, p.* 41——45.

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the accuſation was dropt. However, he was thenceforth looked upon as a ſuſpicious and diſaffected perſon. When he commanded in the *Parthian* war under *L. Verus*, that prince, ſuſpecting him, and, indeed, not without reaſon, wrote concerning him to *M. Aurelius*, his partner in the empire (H). But the good-natured emperor took no notice of the charge he brought againſt him; for, upon the return of *Caſſius* from the Eaſt, where he had performed great exploits, he put him

(H) "*Avidius Caſſius* ſeems "to me to aſpire to the empire, "as it is well known he did in "the reign of our father *Anto-* "*ninus Pius*. I therefore adviſe "you to keep a watchful eye "over him. He cenſures and "condemns all our actions, "grows exceeding rich, and "ſpeaks of us both with the "utmoſt contempt, calling you "a doting philoſopher, and me "a luxurious fool. Conſider "what is to be done: I bear no "hatred to the man, but would "have you to reflect, that by "veſting ſuch a perſon with "power, and truſting him with "the command of the troops, by "whom he is greatly beloved, "you may injure both yourſelf, "and your children." Nothing can give us a greater idea of the truly heroic virtue of this excellent prince, than his anſwer to this letter, which was couched in the following terms: "I have "peruſed your letter, in which "you betray greater fear and "uneaſineſs than becomes an "emperor, or is conſiſtent with "the equity of our reign. "If the empire is allotted by "heaven to *Avidius Caſſius*, it "will not be in our power to "cut him off. You know the "ſaying of your grandfather "*Adrian*, that *no man cuts off* "*his ſucceſſor*. If *Caſſius* is not "deſtined to the empire, he will "fall of himſelf, without our "cruelty, into the fatal ſnare. "Beſides, we cannot in juſtice "treat a perſon as a criminal, "who is accuſed by none, and "is, as you write, beloved by the "army, and conſequently a man "of merit, and a good com- "mander. In caſes of treaſon, "even when the crime is proved, "the world is apt to think the "ſufferer injured; which made "your grandfather *Adrian* com- "plain of the hard fate of em- "perors, who are never thought "to have been in danger, till "they are killed. I chooſe to "name *Adrian* rather than *Do-* "*mitian*, who was the firſt au- "thor of this ſaying, becauſe a "thing, however well ſaid, has "not its due weight and autho- "rity, when it comes from a "tyrant. Let, therefore, *Avi-* "*dius Caſſius* purſue his own "meaſures: he is an excellent "officer, and a man of great "courage, and uſeful to the "ſtate. As for my children, to "whoſe ſafety you would have "me to ſacrifice him; if he de- "ſerves to be more beloved than "they, if his life promiſes "greater advantages to the ſtate "than theirs, let *Avidius Caſ-* "*ſius* live, let the children of "*M. Aurelius* periſh (8)."

(8) *Vulcat. Gall. p.* 40, 41.

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at the head of an army, which he ſent againſt the *Sarmatians*, and afterwards appointed him governor of *Syria*, as we have related above. In the mean time, the *Marcomanni*, and other *German* nations, renewing the war with great vigour, *Caſſius* laid hold of that opportunity to ſeize the empire. Some authors write, that the empreſs *Fauſtina*, being well appriſed, that her ſon *Commodus* was no-way qualified for the ſovereign power, and fearing that ſome one might ſeize it, who would deſtroy her, and her little children, ſolicited *Caſſius* to declare himſelf emperor as ſoon as he ſhould hear the news of *M. Aurelius*'s death; and promiſed, in that caſe, to marry him. They add, that, a report being ſpread of the emperor's death, *Caſſius* immediately cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed in his room; and that, though the rumour proved afterwards falſe, he found himſelf too far engaged to recede. Others clear *Fauſtina* from being any-way privy to the deſign of *Caſſius* (I), and tell us, that the report of the emperor's death was ſpread abroad by *Caſſius* himſelf, in order to induce the governors of the eaſtern provinces to join him, *M. Aurelius* being greatly beloved, and his ſon no leſs hated [g]. Be that as it will, he ſoon became maſter of all the countries beyond mount *Taurus*, and of *Egypt* itſelf, *Flavius Calviſius*, governor of that province, having declared in his favour. The troops in *Bithynia* were likewiſe inclined to ſide with him, but reſtrained by *Clodius Albinus* their commander, of whom we ſhall

He aſſumes the title of emperor;

and is joined by moſt of the eaſtern nations.

[g] Vulcat. Gall. in Caſſ. p. 42, 43.

(I) *Vulcatius Gallicanus*, to clear the empreſs from this charge, produces two letters, written by her to *M. Aurelius*, on occaſion of this revolt. In one ſhe expreſſes herſelf thus: "My mother *Fauſtina*, in the "time of the defection of "*Celſus*, adviſed your father "*Antoninus Pius* to ſhew his "kindneſs in the firſt place to his "own family, and next to others. "And, truly, it is incumbent "upon every good prince to "take care of his wife and "children. Your ſon *Commodus* "is yet very young, and your "ſon-in-law *Pompeianus* is advanced in years, and a ſtranger. "Do not, therefore, ſpare men, "who, had they conquered, "would neither have ſpared you, "nor your wife and children, "You will hear from *Cæcilius*, "whom I ſhall ſend to you, "what reports have been ſpread "of you by the wife of *Caſſius*, "by his ſon, and his ſon-in-law, "*&c.*" In the other letter ſhe preſſes him to purſue *Caſſius*, and his accomplices, with the utmoſt ſeverity, if he loves her, and his children; aſſuring him, that if he neglects to oppreſs them, they will not fail to oppreſs him (9).

(9) *Vulcat. Gall. in vit. Caſſ.*

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have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter. Several foreign princes and nations eſpouſed his cauſe, but none with more zeal than the *Jews* [h].

MARTIUS VERUS, governor of *Cappadocia*, was the firſt who gave the emperor notice of this revolt. *M. Aurelius* concealed it for ſome time; but, when he found it divulged by public fame, he acquainted the ſoldiers with it in a very judicious and modeſt ſpeech, only complaining of the ungrateful return which *Caſſius* made him for the kindneſs he ever had, and ſhould ever have for him, notwithſtanding his revolt, as he hoped to ſhew, as ſoon as he had brought him to a ſenſe of his duty. Neither did *Caſſius*, on his ſide, utter any injurious reflections againſt *M. Aurelius*, but only charged him with neglecting the moſt important affairs of the ſtate to attend the ſtudy of philoſophy, and with ſuffering, through an exceſs of goodneſs, many diſorders, which it was incumbent upon him, as emperor, to correct [i]. In the mean while, *M. Aurelius*, having terminated the war with the *Marcomanni*, and other *German* nations, as the time approached for his ſon *Commodus* to put on the manly robe, ſent for him from *Rome*, and gave him it with the uſual ceremonies, on the ſeventh of *July*, ordering, on that occaſion, conſiderable ſums to be diſtributed among the *Roman* people [k]. At *Rome* the ſenate were no ſooner informed of the revolt of *Caſſius*, than they declared him a public enemy, and confiſcated his eſtate, which the emperor ordered to be returned, not into his private coffers, as his predeceſſors had done, but into the public treaſury.

AT length *M. Aurelius* left *Germany*, and ſet out for *Illyricum*, with a deſign to purſue his march thence into the Eaſt, and meet *Caſſius*, declaring, that he was ready to reſign the empire to him, if the gods ſhould judge it expedient for the public good, that *Caſſius* ſhould reign, and not *M. Aurelius*: "For it is not, added he, any private intereſt or "ambition, but the public welfare, that prompts me to "undergo ſo many labours, to expoſe myſelf to ſo many "dangers." He was not advanced far on his march, when news were brought him, that *Caſſius* had been killed by a centurion named *Antonius*, and another officer of a ſtill inferior rank, who had the command only of ten men [l]. *Dio Caſſius* gives us but a confuſed account of his death; and *Vulcatius Gallicanus* promiſes to inform us how he was killed, and where

M. Aurelius *marches againſt him.*

Caſſius *is killed;*

[h] VULC. GALL. p. 42, 43. DIO in excerpt. VAL. p. 718. Albin. vit. p. 81. [i] JUL. CAP. in Autr. p. 32. DIO, l. lxxi. p. 809, 812. [k] LAMPRID. in Commod. p. 45. & JUL. CAP. ibid. [l] DIO, p. 812.

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he was overcome; but is not ſo good as his word. However, from what he writes it is plain, that a battle, or encounter, happened between him and the emperor's troops, probably commanded by *Martius Verus*; for on his bravery the emperor chiefly relied, and had therefore ſent him before him into *Syria*, giving him the government of that province, inſtead of the government of *Cappadocia* (K). With *Caſſius* was killed his captain of the guards, and ſoon after his ſon *Metianus*, whom he had appointed governor of *Egypt*, to ſecure that important province. No other perſon of diſtinction, at leaſt of the ſenatorial order, periſhed on account of his rebellion; nay, theſe were put to death without the emperor's knowlege, and againſt his will; for he was greatly concerned, that the blood of any ſenator ſhould have been ſhed during his reign: hence, when the head of *Caſſius* was brought to him, he expreſſed great ſorrow, turned his eyes away, and cauſed it to be honourably interred, complaining, that he had been robbed of an opportunity of ſhewing his mercy. The reign of *Caſſius*, or rather his dream, as *Dio Caſſius* ſtiles it, laſted but three months, and ſix days [m]. *M. Aurelius* himſelf would neither try, impriſon, nor condemn, any ſenator concerned in the conſpiracy; but referred the whole to the ſenate, appointing the criminals a day to appear before their judges.

and his head brought to the emperor, who is concerned for his death.

In the mean time, he wrote a letter to the ſenate, wherein, after acquainting them, that he had appointed *Pompeianus*, his ſon-in-law, conſul for the enſuing year, he thus exhorts them to proceed, rather with clemency than rigour, againſt thoſe whom they were to try: "As for what concerns the "defection of *Caſſius*, I beg and conjure you, conſcript fa- "thers, to have a tender regard to your characters, and to "mine: let no one ſenator be put to death; let the blood "of no perſon of diſtinction be ſpilt; let ſuch as have been

His letter to the ſenate.

[m] Dio, p. 813. Vulcat. Gall. in Caſſ. p. 43. Noris, ep. conſ. p. 110.

(K) We are told, that a great many letters, written to *Caſſius* by his friends and correſpondents, falling into *Verus*'s hands, the generous commander committed them to the flames, ſaying, he did not doubt but that would pleaſe *M. Aurelius*; and, if it did not, that he choſe, however, to ſave many lives at the expence of one (1). Others write, that theſe letters were brought to *M. Aurelius*, who ordered them, ſealed as they were, to be immediately burnt in his preſence (2).

(1) *Dio, l.* lxxi. *p.* 813.

(2) *Val. in excerpt. Dion.*

" already baniſhed return, nay, and enjoy their eſtates. I " wiſh I could raiſe from the dead thoſe who periſhed in the " firſt heat of the war. Revenge is never commendable in an " emperor; it ill becomes him in his own cauſe, let it be ever " ſo juſt. You will therefore pardon the children of *Avidius* " *Caſſius*, his ſon-in-law, and his wife. But why do I ſay " *pardon*, when they have committed no crime? Let them " live in ſafety, and enjoy their paternal eſtate, with all their " father's plate and furniture. Let them have full liberty to " live where they pleaſe, that they may be ſo many inſtances " of your clemency, and of mine. I further beg and deſire, " that all the ſenators, and *Roman* knights, in general, who " have been privy to this rebellion, be, by your authority, " exempted from death, proſcription, infamy, in ſhort, " from all kind of puniſhment." Allow it to be ſaid, to your " honour and mine, That in this rebellion ſuch only periſhed " as were killed in the hurry of the war [n]." The ſenate not only complied with his requeſt, but returned him thanks for the regard he had ſhewn even to the moſt undeſerving members of their body. As for the children of *Caſſius*, the emperor took them under his protection, forbidding any one to reproach them with the misfortunes of their family, and ſeverely puniſhing ſuch as did (L). Thus the rebellion of *His kindneſs to the children of* Caſſius.

Caſſius

[n] VULCAT. GALL. in Caſſ. p. 44. & JUL. CAP. in Aur. p. 33.

(L) *Vulcatius* tells us, that he even raiſed the ſons of *Caſſius*, and *Druncianus* or *Druentianus*, who had married one of his daughters, by name *Alexandra*, to great preferments; which was the more commendable, as the emperor was well appriſed, that *Caſſius*'s wife, children, and ſon-in-law, had, with many ill-natured reflections, endeavoured to bring him into diſcredit with the people and ſoldiery. Of the many perſons concerned in this revolt, only a few centurions were executed, and ſome officers of greater diſtinction baniſhed. Among the latter was *Flavius Calviſius*, governor of *Egypt*, who was confined to an iſland; but the emperor would not ſuffer his eſtate to be confiſcated. An impoſtor, who pretended to be inſpired by the gods, and was ſaid to have foretold the revolt of *Caſſius*, was baniſhed to the iſland of *Scyros* in the *Archipelago*. All the accomplices of *Calviſius* were pardoned, as were likewiſe the cities that had declared for *Caſſius*. The empreſs *Fauſtina*, in a letter which ſhe wrote to her huſband on occaſion of this revolt (3), preſſed him to purſue the accomplices of *Caſſius* with the utmoſt ſeverity. But the emperor, hearkening only to the impulſe of his own good-nature, returned her the following anſwer: " I have read your let-

(3) *Vide p.* 236, *not.* (I).

" ter,

Caſſius ſerved only to give new luſtre to the unparalleled clemency, good-nature, and generoſity of *M. Aurelius*, who could not prevail upon himſelf to take away the lives of thoſe, who had conſpired to take away his life, and that of his ſon.

Commodus *inveſted with the tribunitial power.*

THE ſenate, in their anſwer to the emperor's letter, acquainting them, that he had named *Pompeianus* conſul againſt the enſuing year, begged him to return to *Rome*, and to veſt his ſon *Commodus* with the tribunitial power [o]. With the latter requeſt he complied, as appears from ſeveral antient inſcriptions [p]. But, as for the other requeſt, the emperor either did not return to *Rome*, or his ſtay there was very ſhort; for we are told, that, immediately after the death of *Caſſius*, he went into the Eaſt, and that he had begun his march thither even before he received that news [q]: it is not, therefore, likely, that he interrupted it to return to *Rome*. He had ſent *Pertinax* before him into *Syria* to make head againſt the rebels;

[o] VULCAT. GALL. in Caſſ. p. 45. [p] ONUPH. in faſt. p. 235. P. PAGI, p. 218. NORIS de votis decennalib. imperator. c. 3. & ep. conſul. p. 120. [q] DIO, p. 813. JUL. CAP. in Aur. p. 32.

"ter, my dear *Fauſtina*, where-
"in you adviſe me to treat the
"accomplices of *Caſſius* with
"the utmoſt ſeverity, which
"you think they well deſerve.
"This I look upon as a pledge
"of the love you bear to your
"huſband and children. But
"give me leave, my dear *Fau-*
"*ſtina*, to ſpare the children of
"*Caſſius*, his ſon-in-law, and
"his wife, and to write to the
"ſenate in their behalf. No-
"thing can more recommend a
"*Roman* emperor to the eſteem
"of the world, than clemency.
"This placed *Cæſar* among the
"gods; this conſecrated *Augu-*
"*ſtus*; this procured to your
"father the title of *Pius*. I
"am grieved even for the death
"of *Caſſius*, and wiſh it had
"been in my power to ſave him.
"Be therefore ſatisfied, and do
"not abandon yourſelf to fear
"or revenge. *Marcus Antoninus*
"is protected by the gods (4)."
Some of his friends openly blaming his clemency, and taking the liberty to tell him, that *Caſſius* would not have been ſo generous, had fortune proved favourable to him; the emperor immediately replied, "We have
"not lived, nor ſerved the gods,
"ſo ill, as to think they would
"favour *Caſſius*." He added, that "the misfortunes of ſome
"of his predeceſſors were intire-
"ly owing to their own ill con-
"duct and cruelties; and that
"no good prince had ever been
"overcome, or ſlain, by an u-
"ſurper. *Nero*, *Caligula*, and
"*Domitian* (ſaid he) deſerved the
"doom that overtook them;
"neither *Otho*, nor *Vitellius*,
"were equal to the empire; the
"downfal of *Galba* was occa-
"ſioned by his avarice, an un-
"pardonable fault in a prince
"(5)."

(4) *Vulcat. Gall. p.* 32. (5) *Idem ibid.*

but

but, upon the news of the death of *Caſſius*, he recalled him, and appointed him governor of *Illyricum*, in which province he had gained no leſs reputation by his prudence and moderation, than by his many victories over the *Germans* during the *Marcomannic* war; ſo that he was greatly eſteemed and revered both by the *Romans* and foreigners, nay, even by the enemies of the *Roman* name[r]. The emperor took with him into the Eaſt his ſon *Commodus*, and his wife, who died ſuddenly in a village called *Halala* at the foot of mount *Taurus*. She was a woman of a looſe and wanton life, and altogether unworthy of having ſuch a father as *Antoninus*, ſuch an huſband as *M. Aurelius*, whom ſome did not believe to be father of *Commodus*[s] (M). *Fauſtina* being dead, *Fabia*, the ſiſter of

The emperor goes into the East.

Fauſtina *dies.*

Her character.

[r] Jul. Cap. in Aur.

[s] Idem ibid. p. 30.

(M). *Dio Caſſius* writes, that it was queſtioned whether ſhe died of the gout, or laid violent hands on herſelf, to avoid the ſhame of being named among the accomplices of *Caſſius*, who, according to that writer, was chiefly prompted by her to take arms, and revolt (6). Her chief gallants were *Tertullus*, *Utilius*, *Orfitus*, and *Moderatus*, whom nevertheleſs *Antoninus*, either not giving credit to what was ſaid of the empreſs, or diſſembling her irregular conduct, preferred to ſeveral employments. Her lewdneſs, and her intimacy with the above-mentioned perſons, eſpecially with *Tertullus*, were ſo publicly known, that a mimic having one day aſked his companion upon the ſtage, in the preſence of the emperor, what was the name of the perſon, who was too familiar with his wife, the other repeated the name of *Tullus* three times; whereby the whole audience perceived, that he meant *Tertullus*, the firſt ſylable of his name ſignifying *three times* (7). Some of the emperor's friends adviſed him to divorce her; but he anſwered, "If I divorce her, I muſt re-" turn her her dower, that is, the " empire, which I have received " of her father." In one place he commends her free and open temper, her ſincerity in friendſhip, and her acquieſcence to his will (8). He bewailed her, according to the emperor *Julian* (9), after her death, more than was becoming, in a man of his gravity, for a woman of the moſt unblemiſhed character. He pronounced himſelf her funeral oration, and begged the ſenate to rank her among the gods; for which he is deſervedly expoſed and ridiculed by the above-mentioned emperor (1). He founded a ſociety of young women, whom he brought up at his own expence, and called after the empreſs's name. The village where ſhe died he made a colony, and a city, ſtiling it *Fauſtinopolis*;

(6) *Dio*, p. 813. *Antonin. de ſeip. l.* i. *c.* 14. p. 50.

(7) *Jul. Cap. in Aur. p.* 32. (9) *Julian. Cæſ. p.* 13.

(8) *M. Antonin.* (1) *Idem ibid.*

of *L. Verus*, who had been formerly betrothed to *M. Aurelius*, did all that lay in her power to induce him to marry her; but he, not thinking it adviſeable to ſubject his children to the authority of a ſtep-mother, took, in the room of a lawful wife, the daughter of one of the deceaſed empreſs's domeſtics [t]; for to that purity, which the Chriſtian religion requires and commands, even the moſt virtuous among the pagan philoſophers were utter ſtrangers. As the *Syrians*, looking upon *Caſſius* as their countryman, had readily joined him, a law paſſed at this time, enacting, that no one ſhould be ſent with the character of governor into his own country [u].

THE next conſuls were *T. Vitraſius Pollio* and *M. Flavius Aper*, both for the ſecond time [w]. *Claudius Pompeianus*, the emperor's ſon-in-law, and *Clodius Albinus*, who had reſtrained the legions in *Bithynia* from joining *Caſſius*, as we have related above, were likewiſe conſuls this year. *M. Aurelius*, arriving in the Eaſt, freely forgave all the cities and communities there, which had ſided with *Caſſius*, except *Antioch*, the inhabitants of that metropolis having diſtinguiſhed themſelves, above all the reſt, by their zeal for *Caſſius*, and their hatred to him. He therefore publiſhed a ſevere edict againſt them, deprived them of all their privileges, ſuppreſſed their public aſſemblies, and took from them their ſhews and ſpectacles, to which they were greatly addicted. But his anger being ſoon appeaſed, before he left *Syria*, he reſtored them to their former condition, and even condeſcended to viſit their city. From *Syria* he paſſed into *Egypt*, where he not only forgave, but enriched, with ſeveral privileges, the city of *Alexandria*, which had likewiſe ſided with *Caſſius*. Having viſited moſt of the chief cities in the Eaſt, and given everywhere innumerable inſtances of his humanity and good-nature,

The emperor's clemency and goodneſs to the cities that had ſided with Caſſius.

[t] VULCAT. GALL. p. 34. ONUPH. &c. [u] DIO, l. lxxi. p. 813. [w] IDAT.

and erected a temple in it to her honour, which was afterwards conſecrated to *Heliogabalus*, the moſt lewd and debauched of all the *Roman* emperors. The ſenate, out of flattery and complaiſance to the emperor, not only ranked among the goddeſſes a perſon unworthy of a place among women of any modeſty and reputation, but erected ſtatues to her and to *M. Aurelius*, with an altar, ordaining, that young women, immediately after their marriage, ſhould repair to it, and there offer a ſolemn ſacrifice (2). By this ſcandalous inſtitution, they deſerved that their daughters ſhould all reſemble *Fauſtina*, and their ſons *Commodus*.

(2) *Dio, l.* lxxi. *p.* 813.

he

he ſailed from *Smyrna*, where he had ſtaid ſome time, and had ſeveral conferences with the celebrated ſophiſt *Ariſtides*; and arrived at *Athens*, where he was initiated in the *Eleuſinian* myſteries. He conferred many favours on the city of *Athens*, and eſtabliſhed there public profeſſors of all ſciences, with handſome allowances to be paid them yearly out of the exchequer [x].

FROM *Athens* he ſailed for *Italy*; and, landing at *Brunduſium*, commanded his ſoldiers immediately to reſume, as he did himſelf, the *Roman* gown; for neither he, nor any of his officers or ſoldiers, ever appeared in *Italy* in a military habit. He returned to *Rome* with his ſon *Commodus*, whom he named conſul, though at that time but ſixteen, for the enſuing year. Soon after, he honoured him with the title of *imperator*, which he himſelf aſſumed for the eighth time, probably on account of ſome victory gained by *Pertinax*, governor of *Illyricum*, over the *Germans*. At length, on the twenty-third of *December*, both he, and his ſon *Commodus*, entered *Rome* diſtributing, on this occaſion, large ſums among the people and ſoldiery, that is, as many pieces of gold a head as he had been years abſent, which, according to *Dio Caſſius* [y], were eight; but, according to the calculation of others, in our opinion more exact, only ſix. At the ſame time, he exhibited moſt pompous and magnificent ſhews, though he took no pleaſure himſelf in ſuch diverſions. The following year, *Aurelius Commodus Cæſar* and *Quintillus* being conſuls, *Commodus* was honoured by the ſenate with the title of the father of his country, and by the emperor with that of *Auguſtus*; on which occaſion *M. Aurelius* remitted whatever was due from particulars, either to the emperor, or to the treaſury, ever ſince the time in which *Adrian* had forgiven all ſuch debts [z]. The ſame year he preſented the inhabitants of *Smyrna* with large ſums, enabling them by that means to rebuild their city, which was almoſt utterly ruined by a dreadful earthquake deſcribed at length by *Ariſtides* in one of his orations [a]. As the emperor continued all this year at *Rome*, or in the neighbourhood of that city, he reformed, partly by his example, and partly by wholſome laws, ſeveral abuſes. He could not ſuppreſs the combats of gladiators without diſobliging the people; however, as he was an enemy to all cruelty and bloodſhed, he allowed the combatants only blunt ſwords, in the nature of our foils, ſaying, that with them they might equally diſplay their ſkill and dexterity [b].

He returns to Rome; Year of the flood 2525. Of Chriſt 177. Of Rome 925.

which he enters in triumph with his ſon Commodus.

Inſtances of his generoſity and good-nature.

[x] DIO, p. 814. PHILOSTRAT. ſophiſt. 37. ARISTID. orat.
[y] DIO, ibid. JUL. CAP. p. 29. [z] DIO, ibid. OROS. l. vii. c. 15. EUSEB. chron. [a] ARIST. orat. xx. [b] DIO in excerpt. VAL. p. 718.

He marches againſt the Marcomanni;

THE next year, when *Orfitus* and *Julianus Rufus* were conſuls, the *Marcomanni*, and their confederates, renewing the war with great vigour, the emperor reſolved to march againſt them in perſon. But, before he left *Rome*, he married his ſon *Commodus* to *Criſpina* the daughter of *Bruttius Præſens*; and, repairing to the ſenate, deſired leave to take out of the public treaſure the neceſſary ſums for carrying on the war, ſaying, That an emperor had nothing of his own, not even the palace he lived in; but that all belonged to the ſenate and people [c]. He then went to the capitol, where he declared upon his oath, that, ſince his acceſſion to the empire, no ſenator had been put to death by his orders; that ſuch as had periſhed in the rebellion, had been killed without his knowlege; and that he would have ſpared them all, *Caſſius* himſelf not excepted, had it been in his power ſo to do. As he was eminently ſkilled in philoſophy, many perſons of learning earneſtly intreated him to explain to them, before he left *Rome*, the moſt difficult and intricate points of the different ſects of philoſophers; which he did accordingly, ſpending therein three whole days. They ſeemed to apprehend, that, by his death, this knowlege might have been loſt; which ſhews how thoroughly he was verſed in the different tenets of the various ſects of philoſophers [d]. At length he ſet out from *Rome*, with his ſon *Commodus*, on the fifth of *Auguſt* of the year 179. the eighteenth of his reign [e].

and gains a ſignal victory over them.

THE following year, *Commodus Auguſtus* and *T. Annius Aurelius Verus* being conſuls the ſecond time, *M. Aurelius* gained a ſignal victory over the *Marcomanni*, *Hermonduri*, *Quadi*, and *Sarmatians*; for which both he, and his ſon *Commodus*, as appears from ſeveral antient inſcriptions, took the title of *imperator* [f]. All we know of this action is, that the *Roman* army was commanded by *Paternus*, and the *Germans* were utterly defeated [g]; inſomuch that all *Germany*, and the different nations inhabiting it, would have been obliged to ſubmit to the *Roman* yoke, had not *Antoninus* been prevented by death from crowning his conqueſts with the reduction of ſo powerful and extenſive a country. He died the following year, *Præſens* and *Sex. Quintilius Condianus* being conſuls, on the ſeventeenth of *March*, after having lived fifty-eight years, ten months, and twenty-two days, and reigned, from the death of *Antoninus Pius*, eighteen years, and ten or eleven

His death.

Year of the flood 2529.
Of Chriſt 181.
Of Rome 929.

[c] Dio, p. 814. [d] Jul. Cap. in Caſſ. p. 41. [e] Spart. in Comm. p. 50. & Dio, p. 814. [f] Dio, p. 810. Birag. p. 227. Jul. Cap. in M. Aur. p. 34. [g] Dio, p. 810, & 814.

days.

days [h] (N). Two days before he died, he recommended his ſon *Commodus* to the army, and conjured his friends to aſſiſt him with their advice. On the ſeventh day of his illneſs, he deſired to ſee his ſon again; but immediately diſmiſſed him, leſt he ſhould be infected with the ſame diſtemper. When he was gone, he compoſed himſelf, as if he deſigned to ſleep, and expired the following night [i]. He died, according to *Tertullian* [k], at *Sirmium*, now *Sirmich*, in *Sclavonia*; according to the two *Victors*, at *Vendobona*, now *Vienna*, in *Auſtria*. We need not mention the concern of the ſoldiery, and *Roman* people, for the loſs of ſo good and ſo great a prince. His body, or rather his aſhes, were conveyed to *Rome*, and depoſited in the monument of *Adrian*. He was immediately ranked among the gods, a temple was erected to him, and an order of prieſts appointed to his honour. Whoever had not ſome image or ſtatue of *M. Aurelius* in his houſe, was judged a ſacrilegious perſon, ſays *Julius Capitolinus*; in whoſe time, that is, in the reign of *Dioclefian*, he was ſtill worſhiped in moſt families among their domeſtic gods [l]. *He is ranked among the gods.*

He was, without all doubt, one of the greateſt and beſt princes that ever ſwayed a ſceptre. His only fault was, according to *Dio Caſſius*, his too great goodneſs; for, though he rewarded with much generoſity the good and virtuous, yet he did not reſtrain and puniſh, with due ſeverity, the vicious and wicked; whence ſome governors of provinces, preſuming upon his good-nature, plundered, and often with impunity, the people committed to their care (O). The meditations *His fault.*

of

[h] Dio, p. 810, & 814. & Theoph. Antioch. l. iii. p. 137. Chron. Alex. p. 614. [i] Jul. Cap. p. 34. [k] Tertul. apol. c. 25. [l] Jul. Cap. p. 34.

(N) *Dio Caſſius* poſitively affirms, that he was diſpatched by his phyſicians, deſirous to curry favour with *Commodus*; and adds, that, when the tribune came to him the laſt time for the parole, he bid him go to *Commodus*, and court, not the ſetting, but the riſing ſun (3). On the other hand, *Julius Capitolinus* ſeems to aſcribe his death to a contagious diſtemper; for he tells us, that the plague ſtill raged in the army; and adds, that the emperor, with much ado, prevailed upon his ſon, and his friends, not to abandon him; which he took ſo much amiſs, that he abſtained from all ſort of nouriſhment.

(O) *Julius Capitolinus* blames him for winking at the monſtrous exceſſes of his wife, and for promoting to the ſovereign power *L. Verus*, whom he muſt have known to be quite unequal to, and altogether unworthy of, that high dignity, ſince *Antoninus Pius* had not ſo much as honoured

(3) *Dio*, p. 814.

His meditations.

of *M. Aurelius*, which have reached our times, are highly commended by all the antients, as an epitome of the beſt rules which human reaſon, or philoſophy, can ſuggeſt for the conduct of a virtuous life. Some have queſtioned, whether what has been tranſmitted to us be the whole work, or only an abſtract of it, ſeeing it conſiſts of looſe and unconnected ſentences, whereof the ſenſe is not always complete. But the ableſt critics are of opinion, that *M. Aurelius* left the work ſuch as it is at preſent, having compoſed it only for his private uſe [m]. It conſiſts of twelve books, of which the firſt ſeems to have been compoſed in the height of the *Marcomannic* war, while he was encamped on the banks of the *Gran* in the country of the *Quadi* [n]. He ended the ſecond book at *Carnuntum*, of which city we have ſpoken above, where he reſided, according to *Eutropius*, three whole years. He ſeems to have put the laſt hand to this work before the death of *Fauſtina*; for, in the ninth book, he ſpeaks of her as yet living, and ready to lie-in; that is, before the end of the fifteenth of his reign [o] (P). As *M. Aurelius* was a great encourager of learning, many eminent writers, eſpecially philoſophers, flouriſhed in his reign, of whom we ſhall give a particular account in our notes (Q).

[m] Vide Voss. hiſt. Græc. l. ii. c. 14. [n] M. Aurel. l. i. c. 15. [o] Idem, l. ix. c. 3.

him with the title of *Cæſar*. The emperor *Julian* prefers *M. Aurelius* to *Cæſar*, to *Auguſtus*, and to all the other princes who had reigned till his time; but at the ſame time finds fault with him for bequeathing the empire to his vicious ſon *Commodus*, and not to his ſon-in-law *Pompeianus*, who was a perſon of extraordinary parts, and well qualified for ſo great a truſt (4).

(P) We muſt not confound this book with another intituled *horologium principum*, which was publiſhed under the name of *M. Aurelius*, but is thought to have been compoſed by *Antonius Guevara* a *Spaniſh* biſhop (5).

(Q) The moſt celebrated among the philoſophers were, *Creſcentius*, *Celſus*, *Lucian*, *Demonax*, *Alexander* the famous impoſtor, *Sextus* the Stoic, *Sextus* the empiric, *Numenes*, *Hermogenes*, *Ariſtides*, &c. *Creſcentius* was a Cynic philoſopher, and, according to the character which *Tatian* draws of him, intirely abandoned to all manner of lewdneſs (6). He inveighed with great virulence againſt the Chriſtians, whom he charged with impiety and atheiſm, though in ſeveral conferences and diſputes he had been convinced of the truth by *Juſtin the Martyr*, who was, chiefly at his inſtigation, crowned with martyr-

(4) *Julian. Cæſ.* 13, 14. 22, 23. 41. 49. (5) *Prol. Voſſ. hiſt. Græc.* (6) *Tatian. p.* 157.

dom.

dom (7). We do not know, that he left any writings behind him. We find two philoſophers bearing the name of *Celſus*, and both of the ſect of *Epicurus*, mentioned by *Origen* (8). Of theſe, one flouriſhed under *Nero*, and the other under *Adrian*, and his immediate ſucceſſors (9). The latter wrote ſeveral books againſt magic, much commended by *Lucian*, who inſcribed to him his hiſtory of the celebrated impoſtor *Alexander*, which he undertook at his inſtigation (1). Some diſtinguiſh this writer from the author of the diſcourſes againſt the Chriſtians, whom *Origen* confuted; but *Baronius*, and moſt critics, aſcribe to the ſame writer the books againſt magic, and thoſe againſt the Chriſtian religion. It is certain, that *Celſus*, whom *Origen* anſwers, lived long before his time; but not before the reign of *M. Aurelius:* for he not only ſpeaks of the *Marcioniſts*, who firſt appeared about the year 142. the fifth of the reign of *Antoninus Pius*, but of the followers of *Marcellina*, a woman of the ſect of *Carpocrates*, who came to *Rome* in the year 157. the twentieth of *M. Aurelius*'s reign (2). He probably publiſhed his work againſt the Chriſtians during the perſecution of *M. Aurelius*; for he repreſents them as reduced to conceal themſelves through fear of being dragged to execution (3). *Chryſoſtom* mentions one *Celſus*, no doubt the ſame writer who publiſhed ſome pieces againſt the Chriſtian religion before the time of *Porphyrius* of *Batanea* (4). *Celſus* intituled his work againſt the Chriſtians *true diſcourſes*; but *Origen* ſhews, that he aimed at nothing leſs than truth, and confutes him with great learning, piety, and judgment. Many writers look upon *Origen*'s anſwer to *Celſus*, as the beſt apology for the Chriſtian religion that ever was publiſhed (5). *Euſebius* thinks it contains whatever was, or ever will be, ſaid upon that ſubject (6). *Origen* wrote in the reign of the emperor *Philip*, who was killed in the year 249 (7).

The works of *Lucian* have reached our times, and are deſervedly admired for the elegance and purity of the ſtile; but filled with impious and atheiſtical ſentiments: whence he had the ſurname of the *Atheiſt*, or the *Blaſphemer* (8). He was a native of *Samoſata* in *Syria*, and of a mean deſcent. In his youth he declaimed, and pleaded cauſes, and was in his old age regiſter to the governor of *Egypt* (9). *Suidas* writes, that he was thought to have been devoured by dogs, for having ridiculed the Chriſtian religion, without ſparing even the author of it; but of ſuch a death no mention is made by any writer who flouriſhed before *Suidas*. Some ſay, that he embraced, and afterwards renounced, the Chriſtian religion; but this opinion is founded only on a wrong tranſlation of the word *Συμπρίγος* in *Suidas* by *conciona-tor*, and upon *Lucian*'s being bet-

(7) *Euſeb. l.* iv. *c.* 16. (8) *Orig. in Celſ. l.* i. *p.* 8. (9) *Idem ibid.* (1) *Lucian. pſeud. p.* 498. (2) *Orig. in Celſ. l.* viii. *p.* 424. *& l.* v. *p.* 272. *Iren. l.* i. *c.* 24. (3) *Idem ibid.* (4) *Chryſ. in* 1 *Corinth. hom.* vi. (5) *Vide Du Pin, tom.* i. *p.* 388, 389. (6) *Euſeb. l.* vi. *c.* 36. (7) *Idem ibid. & Hier. p.* 433, 434. (8) *Suid. p.* 55. (9) *Lucian. hiſt. p.* 359. *& apol. p.* 262.

ter acquainted with the tenets and doctrine of the Chriſtians, than other pagans. He wrote the life of *Soſtrates* of *Bœotia*, a famous philoſopher, who practiſed great auſterities (1); but that work has not reached us. Some have, againſt all reaſon and authority, aſcribed to him the life of *Apollonius Tyanæus*, which was done by *Philoſtratus* (2). He wrote, according to *Eunapius*, the life of the philoſopher *Demonax*, whoſe diſciple he had been. He repreſents him as the greateſt philoſopher of his time; but, after all, he was only a Cynic, ſomewhat more poliſhed and civilized than the reſt of his brethren. What we find moſt commendable in him is, that, though he was of a noble family, rich, eloquent, and well verſed in moſt branches of learning; yet he lived in poverty, practiſed great auſterities, and would not ſuffer any one to attend him. When he grew old, and could no longer live without being aſſiſted by others, he choſe rather to die of hunger, than to ſuffer any one to perform the leaſt office about him. He was a native of *Cyprus*; but lived at *Athens*, where he was highly eſteemed in his life-time, and equally regretted after his death. The *Athenians* intending to eſtabliſh in their city a combat of gladiators, he told them, That they ought firſt to overturn, and utterly demoliſh, an altar which they had erected to *Mercy*. The emperor having deſired ſome of his friends to ask him, in his name, what was the beſt method of governing, he anſwered, "To "ſpeak little, to hear much, "and to fall upon no provoca- "tion into a paſſion (3)." *Lucian*, in his dialogue on friendſhip, ſpeaks of ſeveral wars between the *Scythians*, who dwelt on the banks of the *Tanais*, and the other northern barbarians, eſpecially thoſe of *Boſporus*, who were in *Lucian*'s time governed by *Leucanor*, and afterwards by *Eubiotes* his natural brother. *Leucanor* probably ſucceeded *Rhæmetalces*, who was king of *Boſporus* in the reign of *Antoninus Pius*. The ſhips which ſaved *Lucian*, as we ſhall relate preſently, were carrying the embaſſadors of *Eupator*, king of the ſame country, to *Pontus*, either to pay there the money which was yearly owing from them to the *Romans*, or to receive that which the *Romans* annually paid to them; for the words επι κομιδῇ are capable of both ſenſes. *Eubiotes*, in his war againſt the *Scythians*, led with him all the *Greeks*, according to the expreſſion of *Lucian* (4); that is, as we ſuppoſe, the inhabitants of the *Greek* cities on the *Cherſoneſus*: which confirms the opinion of thoſe who maintain, that the kings of *Boſporus* were maſters of that country. The account which *Lucian* gives us of the celebrated impoſtor *Alexander* is very diverting. He was a native of *Abonitichos*, a maritim city of *Pamphylia*, and generally revered on account of his pretended predictions, and counterfeit miracles, as a prophet. *Lucian*, however, who was not eaſily deceived, looked upon him as an impoſtor, ridiculed his miracles, and expoſed him in all companies; which

(1) *Lucian. in vit. Demonac. p.* 546. (2) *Vid. Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 15. (3) *Lucian. ibid. p.* 546——555. (4) *Idem, Toxar. p.* 631——638.

ſo provoked the pretended prophet, that he endeavoured to ſtir up his countrymen, the inhabitants of *Abonitichos*, againſt him. *Alexander*, nevertheleſs, ſome time after, pretended to be reconciled to him; and even offered him a ſhip to convey him to *Amaſtris* in *Pontus*, whither his affairs called him. *Lucian* accepted the offer; but was not a little ſurpriſed, when, at a great diſtance from land, he obſerved the pilot burſting all at once into tears, and making various ſigns to the mariners. *Lucian* imagined the veſſel to be in danger; but was more terrified, when the pilot frankly owned to him, that he had received poſitive orders from *Alexander* to throw him into the ſea; but could not prevail upon himſelf, after having lived ſo long without reproach, to commit a murder in his old age. He left him, however, in a deſert and barren iſland, where he muſt have ſoon periſhed, had he not been ſaved by the veſſels of the king of *Boſporus*, which happened to ſail by. He was for proſecuting *Alexander* before the governor of *Pontus* and *Bithynia*; but that magiſtrate diſſuaded him from it: telling him, that he could not condemn *Alexander*, without incurring the diſpleaſure of *Rutilianus*, who was very powerful at court, and had in his old age married the daughter of the impoſtor, believing the moon to be her mother. Thus *Lucian* had no other means left of being revenged on *Alexander*, but by writing his life, and painting him in his true colours. This piece, however, he did not publiſh till the impoſtor's death, which ſeems to have happened in the reign of *M. Aurelius*.

Sextus was a native of *Chæronea* in *Bœotia*, by ſect a Stoic, and had been preceptor to *M. Aurelius* and *L. Verus*. Moſt writers ſuppoſe him to have been nephew to *Plutarch*. *M. Aurelius* went frequently to hear him after he was emperor, and owns in his meditations, that he was indebted to him for many excellent rules relating to the conduct of a moral and virtuous life (5). *Apuleius* glories in being deſcended from him by his mother (6). At the ſame time flouriſhed another philoſopher bearing the ſame name, but a native of *Libya*, and by ſect a *Pyrrhonian* (7). He is ſtiled by *Galen*, and *Diogenes Laertius*, the empiric. Some of his works have reached our times (8). *Suidas* confounds him with the other *Sextus*, and the other with *Sextus Condianus*, who was conſul in 180. There are ſtill extant four hundred and thirty ſentences of a philoſopher named *Sextus* or *Xyſtus*, which were tranſlated into *Latin* by *Rufinus* of *Aquileia*, under the name of St. *Sixtus*, pope and martyr (9). St. *Auſtin* was for ſome time deceived by them (1). But St. *Jerom*, in ſeveral places of his works, aſcribes them to ſome philoſopher of the ſect of *Pythagoras* (2). About this time *Numenes* is likewiſe ſuppoſed to have

(5) *M. Ant. l.* i. *c.* 6. *vit. Plutarch. c.* 5.
(6) *Apul. metam l.* i. *p.* 103.
(7) *Ruald. p.* 565.
(8) *Vide Jonſ. l.* ii. *c.* 1.
(9) *Bib. patr.*
(1) *Aug. retract. l.* ii. *c.* 42.
(2) *Hier. ad Cre. c.* 2. *in Ezech.* xviii. *&c.*

flouriſhed

flouriſhed, whoſe writings are often quoted by *Euſebius* and *Theodoretus* againſt the pagans. St. *Clement* of *Alexandria* quotes him for this famous ſaying, *That* Plato *was but* Moſes *ſpeaking* Greek (3). He was, according to *Suidas* (4), a native of *Apamea* in *Syria*. He ſhews, that *Plato* copied from *Moſes* what he wrote concerning God, and the forming of the univerſe (5). He has been blamed by the pagans for explaining the myſteries of *Ceres* and *Proſerpine*; which goddeſſes are ſaid to have appeared to him in the attire of common proſtitutes, to reproach him by that means with the ſtate to which he had reduced them, by acquainting the world with the ceremonies practiſed in the celebration of their myſteries; which is not much to their honour. He publiſhed ſeveral works, which are frequently quoted by *Origen*, *Euſebius*, *Eunapius*, *Theodoretus*, and *Heſychius*; but none of them have reached us (6). He ſeems to have joined together the tenets of *Plato* and *Pythagoras:* whence he is by ſome ranked among the followers of *Plato*; by others, among the *Pythagoreans* (7). *Crones*, *Ariſtocles*, *Antiochus*, *Alexander*, *Hermogenes*, *Ariſtides*, and *Phrynicus*, were all cotemporaries with *Numenes*. *Crones* was one of his diſciples, and wrote a treatiſe on the generation of things, which we find quoted by *Origen* and *Plotinus* (8). *Ariſtocles* was a native of *Pergamus*, and firſt a Peripatetic philoſopher; but afterwards he abandoned the ſtudy of philoſophy, and applied himſelf to that of eloquence, under the celebrated *Herodes Atticus*. He declaimed in his own country; but did not meet with the applauſe he expected (9). *Antiochus* was a native of *Ægæ* in *Cilicia*, by profeſſion a ſophiſt, and one of the diſciples of *Dionyſius* the *Mileſian*, of whom we have ſpoken in the reign of *Adrian*. *Philoſtratus* ſeems to have entertained a great opinion of him, and not undeſervedly; for he is ſaid to have had an utter contempt for riches, and to have ſpent his whole eſtate in purchaſing corn for his poor countrymen during a famine (1). *Alexander* was likewiſe by profeſſion a ſophiſt, and is greatly commended by *Philoſtratus*. He was born in *Seleucia*, compriſed at that time in *Cilicia*; but afterwards raiſed to the metropolis of *Iſauria*. His mother, though married, was thought to have had him by a criminal converſation with *Apollonius Tyanæus* (2), whoſe chaſtity has, by ſome writers, been mightily cried up. He was one of the diſciples of *Favorinus*, *Adrian*'s great favourite, and afterwards ſecretary for the *Greek* tongue to *M. Aurelius*. *Hermogenes*, a native of *Tarſus*, gained ſuch reputation among the ſophiſts, when he was but fifteen years old, that *M. Aurelius* went in perſon to hear him, was greatly taken with his extraordinary genius, and loaded him with preſents; but, as he ſurpaſſed moſt men when he was but a child, ſo, when he attained to man's

(3) *Clem. ſtrom.* i. (4) *Suid. p.* 242. (5) *Idem ibid.* (6) *Vide Jonſ. lib.* iii. *c.* 10. (7) *Idem ibid.* (8) *Idem ibid.* (9) *Philoſtr. ſophiſt.* 29. (1) *Idem. ſoph.* 31. (2) *Idem ibid.*

eſtate,

eſtate, he deſerved to be ranked among children, ſays *Philoſtratus* (3). However, he lived to a great age, deſpiſed by thoſe who had once admired him (4). *Ariſtides*, one of the moſt celebrated ſophiſts of his time, was a native of *Adrianothera* in *Myſia*. He is highly commended on account of his eloquence, by *Phrynicus* his cotemporary (5), by *Philoſtratus* (6), and generally by all the antients; but, if he excelled, as he is ſaid to have done, all the other ſophiſts, ſeveral of his orations, which have reached our times (7), convince us, that we have no reaſon to regret the loſs of their works. He was ſubject to various infirmities, and conſtantly indiſpoſed. We read in his journal, which he intitules *ſacred diſcourſes*, many things relating to maladies, and their remedies, which he pretends to have learnt of *Æſculapius* in his dreams (8). Notwithſtanding his infirmities, he lived to a great age, and died in the reign of *Commodus*.

Lucius, or, as he is ſtiled by others, *Saturantius*, *Apuleius*, was a native of *Madaura* a *Roman* colony on the borders of *Numidia* and *Getulia*, the ſon of one of the chief men of that city, and of *Salvia* one of the deſcendents of *Plutarch* (9). He paſſed his childhood partly in *Greece* (for his mother was originally of *Theſſaly*), and partly at *Carthage*, where he learnt, without the aſſiſtance of an inſtructor, the *Latin*; but not without much labour, as he himſelf owns. From *Carthage* he went to *Athens*, where he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of poetry, geometry, dialectics, and muſic, and thoroughly informed himſelf of the different tenets of the various ſects of philoſophers; but embraced that of *Plato*, which, however, did not prevent him from ſtudying magic with great application. He is even ſaid to have been ſo well ſkilled in that art, as to work ſeveral miracles, which the pagans oppoſed to thoſe of our Saviour (1). Theſe miracles, however, are not well atteſted; and *Apuleius* himſelf, being accuſed as a magician before *Claudius Maximus* proconſul of *Africa*, endeavoured to clear himſelf from that charge, as from an enormous crime, by an excellent diſcourſe, which has reached our times (2). He is thought to have ſtudied that art in *Theſſaly*, where it was in great requeſt (3). St. *Auſtin* (which to us ſeems very ſtrange) doubts whether what *Apuleius* writes of his being, by a magic potion, transformed into an aſs, was true or fabulous (4). The pagans themſelves looked upon his metamorphoſes as only fit to amuſe children (5). He wrote with great elegance both in *Greek* and *Latin*; but his ſtile is ſomewhat affected, he is fond of antiquated words, coins new ones, and frequently gives new ideas to old ones. He was reckoned one of the moſt eloquent men of his age; but neither his eloquence, nor his other extraordinary accompliſh-

(3) *Philoſtr. ſoph.* 31. (4) *Dio, l.* lxxi. *p.* 802. (5) *Phot. c.* 158. (6) *Philoſtr. ſoph.* 35. (7) *Vide Phot. c.* 246, *&c.* (8) *Philoſt. ibid. Suid. p.* 426. (9) *Apul. met. l.* ii. *p.* 115. *& prol. p.* 29. (1) *Hier. pſ.* lxxxi. *Lact. lib.* v. *c.* 3. *Aug. epiſt.* cxxxvi. (2) *Apul. apol.* (3) *Vit. Apul. p.* 15. (4) *Aug. civit. Dei, l.* xviii. *c.* 18. (5) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* iv. *Macrob. in ſom. Scipion. l.* i. *c.* 2.

ments, ever raiſed him to any dignity in the empire; though he was far from deſpiſing honours, as appears from the manner in which he ſpeaks of a ſtatue erected to him at *Oca*, a city of the province of *Tripolitana*, where he married a woman named *Pudentilla*; and of the office of pontif conferred upon him in his own country, which gave him a right to exhibit combats of gladiators and wild beaſts. Several pieces of *Apuleius* are ſtill extant, and ſome fragments of others, which have been long ſince loſt. Of the former, ſome are but a bare tranſlation of *Ariſtotle*, or of other antient writers (6). He is often quoted by the antients, as appears from the collection of ſuch quotations prefixed to his works, but eſpecially by St. *Auſtin*, who takes great pains to confute his falſe theology (7).

Amongſt the hiſtorians who flouriſhed under *M. Aurelius*, thoſe of chief note are *Polyænus* a *Macedonian*, who inſcribed to *M. Aurelius* and *L. Verus* the eight books of ſtratagems publiſhed by *Caſaubon* (8). He left other works (and, among the reſt, a deſcription of the city of *Thebes*), which have been long ſince loſt (9). *Amyntianus* wrote, and addreſſed to *M. Aurelius*, the hiſtory of *Alexander the Great*, which was not much admired. He likewiſe publiſhed the life of *Domitian*, and the lives of ſome other *Latin* and *Greek* princes (1); but none of his works have reached our times. Thoſe of *Damophilus* have undergone the ſame fate: he was a philoſopher and ſophiſt, brought up, as *Suidas* informs us, (2), by *Julianus*, who was conſul in the year 175. the fifteenth of *M. Aurelius*'s reign. He is frequently quoted by the emperor *Julian*, who ſuppoſes him to have been a native of *Bithynia*. Some of his works he inſcribed to *Lollius Maximus* (3). The hiſtory of *Greece*, written by *Pauſanias* in ten books, has reached us. The author deſcribes with great care and exactneſs the ſituation and antiquities of each city, and all the curioſities which in his time were to be ſeen in a country once ſo famous; but ſome critics find fault with him for interweaving his hiſtory with ſo many fables, which, however, are of great uſe for the right underſtanding of the antient writers (4). It appears from the quotations of *Stephanus* the geographer, that he deſcribed after the ſame manner *Phœnicia* and *Syria*. He beſtows mighty encomiums upon *Antoninus Pius*, and mentions his wars with the *Germans*, *Sarmatians*, and other barbarians; whence it is plain, that he had not done writing in the year 175 (5). He relates nothing poſterior to the reign of *M. Aurelius*; whence we may conclude, that he either died, or ended his work, under that prince. *Philoſtratus* ſpeaks of one *Pauſanias* a ſophiſt, a native of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, and diſciple of *Herodes Atticus*. Of this *Pauſanias* he obſerves, that he ſpent the greateſt part of his life at *Rome*; that, in ſpeaking, he changed all the quantities, and did not diſtinguiſh the letters that had a like ſound;

(6) *Apul. prol. hiſt. Græc. lib.* ii. *c.* 14.
(7) *Aug. civ. Dei, l.* viii. *c.* 14.
(8) *Voſſ.*
(2) *Suid. p.* 640.
(9) *Suid. p.* 559.
(1) *Plot. c.* 131.
Græc. l. ii. *c.* 14.
(3) *Vide Jonſ. l.* iii. *c.* 11.
(4) *Voſſ. hiſt.*
(5) *Pauſ. l.* viii. *p.* 272.

which, however, was common to all the *Cappadocians* (6). *Philoſtratus* aſcribes to him ſome declamations; whence he ought, in our opinion, to be diſtinguiſhed from the hiſtorian of that name, though *Voſſius* and *Sylburgius* take the author of the hiſtory, and of the declamations, to be one and the ſame writer (7); for we cannot think, that *Philoſtratus* would have paſſed over in ſilence ſo great and important a work, had the ſophiſt been the author of it. *Suidas* ſpeaks of another *Pauſanias*, by birth a *Lacedæmonian*, who wrote the hiſtory of his own country; but we muſt diſtinguiſh him alſo from the author of the hiſtory of *Greece*, who rebukes the *Lacedæmonians* with great liberty, and whoſe dialect comes nearer the *Ionic* than the *Doric*, which was the dialect of the *Lacedæmonians* (8). In the beginning of the reign of *M. Aurelius*, flouriſhed one *Iamblichus*, by birth a *Babylonian*, and by profeſſion a magician. He publiſhed ſeveral works in *Greek*, and, among the reſt, one ſtiled *Babylonica* (9), which is ſaid by *Tennulius* to be ſtill preſerved in the famous library of the *Eſcurial* in *Spain* (1). Perhaps it was conſumed by the late conflagration; for that was the fate of many ineſtimable manuſcripts lodged in that famous library. *Leo Allatius* publiſhed a fragment of it. *Voſſius* takes *Iamblichus*'s *Babylonica* to be nothing elſe but the ſilly romance, of which *Photius* has been at the trouble of giving us too long an abſtract. *Suidas* ſeems to inſinuate the ſame thing. *Photius* tells us, that *Iamblichus* was originally a ſlave, and relates ſeveral particulars concerning him, copied from an unknown author (2). *Theophylus* of *Antioch* has tranſmitted to us a table of the *Roman* emperors, from *Julius Cæſar* to the death of *M. Aurelius*, with the years, months, and days, of their reſpective reigns. This table was made by one of *M. Aurelius*'s freedmen named *Chryſores*, and not *Crator*, as *Voſſius* calls him, led into that miſtake by the text of *Theophylus*, where we read ὃν ὁ μὲν Κράτωρ, inſtead of νομενηλάτωρ, as it is corrected by *Scaliger* (3). The above-mentioned table was copied from a work of *Chryſores*, containing the names and chronology of all thoſe who had ruled in *Rome*, from the foundation of the city to the time of *M. Aurelius*. *Scaliger* has added it to the chronology of *Euſebius*. It is likewiſe to be found in the works of *Clement* of *Alexandria*, free from moſt of the faults which have crept into that of *Theophylus*. *Æmilius Parthenianus* compoſed the hiſtory of all thoſe who attempted to uſurp the ſovereign power. He did not end his hiſtory before the year 175. for he wrote the life of *Avidius Caſſius*. He is quoted by *Vulcatius Gallicanus*, who flouriſhed under *Dioclefian*. *Voſſius* ranks him among the *Latin* hiſtorians (4). The grammarian *Proculus*, who inſtructed *M. Aurelius* in the *Latin* grammar, and was on that account raiſed by him to the con-

(6) *Philoſt. ſoph.* 39. (7) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 14. (8) *Suid. p.* 466.
(9) *Phot. c.* 49. (1) *Voſſ. ibid. l.* iv. *p.* 582. & *Samuel Tennul. in not. ad Iambl. arith. Arnemiæ, ann.* 1668. (2) *Phot. p.* 241.
(3) *Vide Scal. in chron. Euſeb. p.* 396. (4) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* iii.

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ſulſhip, publiſhed a work on foreign countries, or, as ſome read it, religions, *de regionibus*, or *religionibus* (5). He was by birth an *African*; but thoroughly verſed in the *Latin* tongue (6). *Hephæſtion* and *Harpocration*, who inſtructed *L. Verus* in the *Greek* tongue (7), have both left ſome works behind them. An excellent piece *de re metrica*, which ſeems to be very antient, and bears the name of one *Hephæſtion*, a grammarian of *Alexandria*, has reached our times, and is commonly aſcribed to *Hephæſtion* the preceptor of *L. Verus*. *Suidas* mentions ſeveral other works publiſhed by him (8). Another learned piece is ſtill extant, on the ten orators of *Athens*, done by one *Valerius Harpocration*, ſuppos'd to have been preceptor to *L. Verus* (9). At this time flouriſhed *Apollonius* of *Alexandria*, ſurnamed *Dyſcoles*, who publiſhed ſeveral grammatical pieces. Some of his works have reached our times; to wit, four books on the ſyntax, to which is prefixed his life, done by an anonymous writer, and another piece, intituled, *Some falſe hiſtories*, or rather *wonderful hiſtories* (1). He was father to one *Herodianus*, who lived, according to *Suidas*, in the time of *M. Aurelius*, and publiſhed ſeveral grammatical pieces (2). *Ammianus Marcellinus* reckons him among the many great men for whom the world was indebted to the *muſeum* of *Alexandria* (3). *Sylburgius* takes him to be the hiſtorian *Herodianus*, who wrote the lives of the emperors, from the death of *M. Aurelius* to the reign of *Gordian*; that is, to the year 238 (4). But *Voſſius* ſpeaks of the grammarian and hiſtorian as two different perſons: and truly the hiſtorian might have been born in the reign of *M. Aurelius*; but cannot be ſaid to have flouriſhed under that prince, ſince he was ſtill writing fifty-eight years after his death (5). *Artemidorus*, author of ſeveral books on the interpretation of dreams, lived under *Antoninus Pius* and *M. Aurelius*; for he is quoted by *Lucian*; and he himſelf tells us, that he was acquainted with one who had entered the liſts in the combats that were exhibited by *Antoninus Pius* at *Puteoli*, in honour of *Adrian*. He was a native of *Epheſus*, and in his other works ſtiled himſelf *Artemidorus* the *Epheſian*; but, in that on the interpretation of dreams, he took the ſurname of *Daldianus* from *Daldis*, a ſmall city of *Lydia*, the birth-place of his mother. He wrote four books on the interpretation of dreams, which have reached us, with a fifth, wherein he relates the iſſue of ſeveral dreams. Of theſe books he inſcribed the three firſt to one *Caſſius Maximus* a *Phœnician*, who, it ſeems, was a man of great eloquence, and his particular friend; and the two others to his ſon, named likewiſe *Artemidorus* (6). Beſides theſe books, he wrote ſome others (according to *Suidas* (7), who ſtiles him a philoſopher) on the manner of

(5) *Tret. Pollio. hiſtor. trigin. tyrannor.* p. 195. (6) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat.* *l.* i. *c.* 12. (7) *Jul. Cap. in vit. Ver.* p. 35. (8) *Suid.* p. 1209. (9) *Idem*, p. 441. (1) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. lib.* ii. *c.* 14. (2) *Suid.* p. 379. (3) *Ammian. l.* xxii. p. 235. (4) *In Herodian. prol.* (5) *Voſſ. ibid. l.* i. *c.* 1. (6) *Artemidor.* *l.* i. *c.* 28. *l.* iii. *c.* 67. (7) *Suid.* p. 442.

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foretelling events by birds, and by the lines of the hand. For the compiling of his books on dreams, he read all the authors who had handled the ſame ſubject, and were very numerous; he ſpent many years in traveling through all the provinces, and viſiting all the cities of the empire; he conferred with all thoſe who pretended to any knowlege in divination (8); and the fruit of ſo many labours, journeys, inquiries, conferences, *&c.* was a work the moſt uſeleſs and trifling that ever was publiſhed, as is owned by thoſe who have been at the pains of illuſtrating it with notes (9). The ſame author wrote ſome books on phyſic (1). *Marcellus* of *Ida* in *Pamphylia* wrote, in the reign of *M. Aurelius*, forty-two books, in hexameter verſe, on phyſic; and is quoted by St. *Jerom* (2). *Marullus* a *Latin* poet wrote ſome ſatires in the beginning of the reign of *M. Aurelius*, not ſparing that prince, nor his predeceſſor *Antoninus Pius*; but he patiently bore his raillieries (3). *Apuleius* ſpeaks of a poet who lived in his time, and had begun an excellent poem upon *Alexander the Great* (4). This is probably the writer whom he calls elſewhere (5) *Corvinus Clemens*, and who was quæſtor. *Aulus Gellius*, or *Agellius*, muſt have flouriſhed about this time; for he was diſciple to *Titus Caſtricius*, to *Favorinus*, to *Herodes Atticus*, and to *Cornelius Fronto*, who all lived under *Adrian* and *Antoninus Pius* (6). *Cornelius Fronto* had been conſul, when *Aulus Gellius* was yet a youth (7). He beſtows great encomiums on the celebrated philoſopher and apoſtate *Peregrinus*; but does not mention his death, which rendered him more famous than any thing he had done in his life-time; for he publicly burnt himſelf at the ſports of the two hundredth and thirty-ſixth *Olympiad*: whence we conclude, that *Aulus Gellius* had done writing before that time, that is, before the year 165. of the Chriſtian æra, the fifth of the reign of *M. Aurelius* and *L. Verus*. He ſtudied grammar at *Reme*, and philoſophy at *Athens*, under *Calviſius Taurus*; whence he returned to *Rome*. He left no work behind him, except his *noctes Atticæ*; for thus he ſtiled the collection of ſeveral memorable and amuſing events, which he compiled for the uſe of his children (8). St. *Auſtin* commends him on account of his eaſy and elegant elocution (9); but moſt critics find fault with his antiquated words, his harſh and improper expreſſions, and, above all, with want of judgment in chooſing, for his collection, ſuch events as are for the moſt part of no importance, and only contain ſome grammatical and trifling remarks. *Macrobius*, however, often copies him. The annals of *Gellius* are frequently quoted by the writers of the *Roman* hiſtory; but the author of theſe annals, by name *Cn. Gellius*, lived about the year 620. of *Rome*, and was cotemporary with *Cicero* (1).

(8) *Suid. p.* 3. *Artemidor. prol. p.* 4. (9) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 22. (1) *Artemidor. prol. p.* 4. (2) *Voſſ. ibid.* (3) *Idem, poet. Lat. p.* 52. (4) *Apul. flor. p.* 344. (5) *Idem, apol. p.* 358. (6) *Aul. Gell. l.* xiii. *c.* 21. (7) *Idem, l.* xix. *c.* 8. (8) *Idem, præfat.* (9) *Aug. civit. Dei, l.* ix. *c.* 4. (1) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* i. *c.* 8. *Macrob. ſaturnal. l.* i. *c.* 16.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

The Roman *History, from the Death of* M. Aurelius, *to the Death of* Alexander, *when the Empire was first transferred without the Consent of the Senate.*

Commodus. COMMODUS was the first emperor that was born in his father's reign, and the second that succeeded his father in the empire. He was born on the thirty-first of *August* of the year 161. and raised to the empire on the seventeenth of *March* of the year 181. He is commonly called *L. Ælius Aurelius Commodus*, and sometimes *Commodus Antoninus*. He was educated with great care by his father; but nevertheless proved one of the most lewd, cruel, and wicked tyrants that ever disgraced a throne; which confirms in some degree the opinion of those who believed him to be the son of a famous gladiator, with whom his mother *Faustina* was said to have had a criminal conversation [a]. He gave, when only twelve years old, a remarkable instance of his cruelty, at *Centumcellæ*, now *Civita Vecchia*; where, finding the water in which he bathed somewhat too warm, he commanded the person who attended the bath to be thrown into the furnace; nor was he satisfied, till those who were about him pretended to have put his order in execution [b]. After his accession to the empire, he equaled, if he did not exceed, in cruelty, *Caligula*, *Domitian*, and *Nero* himself, playing, we may say, with the blood of his subjects and fellow-creatures, of whom he caused great numbers to be racked and butchered in his presence, merely for his diversion (A). As for his lewdness, the author of his life tells

His cruelty.

[a] Jul. Cap. in M. Aur. p. 30. [b] Lamprid. in Commod.

(A) The antients relate several instances of his cruelty, very odd and monstrous: he caused one to be thrown to the wild beasts, for reading the life of *Caligula* written by *Suetonius*, because that tyrant and he had been born on the same day (1). Seeing one day a corpulent man pass by, he immediately cut him asunder, partly to try his strength, in which he excelled all men, and partly out of curiosity, as he himself owned, to see his entrails drop out at once. He took pleasure in cutting off the feet, and putting out the eyes, of such as he met in his rambles through

(1) *Lamprid. in Commod.*

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tells us, that even in his father's reign he turned the court into a brothel; and, upon his death, he abandoned himself, without restraint or shame, to all manner of abominations, spending whole days and nights in public-houses amongst the meanest of the people, and in the company of gladiators, buffoons, common prostitutes, &c. He kept constantly three hundred concubines, and the like number of catamites. He debauched all his own sisters, and murdered one of them, by name *Lucilla*, after he had forced her to comply with his incestuous desires. But to give a detail of his infamous practices and pollutions, is beneath the dignity of an historian, and what we cannot help blaming in *Suetonius*, and the *Augustine* writers.

His lewdness and debaucheries.

He took great delight in shooting with the bow, and gave innumerable proofs of his dexterity and skill in that art, which we should look upon as fabulous, were they not attested by all the antients. He excelled all men in strength, and is said to have run an elephant through with his spear, and to have once killed in the amphitheatre an hundred lions, one after another, and each of them at one blow. Forgetful of his rank and dignity, he entered the lists with the common gladiators, having learned with them, in the public school, the use of their weapons. He is said to have fought in the open amphitheatre seven hundred and thirty-five times, and to have always come off conqueror; whence he often subscribed himself in his letters, *The conqueror of a thousand gladiators*. He seemed to be more pleased with the applause of the populace on these occasions, than any of the antient *Roman* captains had ever been with a triumph. Imagining one day, that the peo-

His skill in archery.

He enters the lists with the common gladiators.

the city, telling the former, after he had thus maimed them, by way of raillery, that they now belonged to the nation of the *Monopodii*; and the latter, that they were now become *Luscinii*; alluding to the words *luscinia*, a nightingale, and *luscus*, one-eyed. Some he murdered, because they were negligently dressed; others, because they seemed trimmed with too much nicety. He pretended to great skill in surgery, especially at letting blood: but sometimes, instead of easing by that means those whom he visited, or who were prevailed upon to recur to him, he cut off, by way of diversion, their ears and noses. He assumed the name and habit of *Hercules*, appearing publicly in a lion's skin, with an huge club in his hand, and ordering several persons, though not guilty of any crime, to be disguised like monsters, that, by knocking out their brains with his club, he might have a better claim to the name of the great destroyer of monsters. In short, the shedding of blood seemed to be his chief diversion (2).

(2) *Lamprid. in Commod.*

ple rather derided than applauded him, he ordered them all to be maſſacred upon the ſpot, and the city to be ſet on fire; which barbarous ſentence had been put in execution, had not the captain of the prætorian guards, with much ado, appeaſed him. Having with his extravagancies ſoon drained and exhauſted his exchequer, he betook himſelf to all manner of rapine; loaded the people with taxes; ſold the governments of the provinces, and other employments; exempted criminals from the puniſhment due to their crimes, upon their paying him a ſum of money, and allowed others to murder whomſoever they pleaſed; ſo that the city, and indeed the whole empire, was filled with blood and maſſacres, every one purchaſing of the emperor the liberty of murdering ſuch as he feared or hated [c]. But to proceed to the hiſtory of his reign, according to the order of time.

His avarice.

COMMODUS, a few days after his father's death, went to the camp, attended by all the chief officers; and there, after a plauſible and popular ſpeech to the ſoldiers, preſented them with the uſual donative. He was for returning immediately to *Rome*, panting after the diverſions of the city; but *Pompeianus*, who had married his ſiſter, repreſenting to him how dangerous and ſhameful a thing it would be for him to return before he had ended the war, he was, with much difficulty, prevailed upon to continue ſome time in *Pannonia*, where he is ſaid to have gained ſome advantages over the *Quadi*, which muſt have been very inconſiderable, ſince he did not on that ſcore take upon him the title of *imperator*. However, both the *Quadi* and *Marcomanni*, imagining that he was reſolved to purſue the war, and finding themſelves no longer in a condition to make head againſt his victorious troops, ſent embaſſadors to him, with propoſals of an accommodation; which he readily hearkened to, and granted them a peace upon the following terms: 1. That they ſhould not ſettle within five miles of the *Danube*. 2. That they ſhould deliver up their arms, and ſupply the *Romans* with a certain number of troops, when required. 3. That they ſhould aſſemble but once a month in one place only, and in the preſence of a *Roman* centurion. And, 4. That they ſhould not make war upon the *Iazyges*, the *Buri*, or the *Vandali*, without the conſent of the people of *Rome*. On the other hand, *Commodus* promiſed to abandon, which he did accordingly, all the caſtles and fortreſſes which he held in their country, except ſuch as were within five miles of the *Danube* [d]. With the other *German* nations, which his father had almoſt intirely reduced, he con-

He concludes a peace with the Marcomanni, Quadi, *&c.*

[c] LAMPRID. in Commod. [d] DIO, l. lxxii. p. 817. HERODIAN. l. i. p. 461. AUR. VICT.

cluded

cluded a very dishonourable peace; nay, of some he purchased it with very large sums. Having thus rather abandoned than ended the war, he hastened back to *Rome*, where he was received with all possible demonstrations of joy, and honoured with a triumph, with the surname of *Pius*, and with all the marks of distinction that had ever been conferred upon the most deserving princes. Having visited the capitol, and other temples, and returned thanks to the senate, the people, and the soldiery, for their fidelity and attachment to him during his absence, he was conducted by them to the palace on the twenty-second of *October* [e].

THE following year *Commodus* entered upon his third consulship, having for his collegue one *Birrus*, or *Burrhus*, probably *Antistius Burrhus*, who had married his sister [f] (B). The next consuls were *Mamertinus* and *Rufus*, during whose administration *Commodus* took the title of *imperator* for the fifth time, on account of some advantages gained by his lieutenants *Albinus* and *Niger* over the barbarians who dwelt beyond *Dacia* [g]. The above-mentioned consuls were succeeded by *Commodus* the fourth time consul, and *Victorinus* the second time. During their consulship, the *Caledonians*, having passed the wall which parted them from the *Romans*, committed dreadful devastations, and cut in pieces a *Roman* army, with their general; but were in the end repulsed with great slaughter by *Ulpius Marcellus*, a man of a mean descent, but an excellent commander, and a strict observer of the military discipline. Of this war the antients give us no particular account; but only tell us, that it proved very bloody; that the emperor, for the great advantages gained by his lieutenant, took the title of *imperator* the sixth time, with the surname of *Britannicus*; and that *Ulpius Marcellus*, by his gallant and prudent conduct, gained such credit and reputation, that *Commodus*, envying him the glory he had acquired, designed to put him to death; but in the end he spared him [h].

The Caledonians *invade the* Roman *territories; but are repulsed by* Ulpius Marcellus.

[e] LAMPRID. in Commod. DIO, p. 818. HERODIAN. p. 471. GOLTZ. p. 81. [f] Vit. Commod. p. 48. ONUPH. p. 238. [g] GOLTZ. ibid. BIRAG. p. 246. DIO, p. 820. [h] DIO, l. lxxii. p. 821. & in excerpt. VAL. p. 725.

(B) On one medal of this, and on several of the following year, *Commodus* bears the title of *Felix*, the *Happy*; whence it is manifest, that *Lampridius*, whom most modern antiquaries follow, was mistaken, when he wrote, that this title was not by the senate decreed to him till the death of *Perennis*, which happened five years after (3).

(3) *Birag. p.* 246.

THIS year *Commodus*, who had hitherto followed the advice of his father's friends and counſellors, began to deſpiſe them, thinking himſelf ſufficiently qualified to govern without ſo many tutors about him, as he expreſſed it. He therefore diſcharged them all, employing in their room either his debauched companions, or ſuch as were recommended to him by them. Thus *Peſcennius Niger* was preferred to the command of the armies in *Syria*, at the recommendation of the wreſtler *Narciſſus*; and many others were raiſed to great employments by means of the emperor's freedmen, ſlaves, concubines, *&c.* whoſe imperious and arrogant behaviour drew upon the young prince the hatred and contempt of the ſenate; which he being well appriſed of, began in his turn to put to death, under various pretences, ſome of the moſt eminent members of that illuſtrious body. His ſiſter *Lucilla*, ſeeing him abhorred, on account of his cruelties, by all the great men in *Rome*, formed a conſpiracy againſt him, with a deſign to place in his room a perſon whom ſhe favoured, and was thought to love both above her brother, and her huſband *Pompeianus*. She had the title of empreſs, and all the honour attending it, being the widow of the emperor *L. Verus*; but nevertheleſs was obliged to give place to *Criſpina* the wife of *Commodus*; which her haughty ſpirit could not bear. She therefore drew into a conſpiracy *Claudius Pompeianus*, to whom ſhe had betrothed her daughter, *Quadratus*, and many other ſenators of diſtinction. It was agreed among the conſpirators, that they ſhould fall upon the emperor while he was going to the amphitheatre, through a narrow and dark paſſage; and that *Pompeianus* ſhould give him the firſt blow. Accordingly they aſſaulted him at the appointed place; but *Pompeianus* ſhewing him, inſtead of ſtriking at once, the naked dagger, and crying out, *This preſent the ſenate ſends you*, the guards had time to reſcue the emperor, and ſeize the conſpirators, who were ſoon after put to death. The emperor baniſhed his ſiſter to the iſland of *Capreæ*, where he afterwards ordered her to be privately murdered[i] (C). This ſame year the empreſs *Criſpina* was likewiſe confined to the iſland of *Capreæ*,

Commodus diſmiſſes his father's friends and counſellors.

A conſpiracy formed againſt him by his ſiſter Lucilla, *and others;*

who are all put to death.

[i] Vit. Commod. p. 46. HERODIAN. p. 474. DIO, p. 818.

(C) *Herodianus* tells us, that one *Quinctianus* was to give the firſt blow; and *Ammianus*, who follows him, adds, that *Quinctianus* actually wounded the emperor, who, by the loſs of blood, fainted away (4). But we have choſen to follow ſuch writers as lived neareſt thoſe times.

(4) *Ammian. l.* xxix.

and

and there murdered by the emperor's order, for imitating him in his debaucheries [k] (D). One *Anterus*, or, as others call him, *Saoterus*, a native of *Nicomedia*, and the emperor's favourite freedman, was thought to have put him upon the wicked measures which he was pursuing; for he bore a great sway with the prince. Wherefore the captains of the guards caused him to be murdered by one *Cleander*, of whom we shall speak hereafter. The emperor expressed greater concern for his death, than he had done for the conspiracy formed against himself; and, being informed, that *Tarruntinus Paternus*, one of the captains of the guards, was privy to it, he removed him from his employment, under colour of creating him a senator, and a few days after caused him to be assassinated, with *Salvius Julianus*, to whose son the daughter of *Paternus* had been betrothed, pretending, that they had both conspired to depose him, and seize the empire for themselves [l]. *Salvius Julianus* was grandson to the famous civilian of that name under *Adrian*, and uncle to *Didius Julianus*, who was afterwards emperor.

The captains of the guards cause his favourite freedman to be murdered.

THE same year were falsly accused of treason, condemned, and executed, *Velius Rufus*, *Egnatius Capito*, and the two *Quiutilii*, *Maximus* and *Condianus*, who had been all consuls. *Sextus Condianus* the son of *Maximus*, who had been consul, and was a young man of extraordinary parts, was condemned with his father and uncle; but escaped, at least for some time, by causing a report to be spread, that he was dead; but, many attesting that he was still alive, diligent search was made after him. Many persons, who had never seen him, were accused of having harboured and concealed him in their houses, and, upon that charge, either put to death, or banished. Of *Sextus* himself we find no further mention in history. *Æmilius Junctus* and *Attilius Severus* were both banished in their consulship, which they held, it seems, during the two last months

Several persons condemned and executed.

[k] Dio, p. 818. [l] Vit. Commod. p. 47. Dio, p. 819.

(D) *Quadratus* had a concubine by name *Marcia*, and a favourite freedman named *Electus*. The latter the emperor created his chief chamberlain; and the former, who was a woman of great beauty, he kept for his concubine, and distinguished her with all the honours that were peculiar to the empresses, except that of having fire or torches carried before her (5). She is supposed to have been a great friend to the Christians; and to her power at court, and authority with the emperor, is commonly ascribed the profound tranquillity which the church enjoyed in the midst of so many cruel executions (6).

(5) *Herod. l.* i. *p.* 486.

(6) *Vide Baron. ann.* 112.

of the year, and, with them, many ſenators and knights of great diſtinction [m]. Under the ſucceeding conſuls *M. Eggius Merullus* and *Cn. Papirius Ælianus*, was accuſed of aſpiring to the empire, and put to death, the emperor's favourite miniſter *Perennis*. He was captain of the prætorian guards, an excellent commander, and, according to *Dio Caſſius*, a man without reproach [n] (E). This year *Commodus* took the title of *imperator* the ſeventh time, probably on account of ſome advantages gained by his lieutenants in *Britain*; for the diſturbances there were not yet intirely quelled [o].

Perennis, the emperor's favourite, miniſter, put to death.

THE next conſuls were *Commodus* the fifth time, and *Acilius Glabrio* the ſecond [p]. This year, while *Commodus* was aſſiſting at the *Capitoline* ſports inſtituted by *Domitian* in 86. a perſon, in the habit of a Cynic philoſopher, appeared unexpectedly in the midſt of the theatre; and, addreſſing the emperor, told him aloud, That, while he minded nothing but his pleaſures and diverſions, he was in danger of loſing both his life, and the empire, by the wicked practices of *Perennis*, and his children. *Perennis* cauſed the pretended Cynic to be immediately ſeized as a madman, who diſturbed the public ſports, and ſoon after ordered him to be burnt alive; which gave the emperor no ſmall jealouſy. Not long after, ſome ſoldiers, arriving at *Rome* from *Illyricum*, where the ſon of *Perennis* commanded, ſhewed to *Commodus*, in a private audience, ſome medals, on which was ingraved the image of the ſon of *Perennis*, as if he had been already emperor; which ſo alarmed the prince, that he commanded the traitor to be immediately put to death [q]. Thus *Herodian*. But *Dio Caſſius* and *Lampridius* relate his downfal in a quite different manner. According to them, the army in *Britain*, diſſatisfied either becauſe he had puniſhed them with too great ſeverity on account of ſome ſedition, or becauſe he had removed ſeveral ſenators, and given their poſts in the army to *Roman* knights

His downfal and death differently reported.

[m] DIO, l. lxxi. p. 819. Vit. Commod. p. 47. [n] DIO, p. 821. [o] BIRAG. p. 248. Vit. Commod. p. 48. [p] NORIS, epiſt. conſul. p. 116. [q] HEROD. l. i. p. 474, 475.

(E) But *Herodianus* and *Lampridius* give him a quite different character, and ſpeak of him as one who abuſed the great authority he had with the emperor, ſticking at no violence, murder, or injuſtice, to fill his own coffers, while *Commodus* was wholly intent upon his pleaſures and diverſions, in which he encouraged him, that he might govern with an abſolute ſway; which he did but for a ſhort while, as we ſhall ſee hereafter (7).

(7) *Herod. l. i. p. 472. Vit. Commod. p. 48.*

his creatures, ſent deputies to *Rome*, fifteen hundred, ſays *Dio Caſſius* (which ſeems altogether incredible), to complain of him, and charge him with a deſign of raiſing his ſon to the empire. They were backed by *Cleander*, and the emperor's other freedmen, who could not brook the arbitrary and haughty conduct of the favourite miniſter. Hereupon *Commodus*, naturally timorous, abandoned the traitor to the rage of the provoked ſoldiery, who, after a thouſand outrages, tore him in pieces. His wife, his ſiſter, and his two ſons, underwent the ſame fate. To his eldeſt ſon, who commanded the army in *Illyricum*, the emperor wrote an obliging letter, injoining him to come with all poſſible expedition to *Rome*, to receive there new marks of the eſteem and affection he had for him and his father. As the young man was an intire ſtranger to what had paſſed, and not yet in a condition to revolt openly, he readily complied with the invitation; but had no ſooner entered *Italy*, than he was cut in pieces by the ſoldiers who attended him, purſuant to the private orders they had received from *Rome*[r]. The other brother was probably killed at *Rome* with his father.

His wife and children undergo the ſame fate.

PERENNIS was ſucceeded in the poſt of prime miniſter by *Cleander*; for the emperor himſelf was ſo taken up with his pleaſures and diverſions, that he could not beſtow one minute on the affairs of the ſtate: he would not even be at the trouble of ſigning his diſpatches: and, in ſeveral letters to his friends, all he wrote was, *Vale*, *Farewel*. *Cleander* was by birth a *Phrygian*, and originally a ſlave, having been ſold as ſuch in *Rome* by auction, as were in thoſe days moſt ſlaves. He belonged at firſt to *M. Aurelius*, and afterwards to *Commodus*, who, favouring him above the reſt of his ſlaves, gave him leave to marry *Demoſtracia*, one of his concubines, brought up the children he had by her in the palace, preſented him with his liberty, and appointed him his chamberlain. He is thought to have procured the death of *Perennis*, that he might ingroſs all the power to himſelf; which he eaſily compaſſed, and abuſed his authority in a more flagrant manner than *Perennis* had ever done. By him all things were openly ſet to ſale, offices, provinces, public revenues, public juſtice, and the lives of men both innocent and guilty. *Antiſtius Burrhus*, who had married one of the emperor's ſiſters, took the liberty to acquaint the prince with the unaccountable conduct of his miniſter; but that liberty coſt him his life, *Cleander* having charged him with aſpiring to the empire, and prevailed upon the emperor, whom he blindly controuled, to condemn him, and all thoſe who eſpouſed his cauſe, or attempted to

Perennis is ſucceeded by Cleander;

who abuſes his authority.

[r] Dio. p. 821. Vit. Commod. p. 48.

defend him. Among these was *Ebutianus* captain of the guards, in whose room *Cleander* persuaded the emperor to substitute himself, and two others, whom he named to him. Upon the death of *Perennis*, that employment had been given to one *Niger*, who held it only six hours; another enjoyed it but five days, and several others not so long, the timorous emperor changing the captains of his guards daily and hourly. Most of these officers lost their lives with their employment, being accused of treason by *Cleander*, who courted, and at last obtained, that important post for himself[s].

The captains of the guards changed daily and hourly.

AFTER the death of *Perennis*, the emperor pretended to be greatly concerned for many things that had been done during his administration, in order to throw the whole odium upon him. He wrote an obliging letter to *Pertinax*, whom *Perennis* had banished into *Liguria*, his native country, and kept there for the space of three years, appointing him commander of the troops in *Britain*, which had mutinied, and raised great disturbances in that island, neither the *Roman* soldiers, nor the *Britons*, being able to brook the tyrannical government of *Commodus*. Upon the arrival of *Pertinax*, the soldiers pressed him to assume the sovereignty; but he, rejecting the offer with indignation, brought, by degrees, the mutinous soldiery to a sense of their duty, and restored tranquillity to the province, but not without great trouble and danger; for one of the legions openly revolting, much blood was spilt, and *Pertinax* himself was left upon the spot for dead. As his severity drew upon him the hatred and ill-will of the soldiery, he desired to be recalled; but the emperor did not comply with his request till three years after[t]. This year *Commodus* took the title of *imperator* for the eighth and last time, on account of the advantages, as is conjectured, which *Clodius Albinus* is said to have gained about this time over the *Frisians*[u].

The Roman *soldiers in* Britain *mutiny.*

UNDER the next consuls, *Crispinus* and *Ælianus*, a common soldier, by name *Maternus*, having fled from his colours, and being joined by many others guilty of the same crime, grew in a short time so powerful, the banditti flocking to him from all parts, that he over-ran and plundered great part of *Gaul* and *Spain*, stormed the strongest cities, and struck the emperor and people of *Rome* with such terror, that troops were raised, and armies dispatched against him. *Pescennius Niger* was sent to make head against him in *Gaul*, where he became very intimate with *Severus*, who was then governor of the country of *Lyons*, and wrote a letter to the emperor,

The war of the deserters under the conduct of Maternus;

Year of the flood 2535. Of Christ 187. Of Rome 935.

[s] HEROD. p. 475. DIO, p. 882. Vit. Commod. p. 48. [t] Vit. Com. ibid. & Pertin. p. 54. [u] Albin. vit. p. 81.

com-

commending the prudent conduct and gallant behaviour of *Niger* in purſuing the rebels and deſerters [w]. *Maternus*, finding himſelf reduced to great ſtreights by the brave *Niger*, divided his men into ſeveral ſmall bands, and marched privately with them, by different ways, into *Italy*, having nothing leſs in view than to murder the emperor during the ſolemnity which was kept annually, in honour of the mother of the gods, and, upon his death, to ſeize the empire. They all arrived at *Rome* undiſcovered; and ſome of his men had already mixed themſelves with the emperor's guards, when others of his own party betrayed him. He was immediately ſeized, and executed; and his death put an end to the diſturbances, which ſome of his followers had begun to raiſe in other provinces [x]. The ſame year broke out the moſt dreadful plague, ſays *Dio Caſſius*, that had been known. It laſted two or three years, and raged with the moſt violence in *Rome*, where it frequently carried off two thouſand perſons a day. The emperor, to avoid the contagion, retired to *Laurentum*, a city of *Latium*, on the ſea-ſide [y].

who is ſeized and executed.

THE following year, *Fuſcianus* and *Silanus* being both conſuls for the ſecond time, the emperor gave out, that he deſigned to paſs over into *Africa*; but, having, under that pretence, exacted very conſiderable ſums, and even ſuffered the people to offer up vows for his ſafe return on the fifth of *April*, he ſpent the money in banquets and revels, and continued at *Rome*, and in the neighbourhood [z]. About this time *Severus* was tranſlated from the government of *Pannonia* to that of *Sicily*, whence he returned to *Rome*, to clear himſelf of a crime with which he was charged; to wit, of conſulting the aſtrologers, as if he entertained thoughts of uſurping the ſovereignty. His cauſe was heard by the captains of the guards, the collegues of *Cleander*; and, as *Commodus* was hated, ſays *Spartian*, *Severus* was cleared, and his accuſer crucified [a]. This year great part of the capitol, a famous library, and ſeveral contiguous buildings, were utterly deſtroyed by lightning [b]. *Euſebius* ſays, it conſumed whole quarters of the city, and in them ſeveral libraries. At the ſame time the city was afflicted with a dreadful famine, occaſioned, as ſome authors write, by *Cleander*, who, having now nothing leſs in view than the ſovereignty, bought up under-hand all the corn, in order to raiſe the price of it, and gain the affections of the ſoldiery and people, by diſtributing it among them [c]. Other writers tell us [d], that *Papirius Dionyſius*, whoſe province it

Severus *accuſed, and acquitted.*

[w] Nig. vit. p. 75.
[x] HEROD. l. i. p. 475. Vit. Com. p. 51.
[y] Idem ibid.
[z] Vit. Com. p. 49. OROS. l. viii. c. 16.
[a] SPART. in Sever.
[b] EUSEB. in chron.
[c] DIO, p. 823.
[d] Vit. Com. p. 51.

was

was to supply the city with provisions, contributed towards the famine, in order to make the people rise against *Cleander*.

Cleander acts in an arbitrary manner.

BE that as it will, the populace ascribed all their calamities and misfortunes to the hated minister, who now began to act in a more arbitrary manner than ever, putting to death and pardoning, banishing and recalling from exile, whom he pleased. Several manumitted slaves he created patricians, and gave them a place in the senate; others he made governors of provinces, and raised to the first employments. But his reign was short-lived; for the following year, in which *Rome* saw for the first, and, indeed, for the last time, twenty-five consuls, all named by *Cleander*, and most of them his creatures, while the people were celebrating the *Circensian* games, a troop of children, having at their head a young woman of an extraordinary stature, and a fierce aspect, entering the circus, began to utter aloud many bitter invectives, and dreadful curses, against *Cleander*; which being for some time answered by the people with other invectives and curses, the whole multitude rose all on a sudden, flew, in a tumultuous manner, to the palace of *Quintilius* in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, where the emperor was then residing with *Cleander*; and there renewing their curses and imprecations, demanded the head of the perfidious wretch, by whom they had been so grievously and tyrannically oppressed.

The people rise against him.

The pretorian horse fall upon them; but are put to flight.

Hereupon *Cleander* ordered the prætorian cavalry to charge the multitude; which they did accordingly, driving them, with great slaughter, into the city; but there the populace discharging showers of stones, bricks, and tiles, from the tops of the houses, and from the windows, and the city-guards, who hated *Cleander*, joining the multitude, the prætorian horse were forced to give way, and save themselves by a disorderly flight. The people pursued them to the palace of *Quintilius*, where the emperor was passing his time in the company of some lewd women, utterly unapprised of the tumult, *Cleander* having forbidden those who were about him to acquaint him with it. However, *Marcia*, his favourite concubine, thought it incumbent upon her to inform him of what had passed; and his sister *Fadilla*, entering his apartment in a great fright, and with her hair dishevelled, cried out to him aloud, That all was lost, unless he abandoned *Cleander* to the fury of the incensed populace. Hereupon the emperor, struck with terror and amazement, sent for *Cleander*; and, having caused his head to be struck off that instant, sent it to the people; the sight of which put an end to the combat, which still continued with great slaughter. His head and body were, by the incensed populace, insulted in a most outrageous manner. His wife, his children, and most of his creatures, were, at the same time, massacred; and their bodies first dragged through

The emperor causes his head to be struck off.

the ſtreets, and then thrown into the common ſewer [e] (F). *Julianus* and *Regillus* were appointed captains of the guards in the room of *Cleander*, and his collegues; but the emperor cauſed them both to be ſoon after put to death, though he had ever ſhewn a particular kindneſs and affection for *Julianus*, whom he uſed to ſtile his father [f]. About the cloſe of this year, *Pertinax* was, at his own requeſt, recalled from *Britain*, and charged with the care of ſupplying the city with proviſions, in the room of *Papirius Dionyſius*, who was likewiſe put to death, with all thoſe who had any-ways contributed to the raiſing of the price of corn.

THE following year *Commodus* entered upon his ſixth conſulſhip, having *Petronius Septimianus* for his collegue. The ſeveral conſpiracies which had been formed againſt himſelf and his miniſters, filling him with jealouſies and ſuſpicions, he abandoned himſelf, without controul, to bloodſhed and cruelty (G). This year *Severus*, who had been one of the twenty-five conſuls of the preceding year, was appointed commander

[e] DIO, l. lxxii. p. 823. HEROD. l. i. p. 479—481. Vit. Com. p. 48. [f] Vit. Com. ibid. & DIO, p. 823.

(F) *Lampridius* tells us, that the people were chiefly provoked againſt him, for having cauſed *Arrius Antoninus* to be falſly accuſed of treaſon, and put to death, becauſe he had, while proconſul of *Aſia*, condemned one of his creatures, by name *Attalus* (8).

(G) He put to death, beſides many others mentioned by *Spartian*, and other writers, *Petronius Mamertinus*, who had married one of his ſiſters; his ſon *Antoninus*; *Annia Fauſtina*, couſin-german to *M. Aurelius*; *Sulpicius Craſſus*, proconſul of *Aſia*, and ſix conſulars, on one day. He cauſed all thoſe who were any-ways related to *Avidius Caſſius*, of whom we have ſpoken above, to be burnt alive. Among the multitudes of all ranks and conditions, who were doomed to be inhumanly maſſacred this year, *Dio Caſſius* gives us a particular account of the death of one *Julius Alexander*, a native of *Emeſa* in *Syria*; who, being informed, that the emperor had ſent thither a centurion, with a band of ſoldiers, to murder him, ſurpriſed them in the night, and killed them all to a man, with ſeveral others, whom he ſuſpected to be his enemies. Having thus filled the city with ſlaughter, he retired on horſeback, with a deſign to take refuge among the barbarians; and would have made his eſcape, had he not been retarded by a friend of his, who could not keep up with him, and whom he could not find in his heart to leave behind him. Being, therefore, overtaken by thoſe who purſued him, he firſt killed his friend, that he might not fall into their hands, and afterwards himſelf (9).

(8) *Vit. Comm. p.* 48.

(9) *Dio, p.* 823.

of the troops in *Illyricum*; and *Pertinax* was ſent into *Africa*, with the character of proconſul. The following year, *Apronianus* and *Bradua* being conſuls, a fire broke out in the night-time in the celebrated temple of *Peace*, preceded, and, as ſome writers ſuppoſe, produced, by a ſmall earthquake; for no thunder was heard [g] (H).

The temple of Peace *conſumed by fire, and the temple of* Veſta, *with many other buildings.*

THE fire ſpread with great violence to other quarters of the city, and conſumed a great number of ſtately edifices; among the reſt, the temple of *Veſta*. The veſtals fled to the palace, with the ſtatue of *Pallas*, which was ſuppoſed to have been brought from *Troy*, and had never before been expoſed to public view; but the flames ſeized the palace itſelf, and reduced great part of it to aſhes, before their rage could be ſtaid. However, the public papers and regiſters were with difficulty preſerved. The conflagration laſted ſeveral days, in ſpite of the utmoſt endeavours of the people, the ſoldiery, and the emperor himſelf; who, returning, on that occaſion, from the country, expoſed his own perſon, in order to encourage others to exert themſelves by his example. It ceaſed, at length, of itſelf, or was extinguiſhed by a ſudden and violent rain, which they all looked upon as ſent by the gods [h]. This year *Pertinax* was preferred from the government of *Africa* to that of *Rome*, and *Didius Julianus* ſent to govern *Africa* in his room. The next conſuls were *Commodus* the ſeventh time, and *Helvidius Pertinax* the ſecond. This year the *Roman* troops were defeated by the *Saracens*, whom we find now mentioned for the firſt time in hiſtory [i]. *Commodus*,

Year of the flood 2539. Of Chriſt 191. Of Rome 939.

[g] HERODIAN. l. i. p. 485. DIO, p. 829. [h] HEROD. p. 482.
[i] Vit. Nigr. p. 77.

(H) *Dio Caſſius* writes, that it began in the adjoining houſes. Be that as it will, the temple, with all the buildings round it, was reduced to aſhes. That magnificent ſtructure had been raiſed by *Veſpaſian* after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and enriched with all the ſpoils and ornaments of the temple of the *Jews*. The antients ſpeak of it as one of the moſt ſtately buildings in *Rome*. There men of learning uſed to hold their aſſemblies, and lodge their writings, as many others did their jewels, and whatever elſe they had of great value. It was likewiſe made uſe of as a kind of magazine for the ſpices that were brought by the *Roman* merchants out of *Egypt* and *Arabia*; ſo that many rich perſons were at once reduced to beggary, all their valuable effects and treaſures being conſumed in one night, with the temple (1). *Galen* complains, that many of his books were loſt by this misfortune (2).

(1) *Dio*, p. 829. *Herod. l.* i. p. 485. *Galen. de libris ſuis*, p. 363. (2) *Galen. ibid.*

being told, that *Severus*, who commanded in *Illyricum*, and *Nonius Murcus*, who had the command of ſome other army, aſpired to the empire, appointed *Clodius Albinus*, in whom he repoſed an intire confidence, governor of *Britain*, and wrote a letter to him with his own hand, ſays *Julius Capitolinus*, giving him leave to aſſume the title of *Cæſar*, and the ornaments peculiar to that dignity, in caſe any diſturbances ſhould ariſe in the empire. *Albinus*, adds the ſame writer, prudently declined that honour, fearing to be involved in the ruin of *Commodus*, which he apprehended to be at hand [k]. The account which *Dio Caſſius* and *Herodian* give us of the latter end of this prince's reign, is nothing but a detail of his ſollies, and the ſhews which he exhibited, and in which he himſelf acted the chief part. Both theſe hiſtorians were preſent; and the former, who aſſiſted at the above-mentioned ſhews in quality of ſenator, tells us, that he, and the other ſenators, chewed, the whole time, bay-leaves, that by their bitterneſs they might be diverted from laughing at the prince's folly; which would have coſt them their lives. However, he owns, that the addreſs and ſkill which the emperor diſplayed in ſhooting with the bow, was univerſally admired and applauded; for a panther having ſeized a man, and being ready to devour him, *Commodus* let fly an arrow againſt the beaſt with ſo much ſkill and force, that the panther fell dead to the ground, before the man received the leaſt hurt [l] (I).

The empe-ror's folly, and public ſhews.

[k] Vit. Albin. p. 79. [l] Dio, p. 484. Herod. p. 826.

(I) A few days before his death, he changed the names of ſome of the months, calling *Auguſt Commodus*, *September Auguſt*, *October Hercules*, *November Invincibilis*, *December Exuperatorius*, and *January Amazonius*; which laſt title he himſelf aſſumed, becauſe he had firſt fallen in love with *Marcia*, upon ſeeing her painted in the dreſs of an *Amazon*. He was likewiſe for changing the name of the city itſelf, and calling it *Colonia Commodiana*, or *The colony of* Commodus. Upon this head he wrote to the ſenate, ſtiling himſelf in the letter, *Imperator Cæſar Lucius, Ælius, Aurelius, Commodus, Antoninus, Auguſtus, Pius, Felix, Sarmaticus, Germanicus, Maximinus, Britannicus, Pacator orbis terrarum, Invictus Romanus Hercules, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitiæ Poteſtatis* XVII. *Imperator* VIII. *Conſul* VII. *Pater Patriæ*, &c. The ſenate readily complied with his deſire, and not only ſtiled *Rome Colonia Commodiana*, but the houſe in which they aſſembled, *The houſe of* Commodus. They had given him before, by way of deriſion, ſays *Lampridius*, the title of *Pius*, upon his raiſing to the conſulſhip one of his mother's gallants; the title of *Happy*, for having compaſſed the death of *Perennis*; and that of *Hercules*, in conſideration of his extraordinary ſtrength, and his killing many thouſand wild beaſts in the amphitheatre.

He acts and dances in public quite naked.

He designs to appear on the first of January *like a consul and gladiator.*

He had often appeared on the public ſtage in the *Amazonian*, and other fantaſtical dreſſes; but this year he was not aſhamed to enter the liſts with the gladiators, to act and to dance in the theatre quite naked. Not ſatisfied with theſe follies, he reſolved to appear on the firſt day of the enſuing year 193. as conſul, and at the ſame time as gladiator; and, in order to that, to cauſe *Erucius Clarus* and *Soſius Falco*, the two conſuls elect, to be murdered. This deſign he imparted to *Marcia* the night before it was to be put in execution; telling her, that the conſuls were to be murdered the following night; and that he intended to march in proceſſion, not from the palace, and with the enſigns of the imperial dignity, as was uſual on the firſt of *January*, but from the ſchool of the gladiators, armed like one of them, and attended by them alone. *Marcia* threw herſelf at his feet, and conjured him with tears in her eyes, to reflect on the danger to which he expoſed his life, by truſting it to men deſtitute of all honour and probity. But *Commodus*, without giving ear to her remonſtrances, ordered *Lætus*, captain of the guards, and *Electus*, his chief chamberlain, to get ready the apartment which he had built for himſelf in the houſe where the gladiators belonging to the public were lodged. Theſe two officers did, likewiſe, all that lay in their power to divert him from ſo ſtrange a reſolution; but to no purpoſe: for the emperor, inſtead of yielding to their intreaties, flew into a great paſſion; and, retiring to his chamber, as if he deſigned to repoſe a little, it being then about noon, he ſet down, on a piece of paper, the names of many illuſtrious ſenators, and other perſons of diſtinction, whom he deſigned to murder, in order to enrich himſelf with their eſtates; and at the head of the fatal liſt the names of *Marcia*, *Lætus*, and *Electus*.

He dooms Marcia, Lætus, *and* Electus, *to death;*

Having left this paper upon his bed, when he went to bathe before dinner, according to the *Roman* cuſtom, a little child, with whom he uſed to amuſe himſelf, entering his bedchamber, innocently took it up to play with it; but *Marcia*, meeting him, ſnatched it out of his hand, imagining it to be ſome writing of conſequence. She was greatly ſurpriſed, when, upon viewing it, ſhe found herſelf, *Lætus*, and *Electus*, doomed, with the reſt, to deſtruction. She immediately acquainted *Lætus* and *Electus* with the danger that threatened them, who thereupon reſolved to be beforehand with the tyrant [m] (K).

who conſpire againſt him.

THE

[m] HERODIAN. l. i. p. 486, 487.

(K) Such is the account which *Herodian* gives us of this conſpiracy. But *Dio Caſſius*, who had already related the death of *Domitian* with theſe very circumſtances, tells us only in this place, that

THE conſpirators agreed, that the ſafeſt, and moſt expeditious, way was, to diſpatch him with poiſon; which was accordingly adminiſtred to him by *Marcia*, as he returned very hot from bathing, after having killed ſome wild beaſts. The emperor, being ſoon after ſeized with an heavy ſlumber, retired to refreſh himſelf with a ſhort ſleep (for he ſlept, as hiſtorians obſerve, at all hours); and *Electus*, laying hold of that opportunity, ordered the company to retire, hoping, by that means, to conceal the cauſe and manner of his death; but *Commodus*, awaking when the company was ſcarce gone, was ſeized with a violent vomiting; and, ſuſpecting that poiſon had been given him, began to threaten all about him with immediate death. Hereupon the conſpirators, fearing he ſhould void the poiſon, and eſcape, ſent in haſte for his great favourite *Narciſſus*, the famous wreſtler, who, being gained over by them with great promiſes, threw himſelf upon the emperor, and, ſeizing him by the throat, ſtrangled him [n]. *He is murdered.* Thus died *Commodus*, the laſt night of the year 192. after having lived thirty-one years, and four months; and reigned twelve years, nine months, and fourteen days. He was murdered in a palace which ſtood on mount *Cælius*, where he then reſided, becauſe he could not ſleep, as he ſaid, in the imperial palace [o]. His body was privately conveyed away, and buried in the fields; but was afterwards taken up by *Pertinax*, who ſucceeded to the empire, and depoſited in the monument of *Adrian*. The conſpirators gave out, that he died of an apoplexy; which *Eutropius* ſeems to have believed.

Year of the flood 2540. Of Chriſt 192. Of Rome 940.

HIS death was no ſooner known, than the ſenate aſſembled, without waiting for the return of day; and declared him a public enemy, loaded him with curſes, ordered his ſtatues to be broken to pieces, his name to be raſed out of all public inſcriptions, and demanded his body, that it might be dragged through the ſtreets, and thrown into the *Tiber*. When *Pertinax*, *His ſtatues are pulled down, and his acts annulled.*

[n] HEROD. l. i. p. 488. DIO, p. 828. Comm. vit. p. 52. [o] Vit. Comm. p. 51. EUSEB. chron. p. 226.

that *Lætus* and *Electus*, no longer able to bear the cruelties and follies of *Commodus*, and terrified with his menaces, agreed with *Marcia* to diſpatch him. *Julius Capitolinus* writes, that they acquainted *Pertinax* with their deſign, who did not ſtrive to divert them from it (3). But *Dio Caſſius* (4) and *Herodian* (5) aſſure us, that he was altogether unapprized of their attempt, the conſpirators not having time to think of any thing but diſpatching the tyrant, and ſecuring themſelves.

(3) *Jul. Cap. in Pert. p.* 55. (4) *Dio, l.* lxxiii. *p.* 830. (5) *Herod. l.* ii. *p.* 490.

tinax,

tinax, who had already been declared emperor, anſwered, that it was buried, they deſired to know, who had been ſo bold as to pay that honour to a gladiator, to a parricide, to a more cruel and bloody tyrant, than *Nero* or *Domitian* [p]. Though he was thus generally abhorred as a monſter of cruelty, and an enemy to mankind, yet the emperor *Severus* ſtiled himſelf his brother, cauſed him to be ranked among the gods, appointed prieſts and ſacrifices to his honour, and ordered the anniverſary of his birth to be obſerved with great ſolemnity [q]. However, the empire was greatly indebted to him for eſtabliſhing a company of merchants, and a fleet for conveying corn from *Africa* to *Rome*, when any misfortune ſhould befal the fleet that tranſported it from *Egypt* [r]. Another action we find recorded of his, truly worthy of the ſon of *M. Aurelius*: one *Manilius*, who had been ſecretary to *Avidius Caſſius*, and privy to his conſpiracy, having made his eſcape, and concealed himſelf ever ſince his death, was apprehended in the beginning of the reign of *Commodus*, to whom he offered to diſcover many things of great importance; but *Commodus* would not ſo much as hear him; nay, he burnt all his letters, without opening any one of them [s]. But this happened in the very beginning of his reign, when he followed the advice of the wiſe counſellors whom his father had placed about him. No mention is made in hiſtory of his children; but it appears from an antient medal, that he had ſome, who muſt have died very young [t]. Of the authors who wrote in his reign, we ſhall give an account in our note (L).

COMMODUS

[p] Vit. Com. p. 53. Dio, p. 830. Dio, p. 824. [q] Vit. Com. ibid. & [r] Vit. Com. p. 52. [s] Dio in excerpt. Val. p. 725. [t] Spart. l. vii. p. 659.

(L) *Julius Pollux* inſcribed to *Commodus*, when he had only the title of *Cæſar*, his *onomaſticon*, which is ſtill extant, and conſiſts of ten books. It is a collection of ſynonymous words uſed by the beſt *Greek* writers to expreſs one and the ſame thing. He was one of the preceptors of *Commodus*, who, being chiefly taken with his fine and harmonious voice, honoured him with the profeſſorſhip of eloquence lately founded in the city of *Athens* (6). He was, according to *Philoſtratus*, who ranks him among the *ſophiſts*, well acquainted with the *Greek* tongue, and a good judge of the writings of others, but no great writer himſelf, his ſtile being quite flat and lifeleſs. He was a native of *Naucratis*, once a famous city of *Egypt*, on one of the arms of the *Nile*, to which it gave its name (7). He died in the fifty-eighth

(6) *Philoſt. ſoph.* 38. *p.* 590. (7) *Idem*, *p.* 488.

year

COMMODUS being dead, and his body privately conveyed away, *Lætus* and *Eclectus* repaired, without delay, to the Eclectus house *offer the* Lætus *and*

year of his age (8). In the library of the duke of *Bavaria* is lodged a manuscript chronicle done by one *Julius Pollux*, and extending from the creation to the reign of the emperor *Valens*; which plainly shews, that it is not the work of this *Julius Pollux*, but of another, who flourished near two hundred years after his time (9). *Phrynicus* was cotemporary with *Pollux*, and likewise inscribed to *Commodus*, when he was only *Cæsar*, a work, of which *Photius* had read thirty-five or thirty-six books. It was a collection of words, phrases, and some sentences extracted out of the best *Greek* writers, and alphabetically digested. But these 36 books might have been reduced, according to *Photius*, to six or seven, by retrenching the author's useless digressions and repetitions. In some of these books *Phrynicus* addressed himself to *Commodus*; in others to *Basilides* a sophist of *Miletus*, and to his other friends (1). A collection of *Attic* words, done by *Phrynicus*, has reached us, with a letter to one *Cornelianus* prefixed to it, wherein he mentions another work, compiled by him at the request of *Cornelianus*, which contained a collection of many *Greek* words commonly used, but not quite pure and *Attic*. He owns, that some of them are to be found in the antients; but maintains, that they were therein faulty, and ought not to be imitated (2). We find one *Attidius Cornelianus* governor of *Syria* in the beginning of the reign of *M. Aurelius*; and to him, in all likelihood, the above-mentioned letter is addressed (3). *Phrynicus* is not mentioned by *Suidas*. *Philostratus* speaks of one *Aristænetus* of *Byzantium*, who flourished under *Commodus*, and ranks him among the most eloquent men of his time (4). As for *Aristænetus*, the author of some letters that are still extant, it is manifest, that he wrote after the foundation of *New Rome*; that is, either under *Constantine*, or after his time. Both he and *Apollinaris Sidonius* speak of a celebrated mimic, by name *Caramallus*; whence some writers conjecture, that these two authors lived at the same time; that is, about the middle of the fifth century (5). The author of the letters was, as is evident, a pagan, though in his time paganism was almost utterly abolished; his work being a confused heap of follies and absurdities, altogether unworthy of one who had the least tincture of Christianity (6). Those who have been at the trouble of illustrating these letters with comments, distinguish the author of them from *Aristænetus* quoted by *Stephanus* the geographer (7), and from another of the same name, who was consul with *Honorius* in the year 404. and frankly own, that they know not who he was.

(8) *Suid. p.* 559. (9) *Voss. hist. Græc. l.* iv. *c.* 17. (1) *Phot. c.* 158. (2) *Vide Petr. Hallicum de vit. S. Albericii, p.* 114. *Duaci, ann.* 1626. (3) *M. Aur. vit. p.* 25. (4) *Philost. soph.* 37. *p.* 587. (5) *Voss. rhet. p.* 115. (6) *Vide Aristænet. l.* i. *epist.* 26. *Paris. ann.* 1686. (7) *Steph. p.* 203.

empire to Pertinax;

houſe of *Helvidius Pertinax*, whom they judged the moſt deſerving perſon in the ſenate, and the moſt worthy of the empire. As the death of the emperor was not yet publicly known, *Pertinax*, rouſed out of his ſleep (for it was about midnight) by their entering his houſe, did not doubt but they had been ſent by *Commodus* to murder him. However, he ordered his domeſtics to let them into his room; and, upon their appearing there, without riſing from his bed, or betraying the leaſt concern, he told them, That as *Pompeianus* and he were the only friends of *M. Aurelius* left alive, he had long expected every day to fall a ſacrifice to the cruelty of the tyrant; and, with great firmneſs, bid them ſtrike, and put their orders in execution. *Lætus*, admiring his conſtancy and intrepidity, told him, that the tyrant was dead; and that they were come to offer the empire to him, as the perſon in the ſenate the moſt worthy of it. *Pertinax*, ſuſpecting ſome treachery, even after they had acquainted him with all the circumſtances of the death of the tyrant, ſent ſome of his friends to the place where his body lay; and, upon their return, no room being left for any further doubt, he yielded to their intreaties, accepted the empire, and went to the camp of the prætorian guards with *Lætus* their captain, cauſing, in the mean time, a report to be ſpread in the city, that the emperor was dead of an apoplexy, and that *Pertinax* reigned in his room. The ſoldiers were greatly ſurpriſed to ſee him appear in the camp at that time of night; but *Lætus*, aſſem-

They even ſeem inclined to think it a mere rhapſody, publiſhed under the name of *Ariſtænetus*, which was prefixed to the firſt letter. The whole work ſeems to be a collection of ſeveral paſſages copied out of *Plato*, *Lucian*, and others, and jumbled together, if we may be allowed the expreſſion. *Athenæus*, whoſe work, intituled, *deipnoſophiſta*, has reached our times, lived under *Commodus*; but did not begin to write, as we may well judge from the liberty with which he ſpeaks of him, till after his death (8). But he muſt have been then very old; for he had known *Pancrates*, a famous poet in the reign of *Adrian*, ſince *Caſaubon* pretends, that *Athenæus* himſelf ſpeaks in that place, and not *Callixenes*, whom he had quoted before (9). *Suidas*, who ſuppoſes him to have flouriſhed under *M. Aurelius*, ſtiles him a grammarian, and tells us, that he was a native of *Naucratis* in *Egypt* (1). We have but an abridgment of his *deipnoſophiſta*, made, according to *Caſaubon*, at *Conſtantinople* five or ſix hundred years ſince. This writer is highly eſteemed, and not undeſervedly, by ſuch as are fond of the *Grecian* antiquities. He publiſhed other works; but none of them have reached our times (2).

(8) *Athen. l.* xii. *Voſſ. biſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 15. (9) *Athen. l.* xv. *p.* 677.
(1) *Suid. p.* 111. (2) *Voſſ. biſt. Græc. ibid.*

bling

bling them, told them, that the emperor being dead of an apoplexy, he brought them a new prince, the moſt deſerving perſon in the ſenate, who, he was ſure, would be received with great joy, and acknowleged by all the armies of the empire, ſince he had every-where given ſignal proofs of his courage, prudence, and other princely virtues.

PERTINAX himſelf ſpoke after *Lætus*, and, in his ſpeech, promiſed to each ſoldier three thouſand drachmas; which would have gained them over to his intereſt, had he not added very unſeaſonably, that he hoped, by their means, to reform ſeveral abuſes; for they concluded from thence, that he deſigned to reſtore the antient diſcipline, and deprive them of many privileges, which had been granted them by *Commedus*. This occaſioned an univerſal diſcontent, which, however, they diſſembled for the preſent; and, a ſmall number having, at firſt, ſaluted him with the title of *emperor*, the reſt followed their example, took the oath of allegiance to him, and, after the uſual ſacrifices, accompanied him, crowned with laurel, to the ſenate; where he was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy imaginable by the new conſuls *Quintus Soſius Falco* and *Caius Julius Erucius*, and by all the magiſtrates, and other ſenators, who had aſſembled upon the firſt news of the death of the tyrant (M). When the ſenators had taken their places, *Pertinax*, before they had conferred upon him the title of *Auguſtus*, earneſtly intreated them not to lay ſo heavy a burden upon him in his old age, but to pitch upon ſome other more able to diſcharge ſuch an important truſt, and better qualified by his nobility and birth for ſo high a ſtation [u]. He was not ſatisfied with begging them in general to chooſe another, but particularly named *Acilius Glabrio*, who had been twice conſul, and pretended to derive his pedigree from *Anchiſes* the father of *Æneas*, took him by the hand, and earneſtly intreated him to place himſelf upon the imperial throne; but *Glabrio*, and with him all the reſt, de-

who is acknowleged by the prætorian guards, and the ſenate.

Year of the flood 2541. Of Chriſt 193. Of Rome 941.

[u] HEROD. l. iv. p. 482—493. DIO, l. lxxiii. p. 830. Vit. Pert. p. 55.

(M) Among the reſt came *Pompeianus*, who, in congratulating him upon his new dignity, could not held bewailing, at the ſame time, the unhappy end of his brother-in-law *Commodus*; which *Pertinax* was ſo far from reſenting, that he preſſed him to accept the empire, and would have willingly yielded it to him, ſays *Capitolinus*, could *Pompeianus* have been prevailed upon to accept it.

He accepts the empire against his will.

claring, that they would acknowlege no other prince but *Pertinax*, he was, in the end, obliged to yield [w] (N).

He thanks the ſenate.

AFTER the ſenate had ſaluted him with the title of *Auguſtus*, he returned them thanks in an oration ſuited to the occaſion, which was received with loud acclamations both of the ſenate and people, who were come in crouds to pay their homage to the new prince, whom they highly eſteemed and revered. The conſuls pronounced, according to cuſtom, his panegyric: after which *Falco*, who was one of them, upon the emperor's commending *Lætus*, captain of the guards, and owning himſelf indebted to him for the empire, is ſaid by *Capitolinus* to have rebuked the new prince with great freedom for countenancing one who had been the chief miniſter of the crimes of *Commodus*. *Pertinax* heard him without the leaſt emotion, and only told him, when he had done ſpeaking, that he was young, and had not yet learnt to obey; that *Lætus* had put the orders of *Commodus* in execution againſt his own inclination, and ſhewn, as ſoon as he was at liberty to act as he pleaſed, what were his private ſentiments [x] (O). From the ſenate, the emperor went to offer the uſual ſacrifices in the capitol, viſited the other temples, and then, amidſt the loud acclamations of the people, re-

[w] HEROD. DIO, ibid. [x] Vit. Pert. p. 55.

(N) *Capitolinus*, though noway favourable to *Pertinax*, cannot, however, help owning, that he was raiſed to the empire againſt his will, and that he had ever ſhewn an utter averſion to the ſovereignty, and to all the enſigns of the ſovereign power; in confirmation of which, he alleges a letter written by *Pertinax* himſelf, and recorded by *Marius Maximus* (3).

(O) *Pertinax* received, with the title of *Auguſtus*, all the other titles peculiar to the imperial dignity, that of *the father of his country* not excepted, which is ſaid to have never before been given to any prince on the firſt day of his reign (4). To the reſt he deſired that the title of *the prince of the ſenate* might be added, which had been laid aſide ever ſince the times of the republic (4). At the ſame time the ſenate decreed the title of *Auguſta* to his wife *Flavia Titiana*, and that of *Cæſar* to his ſon. But he could not, by any means, be prevailed upon to accept that honour for his wife, whoſe conduct he diſliked; and, as to his ſon, he told the ſenate, that he ſhould enjoy the title they had decreed him when he deſerved it. He would not even ſuffer his ſon, who was yet very young, to live with him in the palace; but ſent him, and his ſiſter, to the houſe of *Flavius Sulpicianus*, their grandfather by the mother, to be brought up there far from the gaieties and licentiouſneſs of the court.

(3) *Vit. Pert. p.* 59. (4) *Idem, p.* 55. (5) *Dio, l.* lxxiii. *p.* 832.

paired

paired to the palace, where he gave a great entertainment, as it was the firſt day of the new year, to all the magiſtrates, and the chief men of the ſenate, purſuant to an antient cuſtom, which had been neglected by *Commodus* [y] (P).

THUS *Pertinax* began his reign, to the great ſatisfaction of *Rome*, and of all the provinces of the empire, where he was proclaimed emperor with extraordinary demonſtrations of joy; no one doubting, but he would ſoon reſtore the ſtate to its former luſtre, and redreſs the abuſes and diſorders introduced by *Commodus*. He was born on the firſt of *Auguſt* of the year 126. the tenth of *Adrian*'s reign, in a little village called *Villa Martis*, at a ſmall diſtance from *Alba Pompeia*, now *Alba*, in the duchy of *Montferrat*. He is commonly ſtiled by hiſtorians, and in moſt inſcriptions, *Publius Helvius Pertinax*. His father, by name *Helvius Succeſſus*, had either been a ſlave himſelf, or was the ſon of an enfranchiſed ſlave [z], and followed the mean profeſſion of drying wood, and making charcoal. We are told, that he gave the name of *Pertinax* to his ſon, on account of his obſtinately adhering, for ſome time, to the ſame calling, which, however, he was afterwards perſuaded to abandon, and to keep a grammar-ſchool in *Rome*, his father having taken care to have him inſtructed, when very young, in the *Greek* and *Latin* languages. But that profeſſion not anſwering his expectation, he betook himſelf to a military life, and ſerved firſt in *Syria*, in the reign of *Antoninus Pius*, as a common ſoldier; but was ſoon raiſed to the rank of a centurion, by the intereſt of *Lollius Avitus*, or rather *Lollius Gentianus*, his father's patron. *The birth and education of Pertinax.*

HAVING in that poſt diſtinguiſhed himſelf under *Lucius Verus*, *M. Aurelius*'s collegue in the empire, during the *Parthian* war, he was rewarded with the command of a cohort in *Syria*, and afterwards employed in *Britain*, or, as ſome read, *Bithynia*, *Mæſia*, *Italy*, and *Germany*, in which laſt place he commanded the *Roman* fleet. From *Germany* he was ſent into *Dacia*, and there, upon ſome falſe information, deprived of his employment, whatever it was, by *M. Aurelius*, *His riſe and preferments.*

[y] HEROD. l. ii. p. 494. Vit. Pert. p. 55. [z] DIO, l. lxxiii. p. 831. Vit. Pert. p. 52. VICT. epit.

(P) *Dio Caſſius* ſaw that day, for the firſt time, *Pompeianus* in the ſenate; for, during the laſt years of *Commodus*'s reign, he had lived conſtantly in the country, alleging his old age, and the weakneſs of his eyes, for not aſſiſting at the deliberations of the ſenate. But theſe complaints, ſays *Dio*, ceaſed when *Pertinax* was raiſed to the empire, and returned as ſoon as he died (6).

(6) *Dio in excerpt. Val. p.* 729.

notwithſtanding the eſteem he had for him. *Capitolinus* writes, that he was governor of *Dacia*, and charged with aſpiring to the empire. Be that as it will, *M. Aurelius*, being ſoon after convinced of his innocence, created him ſenator, honoured him with the enſigns of prætor, and gave him the command of the firſt legion, which he led againſt the *Germans*, who had made themſelves maſters of *Rhætia* and *Noricum*. Theſe countries he recovered in one campaign; for which eminent ſervice *M. Aurelius* made him conſul. He was afterwards ſent into *Syria* againſt *Avidius Caſſius*; and, upon his death, recalled from thence to guard the banks of the *Danube*, and command the army in *Illyricum*. Having acquitted himſelf in that office to the general ſatisfaction both of the *Romans* and barbarians, he was afterwards preferred to the government of the two *Mœſia's*, then to that of *Dacia*, and laſtly to the government of *Syria*, which he held to the reign of *Commodus*, when he returned to *Rome*; but did not continue long there, being ordered by *Perennis*, who then governed with an abſolute ſway, and ſuſpected all men of merit, to quit the city, and retire to *Liguria*, his native country, where he lived, as it were, in exile, three whole years; during which he embelliſhed the place where he was born with a great number of fine buildings; but would not ſuffer his father's cottage, or rather ſhop, which ſtood in the midſt of them, to be pulled down, or any-ways altered. After the downfal of *Perennis*, he was, by *Commodus*, ſent into *Britain*, to reſtore the antient diſcipline among the troops there, that were ready to revolt; which he compaſſed, not without expoſing himſelf to great dangers. He was recalled from thence at his own requeſt; and, upon his return, charged with the care of ſupplying the city with proviſions; then appointed proconſul of *Africa*; and laſtly, governor of *Rome*, which employment he held when *Commodus* was killed [a].

His character.

THE conſpirators judged him, as we have related above, of all the great men in *Rome*, the moſt worthy of the empire. And truly he was, according to *Herodian*, in every reſpect well qualified for ſo important a truſt, being a man of great wiſdom, extraordinary valour, and a blameleſs character [k]. *Dio Caſſius* extols him on account of his mild temper, his goodneſs, and his application to buſineſs; and adds, that he was grave without being ſullen, mild without indolence, prudent without craft, exact without affectation, frugal without avarice, and great without pride or arrogance [c]. *Aurelius*

[a] Vit. Pert. p. 54, 55. HERODIAN. l. ii. p. 493. DIO, l. lxxiii. p. 831. VICT. epit. & in excerpt. VAL. p. 743. [b] HERODIAN. ibid. [c] DIO, p. 832.

Victor

Victor ſtiles him a perſon thoroughly acquainted with mankind, and one who admired and imitated the manners of the antient *Romans* [d]. The other *Victor* ſays, that he was an enemy to all pomp, and outward appearance; that he received perſons of every rank and condition with great affability, and treated them as his equals. *Julius Capitolinus* is the only writer who gives him but an indifferent character, and charges him with avarice, and want of ſincerity; but that writer lived an hundred years after *Pertinax*, whereas both *Dio Caſſius* and *Herodian* were perſonally acquainted with him. The emperor *Julian* charges him only with having been privy to the conſpiracy [e]; but even from that charge he is cleared by the above-mentioned writers.

His conduct and excellent adminiſtration.

As he found the exchequer quite drained, he ordered all the ſilver ſtatues of *Commodus*, which had been pulled down by a decree of the ſenate, to be melted, and turned into money; and ſold by auction all his concubines and catamites, his arms, his horſes, his gold and ſilver plate, and all his rich moveables; among which particular mention is made of chariots ſo contrived, as to ſhew the hour, and meaſure the way [f]. By this means he raiſed money wherewith to pay the prætorian guards what he had promiſed them, to diſcharge ſeveral debts contracted by *Commodus*, and to give a bounty to the people. At the ſame time he reſtored to the lawful owners whatever had been unjuſtly taken from them by *Commodus*, recalled ſuch as had been baniſhed for the pretended crime of treaſon, put them in poſſeſſion of their eſtates, and puniſhed, with the utmoſt ſeverity, thoſe who had been any-ways acceſſory to their misfortunes. He publicly declared, that he would accept of no legacies or inheritances from ſuch as had children or lawful heirs of their own, ſaying, *I had rather be poor, than wallow in riches acquired by diſhonourable methods.* He aboliſhed all the taxes laid by *Commodus* on the rivers, ports, and highways; and would not ſuffer his name to be ſet up, according to cuſtom, in ſuch places as belonged to the emperors, ſaying, that they did not belong to him, but to the public [g].

The prætorian guards diſſatisfied with him.

THUS by the mildneſs of his government, by his equity and moderation, he gained the affections both of the ſenate and people; but, by attempting to reſtrain the licentiouſneſs of the prætorian guards, he diſobliged both them, and their commander *Lætus*, who at firſt had been ſo zealous in his cauſe. The private men, not doubting but he would reſtore

[d] AUR. VICT. [e] JULIAN. Cæſ. p. 14. [f] Vit. Pert. p. 56. [g] DIO, l. lxxiii. p. 832. Vit. Pert. p. 56—59. HEROD. l. ii. p. 496.

the antient diſcipline among them, had, three days after his acceſſion to the empire, attempted to ſet up another, to wit, *Triarius Maternus Laſcivius*, a ſenator of an illuſtrious family; but he, eſcaping from them while they were carrying him to the camp, fled to *Pertinax*, aſſured him of his loyalty, and then withdrew from *Rome*. This obliged the emperor to confirm to them all the privileges which had been granted them by *Commodus*. However, he kept them to their duty, which they, inured to the licentiouſneſs of the preceding reign, not being able to brook, attempted to raiſe *Falco*, the conſul, to the empire. *Pertinax*, who was then at *Oſtia* giving the neceſſary orders for ſupplying the city with proviſions, returned in great haſte to the palace; and, repairing from thence to the ſenate, complained there of *Falco*, whom the ſenators were for condemning immediately as a traitor, and a public enemy. But *Pertinax*, riſing up, cried out, that in his reign no ſenator, however guilty, ſhould be put to death; and publicly declared, that he forgave him. *Falco*, being thus diſmiſſed, retired to his eſtate, where he lived in ſafety. Some writers pretend, that he was utterly unacquainted with the deſign of the prætorian guards, who had agreed to make him emperor, without imparting their reſolution to him. However that be, the ſoldiers, highly exaſperated againſt *Pertinax*, who laboured to revive the antient diſcipline, and ſtirred up underhand by *Lætus*, who did not think his former ſervices ſufficiently rewarded, began openly to mutiny, and declare that they would no longer obey the orders of *Pertinax*, nor acknowlege him for emperor. To exaſperate them ſtill more, *Lætus* cauſed ſeveral of them to be publicly executed, as privy to the late conſpiracy; pretending, that he obeyed therein the orders of *Pertinax*, though the prince was quite unappriſed of theſe proceedings.

They revolt, and attempt to raiſe Falco *to the empire.*

By this means the mutiny increaſing daily, on the twenty-eighth of *March* a body of about three hundred of the mutineers, more bold than the reſt, leaving the camp, and paſſing through the ſtreets of *Rome* with their drawn ſwords, went ſtrait to the palace, which they entered without oppoſition, the emperor's freedmen and officers either betaking themſelves to flight through fear, or treacherouſly opening all the gates to them. *Pertinax*, in the mean time, knew nothing of what paſſed, till his wife, in a great fright, brought him word, that the prætorian guards had revolted, and were already in the palace. Hereupon the emperor diſpatched *Sulpicianus*, his father-in-law, whom he had appointed governor of *Rome*, to appeaſe the tumult in the camp, and ordered *Lætus* to ſtop thoſe who had entered the palace. But *Lætus*, covering his face, that he might not be known, inſtead of obeying

Three hundred of them march to Rome, *and enter the palace.*

obeying the emperor's orders, retired to his own houſe. As the mutineers ſtill advanced, ſome of the emperor's friends, who had remanded with him, adviſed him to retire, and conceal himſelf, till the people, by whom he was greatly beloved, could come to his aſſiſtance. But *Pertinax* rejected their advice, ſaying, That to ſave his life by flight was a thing altogether unworthy of an emperor. He therefore reſolved to go forth, and meet them in perſon, believing that, awed by his preſence, they would return to a ſenſe of their duty. Accordingly, he appeared unexpectedly before them; and aſked them, without betraying the leaſt fear or concern, whether they, whoſe duty it was to defend the emperor's perſon, were come with an intent to betray and murder him. At the ſame time he repreſented to them the heinouſneſs of their crime, the ignominy which it would caſt upon their memories, and the fatal conſequences of ſo black a treaſon, with ſuch ſpirit and energy, that many of them, moved by his words, began to ſheath their ſwords, and retire. But a *Tungrian*, by name *Tauſius*, darting his javelin at the emperor's breaſt, and crying out, *The ſoldiers ſend you this*, the reſt fell on with great fury, and diſpatched him with many wounds. The emperor made no reſiſtance; but, covering his head with his robe, and calling upon *Jupiter the Avenger*, received their blows. *Eclectus* alone remained with him, and endeavoured to defend him; but, after having killed two of the ſoldiers, was himſelf run thro', and left dead by his maſter, for whoſe ſafety he had ſacrificed his life. The ſoldiers cut off his head, and carried it upon the point of a ſpear, as it were in triumph, to the camp, whither they retired with great precipitation, before the people could aſſemble, who, they knew, would not fail to revenge the death of a prince whom they ſo tenderly loved.

The intrepidity of Pertinax.

His death.

And truly it was no ſooner known, that *Pertinax* had been murdered, than the enraged populace flocked together from all quarters of the city; and uttering dreadful menaces againſt the authors of his death, ran up and down the ſtreets in queſt of them. The ſenators were no leſs concerned for his death, than the people; the more, becauſe they were now convinced, that the ſoldiers would ſuffer none to reign but tyrants. However, as they had more to loſe than the common people, they did not offer to revenge his death; but either ſhut themſelves up in their own houſes, or in thoſe of the ſoldiers of their acquaintance, thinking themſelves there moſt ſafe [h]. Such was the unfortunate and much-lamented end of *Publius Helvius Pertinax*, after he had lived ſixty-ſix

He is univerſally lamented.

[h] Dio, p. 834, 835. Herod. l. ii. p. 498. Vit. Pert. p. 58.

years,

years, ſeven months, and twenty-ſix or twenty-eight days; and reigned, according to *Dio Caſſius*, eighty-ſeven days, that is, from the firſt of *January* to the twenty-eighth of *March* [i]. His body, together with his head, was interred with great pomp by *Didius Julianus*, his ſucceſſor, in the burying-place of his wife's family. The emperor *Septimius Severus*, with the title of emperor, took the name of *Pertinax*, which he knew would, above any thing elſe, recommend him to the army in *Illyricum*, and to the *Roman* people. He puniſhed, with great ſeverity, all thoſe who had been acceſſory to his death, diſbanded the prætorian guards, honoured his memory with a moſt magnificent funeral, at which was carried the effigies of the deceaſed prince, pronounced himſelf his panegyric, and cauſed him to be ranked in the number of the gods, appointing the ſon chief-prieſt to his father. The day of his acceſſion to the empire was yearly celebrated with the *Circenſian* games; and his birth-day, for many years after, with other ſports [k]. He peformed great things, ſays *Herodian*, during his ſhort reign, and would have reſtored the empire to its former luſtre, had he reigned longer [l].

Honours paid him after his death.

PERTINAX had ſent, as we have related above, *Flavius Sulpicianus*, his father-in-law, to appeaſe the tumult in the camp of the prætorian guards; but, in the mean time, the news of his death reaching the camp, and the three hundred ſoldiers arriving ſoon after with his head ſtuck on a ſpear, *Sulpicianus* was not aſhamed to apply to the murderers of his ſon-in-law for the empire, and to offer them money for it. But they, reſolved to make the moſt of it, cauſed it to be proclaimed on the ramparts of the camp, that the empire was expoſed to ſale, and the beſt bidder ſhould have it. When news of this ſcandalous proclamation was firſt brought to *Rome*, *Didius Julianus*, the wealthieſt man in the city, was entertaining ſome of his friends at a banquet, who, in the midſt of their mirth and jollity, adviſed him, as he had more ready money than any man in *Rome*, not to loſe the opportunity of making ſo valuable a purchace. *Julianus* raviſhed with the dazling proſpect of rule and empire, hearkened to their advice, roſe from table, and haſtened to the camp; where he repreſented to the ſoldiers, whom *Sulpicianus* was haranguing in his own behalf, that his competitor would not fail one day to revenge the death of his ſon-in-law; and gave them it under his hand, that he would reſtore all things to the condition they were in under *Commodus*. This pleaſed the li-

The empire expoſed to ſale;

[i] Dio, l. lxxiii. p. 834. [k] Idem, p. 840—842. Vict. epit. Vit. Pert. p. 59. Herod. p. 495. [l] Herod. ibid.

centious and diſſolute ſoldiery, who had committed, in that prince's reign, all ſorts of diſorders with impunity.

HOWEVER, they would hear what they both offered, and ſuffered them to bid upon one another, *Sulpicianus* in the camp, and *Julianus* at the gate; till the latter, riſing at once from five thouſand drachmas a man to ſix thouſand two hundred and fifty, to be immediately paid, ſilenced the other, was admitted into the camp, and proclaimed emperor, on condition that he ſhould forgive his competitor, and never take the leaſt notice of his aſpiring to the empire [m] (Q). *M. Didius Severus Julianus*, thus raiſed to the empire, was deſcended from an illuſtrious family, come originally from *Milan*, in which city his grandfather was born. The emperor was the ſon of *Petronius Didius Severus*, and *Æmilia Clara*, the grand-daughter of the celebrated civilian *Salvius Julianus*, who flouriſhed under *Adrian*, and compiled the *perpetual edict*. He was born on the twenty-ninth or thirtieth of *January* in the year 133. the ſixteenth of *Adrian*'s reign, and brought up by *Domitia Lucilla*, the mother of *M. Aurelius*. That prince, who had a particular affection for him, created him firſt quæſtor, then ædile, afterwards prætor; and when the time of his prætorſhip expired, gave him the command of the twenty-ſecond legion, then quartered in *Germany*. Not long after, he appointed him governor of *Belgic Gaul*, where, with the few forces he had under his command, he drove back the *Chauci*, who had made an irruption into the *Roman* territories; for which ſervice he was rewarded with the conſulſhip. After he had diſcharged that office, he was ſent into *Illyricum*, which country he defended with great valour againſt the neighbouring barbarians; and was, on that

and purchaſed by Didius Julianus.

His extraction and preferments.

[m] DIO, p. 835. HEROD. p. 499.

(Q) *Spartian* relates his acceſſion to the empire in a different manner: according to him, the ſenate aſſembled upon the news of the emperor's death; but *Julianus*, coming too late, and finding the doors ſhut, was accoſted by two tribunes, *P. Florianus* and *Vettius Aper*, who encouraged him to ſeize on the empire. *Julianus*, believing that *Sulpicianus* had been proclaimed emperor by the prætorian guards, anſwered, that the empire was already diſpoſed of; but they, nevertheleſs, carried him to the camp againſt his will, where, upon his warning them not to chooſe one who would undoubtedly revenge the death of *Pertinax*, and his promiſing to reſpect the memory of *Commodus*, he was proclaimed *Auguſtus* upon the above-mentioned condition (7).

(7) *Spart. in Jul. p. 60.*

account,

account, preferred to the government of *Lower Germany*; whence he was recalled to *Rome*, and charged with the care of ſupplying the city with proviſions [n]. He narrowly eſcaped being put to death in the reign of *Commodus*, as privy to the pretended conſpiracy of *Salvius Julianus*, his uncle by the mother, and was for ſome time confined to the city of *Milan*. But *Commodus*, aſhamed of having cauſed ſo many other ſenators to be inhumanly maſſacred, not only diſcharged *Julianus*, but preferred him to the government of *Bithynia*, and afterwards to the conſulſhip, in which he had *Pertinax* for his collegue, whom he ſucceeded in the proconſulſhip of *Africa*. Hence *Pertinax* uſed to call him his collegue, and his ſucceſſor; which was afterwards interpreted as a preſage of his being ſucceeded by *Julianus* in the empire [o].

His character.

ALL authors agree, that *Didius Julianus* was poſſeſſed of immenſe wealth; but diſagree as to his character. *Dio Caſſius*, who had been named by *Pertinax* to the prætorſhip, charges him with avarice and gluttony, and paints him as one who was wholly intent upon amaſſing riches by any means, however ſhameful and unjuſt, and, at the ſame time, ſparing no expence to pleaſe and ſatisfy his palate. He ſpoke without judgment, ſays that writer, and uttered ſuch things in public as made him be pitied by all men of ſenſe. He was, underhand, a great encourager of diſturbances and troubles in the ſtate, and is ſuppoſed to have privately ſtirred up the ſoldiers againſt *Pertinax*, though his nephew had married that prince's daughter. *Dio Caſſius* adds, that he himſelf, in pleading, had often reproached him in public with his crying injuſtices [p]. *Herodian* writes, that he was generally deſpiſed on account of his diſorderly life, and that he thought of nothing but his pleaſures and diverſions [q]. *Spartian*, on the other hand, tells us, that, in all his governments and employments under *M. Aurelius*, he acquitted himſelf with great integrity; from which, however, he was ſaid to have ſwerved in the reign of *Commodus*. He adds, that he was ſo covetous, as not to allow himſelf ſometimes any other food but roots and greens; which is point-blank contrary to what we read in *Dio Caſſius* and *Herodian*, both which writers lived at that time in *Rome*. *Spartian*, however, owns, that *Julianus* was charged with eating and drinking to exceſs, with gaming, and uſing ſuch weapons as were peculiar to the gladiators, though, in his youth, he had never been addicted to any of theſe vices [r]. He ſhewed himſelf, according to that writer, kind, affable, and

[n] SPART. in Jul. p. 60. [o] Idem ibid. p. 61. [p] DIO, l. lxxiii. p. 835. [q] HEROD. l. ii. p. 498. [r] Julian. vit. p. 63.

obliging

obliging to all men; and was ſo far from being elevated with his new dignity, that, on the contrary, he ſeemed rather to debaſe himſelf too much.

As ſoon as he was declared emperor, he appointed, at the requeſt of the prætorian guards, *Flavius Genialis* and *Tullius Criſpinus* their commanders. At the ſame time he accepted the name of *Commodus*, which they begged him to take upon him; and this name is ſtill to be ſeen on ſome of his medals [s]. After the uſual ceremonies, the prætorian guards accompanied him in battle-array to the ſenate. The people did not offer to oppoſe their march; but no acclamations were heard; ſome, who were at a diſtance, even uttered invectives againſt him. As for the ſenators, thoſe among them, who were the moſt grieved to ſee him emperor, were the moſt forward in congratulating him with feigned joy on his acceſſion to the empire. Among theſe was, as he himſelf owns, *Dio Caſſius* the hiſtorian [t]. *Julianus* made a ſpeech in the ſenate, ſays *Dio*, who was preſent, worthy of himſelf; wherein he deſired them to confirm what the ſoldiers had done, as if he would hold the empire of them; but told them at the ſame time, that he was the fitteſt perſon they could chooſe. The ſenate immediately paſſed a decree, declaring him emperor, and his family patrician, and inveſting him with the tribunitial and proconſular powers. At the ſame time his wife *Manlia Scantilla*, and his daughter *Didia Clara*, were honoured with the title of *Auguſtæ*: From the ſenate he repaired to the palace, where he found the body of *Pertinax*, which he cauſed to be honourably interred, and paſſed the night in great agonies, reflecting on the fate of *Pertinax*, which he apprehended might in the end be his own [u]. Thus *Capitolinus*; but *Dio Caſſius*, who was an eye-witneſs of what paſſed at *Rome* under *Julianus*, tells us, that the new prince, entering the palace, and deſpiſing the frugal ſupper which had been prepared for *Pertinax* (for that prince was murdered, and he declared emperor, on the ſame day), ordered a magnificent feaſt to be got ready, and paſſed the night in mirth and jollity, leaving the body of the deceaſed prince in the place where he had been murdered [w].

He takes the name of Commodus.

He is acknowleged by the ſenate.

THE next morning, the ſenate and the *Roman* knights coming to wait upon him, he received them in a moſt obliging manner, calling them, ſays *Capitolinus*, according to their age, his father, his brother, or his ſon. He went afterwards to the ſenate, and returned them thanks for having admitted him to adminiſter, in conjunction with them, the

He receives them in a very obliging manner.

[s] BIRAG. p. 262. [t] DIO, l. lxxiii. p. 835. [u] Vit. Pert. p. 61. [w] DIO, l. lxxiii. p. 836.

ſove-

ſovereign power, and for the honours they had conferred on his wife and daughter. On this occaſion he had received, according to *Capitolinus*, the title of *father of his country*, which, however, does not appear on any of his medals. From the ſenate he went to the capitol to offer there the uſual ſacrifices, the ſenators, who attended him, ſtriving to ſhew great joy in the height of their grief. But the people, ſtrangers to all diſſimulation, openly loaded him with curſes and reproaches, hoping by that means to oblige him to reſign the power, which he had purchaſed of the ſoldiery in ſo ſhameful a manner. They even diſcharged ſhowers of ſtones at him, and wiſhed aloud, as he was ſacrificing in the capitol, that he might never obtain any favour of the gods. The emperor endeavoured to appeaſe them with great promiſes; but they anſwered boldly, that they ſcorned to receive any thing from ſuch an uſurper and parricide: inſomuch that, to diſperſe them (for they ſtopped up the way), he was obliged to order the ſoldiers to fall upon thoſe who ſtood neareſt; which they did accordingly, and killed or wounded great numbers of them. This exaſperated the people to ſuch a degree, that they all took arms; and, in the circus, where the emperor aſſiſted at the public games, renewed their curſes and imprecations both againſt him and the prætorian guards, imploring aloud the aſſiſtance of the other armies and generals, namely, of *Peſcennius Niger*, who, at that time, commanded a powerful army in *Syria*. All this *Julianus* bore with great patience, ſays *Spartian*; and, during his ſhort reign, gave many inſtances of an extraordinary ſweet temper [x]. He appointed *Repentinus*, his ſon-in-law, captain of the prætorian guards, in the room of *Sulpitianus*, father-in-law to the deceaſed emperor; and, to gratify the ſoldiery, re-eſtabliſhed many things, which had been appointed by *Commodus*, and aboliſhed by *Pertinax*.

He is hated, and openly curſed, by the people.

His government.

AMONG the many great captains, who commanded at this time the *Roman* armies in the different provinces of the empire, the moſt famed were *Peſcennius Niger* in *Syria*, *Septimius Severus* in *Illyricum*, and *Clodius Albinus* in *Britain*. *Clodius Albinus* was a native of *Adrumetum* in *Africa*, but deſcended from the *Poſthumian* and *Ceionian* families, two of the moſt illuſtrious in *Rome*. His father *Ceionius Poſthumus* gave him the name of *Albinus*, becauſe at his birth he appeared whiter than new-born children uſually are, the *Latin* word *albus* importing *white*. He was brought up in *Africa*, where he ſtudied the *Greek* and *Latin* languages, in which he was well verſed. The antients extol his knowlege

Clodius Albinus, *his extraction and preferments.*

[x] Vit. Pert. p. 61.

and

and learning, and mention, with great commendations, a treatiſe, which he compoſed on agriculture. But his martial genius did not allow him to purſue the peaceable profeſſion of letters. When he was yet very young, he was often heard to repeat, among the children of his age at ſchool, that verſe of *Virgil*, — *Arma amens capio, nec ſat rationis in armis*; eſpecially the firſt part of it, *Arma amens capio*, that is, *I am for following the profeſſion of arms, right or wrong*; *I am for a military life at all events.* He therefore entered into the ſervice very early, and, by the intereſt of *Lollius Serenus*, *Bæbius Mætianus*, and *Ceionius Poſthumianus*, men of rank, and nearly related to him, was firſt raiſed to the command of a troop of *Illyrian* horſe, and ſoon after to that of the firſt and fourth legions. He commanded the army in *Bithynia* in the reign of *M. Aurelius*, and reſtrained them from joining, as they deſigned, *Avidius Caſſius*, for which ſervice he was rewarded with the conſulſhip. In the reign of *Commodus* he was appointed governor of *Gaul*, where he gained great advantages over the *Friſians*, and other neighbouring nations. From *Gaul* he was tranſlated into *Britain*, which government he held at this time [y]. The emperor *Commodus*, ſuſpecting that *Septimius Severus*, governor of *Illyricum*, and *Nonius Murcus*, who commanded an army in ſome other province, deſigned to revolt, in order to engage *Albinus* in his cauſe, wrote a letter to him, if *Capitolinus* is to be credited, giving him leave to aſſume, if he ſaw occaſion, the title of *Cæſar*, and all the enſigns of that dignity; which he prudently declined, fearing to be involved in the ruin of that tyrant, which he apprehended to be at hand (R). The ſame writer

[y] Vit. Alb. p. 79—84.

(R) This letter was conceived in the following terms: Beſides the other letters, which I have written to you concerning your ſucceſſor, and the affairs of the public, this, you ſee, is a familiar letter, written with my own hand; in which I give you leave, whenever you ſhall ſee occaſion, to take upon you, at the head of the army, the name and quality of *Cæſar*. For I hear, that *Septimius Severus* and *Nonius Murcus* ſpeak ill of me to the army, in order to eſtrange from me the minds of the ſoldiery, and pave themſelves a way to the throne. I give you leave, when you think fit, to aſſume the name of *Cæſar*, and to preſent the ſoldiers with a donative of three pieces of gold a man. I ſend you letters for my receivers, ſealed with the head of an *Amazon*, which you will deliver to them, when you have occaſion for the money; otherwiſe they will not ſupply you with it out of the treaſury. That you may not be without the enſigns of the dignity to which I raiſe

writer adds, that, ſome time after, a falſe report of the death of *Commodus* being ſpread in *Britain*, *Albinus*, giving credit to it, encouraged his ſoldiers to aboliſh monarchy, and re-eſtabliſh the antient republican government; which gained him the affections of the ſenate, but provoked *Commodus* to ſuch a degree, that he immediately ſent *Junius Severus* to ſucceed him in the government of *Britain*; but he did not arrive there before the death of *Commodus* was publicly known in that province [z].

His character.

M. AURELIUS had a particular value for him, and thought him, as appears from one of his letters to the captains of the guards quoted by *Capitolinus* [a] (S), well qualified, on account of his ſeverity and gravity, for the command of an army. But his ſeverity ſeems to have bordered upon cruelty; for he is ſaid never to have pardoned the leaſt fault, but to have crucified even the centurions, when he found them any-way remiſs in their duty. He was unjuſt to his domeſtics, inſupportable to his wife, and to all ſurly and moroſe. He was

[z] Vit. Alb. p. 79.

[a] Idem, p. 83.

I raiſe you, I give you leave to wear a purple robe even in my preſence: the purple you ſhall have the firſt time I ſee you, but not enriched with gold, which my great-grandfather *Ælius Verus* never wore, tho' adopted by *Adrian* (8).

(S) *M. Aurelius* wrote the following letter concerning him to the captains of the guards: I have entruſted *Albinus*, of the family of the *Ceionii*, with the command of two cohorts. He is, it is true, an *African*, but free from the vices of that country. He is the ſon-in-law of *Plautillus*, and, beſides, a man of great experience, of a grave and compoſed behaviour, and capable of maintaining the neceſſary diſcipline in a camp: at leaſt, I am ſure we need not apprehend any thing from him. I have doubled his ſalary, and deſire you to encourage him, aſſuring him, that his ſervices ſhall not remain unrewarded (9). The ſame prince wrote another letter concerning him ſoon after the rebellion of *Avidius Caſſius*, in which he expreſſes himſelf thus: The fidelity of *Albinus* deſerves the higheſt encomiums; for, when the forces in *Bithynia* were ready to revolt, and join *Caſſius*, he ſpared no pains to maintain them in their duty, and defeat their evil deſigns. I therefore think him worthy of the conſulſhip, and accordingly deſign to ſubſtitute him in the room of *Caſſius Papirius*, who is dangerouſly ill, and, as I am informed, paſt recovery. But of this take no notice till he is dead, leſt it ſhould come to the ears either of *Papirius* himſelf, or his friends; which would give me great concern (1).

Vit. Albin. p. 47. (9) *Idem ibide* (1) *Idem, p. 48.*

(8) very

very proper in his dreſs, but quite otherwiſe in his repaſts, minding nothing but plenty; for he had an extraordinary appetite, and is ſaid by *Capitolinus* to have often eat at a breakfaſt five hundred figs, an hundred peaches, ten melons, twenty bunches of grapes, an hundred beccafico's, and four hundred oyſters [b]. Sometimes he abſtained altogether from wine, and ſometimes drank to exceſs even in the time of war. He was far from being chaſte, but abhorred and puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity all ſorts of unnatural luſt. As he was, notwithſtanding his many vices, a man of great courage and ſkill in military affairs, he was commonly called a ſecond *Catiline*. The harangue he made to his troops in *Britain* againſt monarchy, gained him the affections of the ſenate to ſuch a degree, that no prince, ſays his hiſtorian, was ever loved by them ſo much as he [c].

Pescennius Niger, *his extraction, preferments, and character.*

Caius Pescennius Niger Justus, as he is ſtiled on ſome medals [d], was deſcended of an equeſtrian family, and born at *Aquinum*. He had but a ſmall eſtate, and little learning; but nevertheleſs raiſed himſelf from the degree of a centurion to the firſt military employments in the empire. He had ſome command in *Gaul*, where he contracted a great friendſhip with *Septimius Severus*, at that time governor of the country of *Lyons*, who recommended him to the emperor *Commodus* as an excellent ſoldier, and experienced commander. He was afterwards made conſul, at the requeſt of the troops under his command [e]. *Herodian* calls him a gallant ſoldier, an excellent officer, an experienced general, an illuſtrious conſul, and an unfortunate emperor [f]. He kept the ſoldiers to their duty, and would not ſuffer them to exact any thing from the people, nor the officers from the ſoldiers, upon any account whatſoever. He cauſed two tribunes to be ſtoned for having deducted a very inconſiderable ſum from the pay of the men under their command, and condemned ten ſoldiers to be beheaded for ſtealing a fowl; but the whole army interceding in their behalf, he thought it adviſeable to ſpare their lives, and only oblige them to pay to the countryman the price of ten fowls. He would not allow his ſoldiers, while they were in the field, to drink wine, nor to uſe plate, or have any gold or ſilver about them, when they went to battle, that the enemy might not, in caſe of any misfortune, ſet themſelves off with their ſpoils. He ſuffered no bakers to follow the army, obliging the ſoldiers to content themſelves with biſket. Some troops, that were in gariſon

[b] Vit. Alb. p. 83. [c] Idem ibid. [d] Birag. p. 264. [e] Spart. in Nigr. p. 75. [f] Herod. l. iii. p. 501.

on the frontiers of *Egypt*, having one day begged leave to drink wine, he returned them no other anſwer, than that they were but at a ſmall diſtance from the *Nile*. He required nothing of the ſoldiers, but what he practiſed himſelf. In his garb and dreſs he little varied from a common ſoldier, and his diet was the ſame with that of the meaneſt in the army. He always led the march on foot, with his head uncovered, in all ſeaſons and climates. He obliged even his own domeſtics to carry burdens on their backs, that they might not ſeem to walk at their eaſe, while the ſoldiers were loaded with their arms and baggage (T).

Septimius Severus, *his character.*

SEVERUS was a perſon endowed with extraordinary talents, and in every reſpect infinitely ſuperior both to *Albinus* and *Niger*. He was generally eſteemed, and not undeſervedly, the moſt active, vigilant, laborious, and enterpriſing man in the whole empire; inured to labour, indefatigable in every duty of war, equal to the greateſt commanders of antient times, a great maſter of civil affairs, prompt in foreſeeing

(T) He had conſtantly before his eyes *Marius*, *Hannibal*, and other famed commanders of antiquity; and when, upon his being ſaluted emperor, the perſon, who, according to cuſtom, was appointed to pronounce his panegyric, began to commend him, he immediately interrupted the orator, and deſired him to ſay ſomething in praiſe of *Marius*, of *Hannibal*, or of ſome other renowned commander, who was dead. *Tell us*, ſaid he, *what they have done worthy of imitation; for to praiſe the living is an uſeleſs taſk, eſpecially to praiſe an emperor, who can puniſh, reward, proſcribe, and condemn: as for me, I only deſire to pleaſe while I live; when I am dead, then praiſe me, if I deſerve it.* If he had prevailed, no one doubted but he would have reſtored the empire to its former luſtre, without uſing that cruelty for which *Severus* is blamed (2). For, tho' he was naturally ſevere, ſays *Herodian* (3), yet he governed with great mildneſs, and was always ready to contribute to the diverſions of the people; which gained him the affections of the *Syrians*, eſpecially of the *Antiochians*, who delighted in nothing but ſhews and ſpectacles. *Spartian* commends him on account of his chaſtity, which the *Gauls*, ſays that writer, admired in him above all his other virtues (4). On the other hand, *Victor* the younger ſtiles him a man abandoned to all manner of lewdneſs. *Dio Caſſius* ſpeaks of him as a perſon no-way remarkable either for his good or bad qualities (5). However, it is certain, that he was univerſally eſteemed and beloved by the people of *Rome*, who all wiſhed to ſee him emperor (6).

(2) *Vit. Nigr. p.* 75——77. (3) *Herod. l.* ii. *p.* 501, *& l.* iii. *p.* 518.
(4) *Vit. Nigr. p.* 76. (5) *Dio, l.* lxxiv. *p.* 842. (6) *Herod. ibid.* *Vit. Nigr. p.* 74.

events, dextrous at concerting ſchemes, a conſtant friend, a dangerous enemy, and equally violent in his love and hatred. He was a great diſſembler, full of deceit, and ever ready to ſacrifice his reputation, and every thing elſe, to his intereſt and ambition [g]. He was naturally inclined to cruelty and avarice, but more to cruelty; for we find ſome inſtances of his generoſity, but none of his humanity; nay, he is ſaid never to have pardoned a fault, or performed a good-natured action [h]. He was an enemy to all pomp and ſhew, frugal in his diet, contenting himſelf for the moſt part with roots and greens, but ſometimes, tho' ſeldom, drinking to exceſs. In the field, his diet was the ſame with that of the common ſoldiers; he ſhared with them all their labours, and encouraged them more by his example, than by words, to bear with patience the toils of war, which, notwithſtanding his ſeverity, gained him the affections of the ſoldiery [i]. *Severus* was born at *Leptis*, a city of *Libya Tripolitana*; but his anceſtors had been *Roman* knights, and afterwards admitted into the ſenate; for he was nephew by the father to two conſuls, *M. Agrippa* and *Septimius Severus*; the latter was twice conſul. His father, *M. Septimius Geta*, had another ſon, named likewiſe *Geta*, and a daughter; but neither her name, nor that of her ſon, have been tranſmitted to us [k]. *His extraction,*

SEVERUS was born on the eleventh of *April*, in the eighth year of the reign of *Antoninus Pius*. He ſtudied firſt in *Africa*, and afterwards at *Rome*, the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues; declaimed in public, when only eight years old; applied himſelf to the ſtudy of philoſophy and eloquence; and excelled, according to *Spartian*, *Aurelius Victor*, and *Eutropius*, in each branch of polite literature. *Dio*, on the contrary, writes, that he had more inclination than ability to learn the liberal arts [l]; and *Spartian* owns, that he ſpoke to the end of his life the *Latin* tongue with the *African* accent [m]. He was inſtructed in the knowlege of the law, together with *Papinianus*, by *Q. Servidius Scævola*, who publiſhed various books of juriſprudence, whereof ſome fragments are ſtill preſerved in the *pandects* [n]. He ſeems to have had likewiſe ſome knowlege of phyſic [o], and is ſaid to have been thoroughly acquainted with judicial aſtrology, a ſcience to which the *education,*

[g] DIO, l. lxxiii. p. 837. & l. lxxvi. p. 869. HEROD. l. ii. p. 503. VICT. epit. TERTULL. apol. c. 4. [h] HEROD. l. iii. p. 527. [i] Idem, l. ii. p. 507. [k] SPART. vit. Sev. p. 64. DIO in excerpt. VAL. p. 742. GRUT. p. 268. [l] DIO in excerpt. VAL. p. 741. [m] Vit. Sev. p. 71. [n] Vit. Caracall. cum not. CASAUB. p. 132. & JONS. l. iii. c. 12. [o] GALEN. ther. t. ii. p. 457, 458.

Africans were generally addicted [p]. In his youth he was accuſed of adultery, but acquitted by *Didius Julianus*, at that time proconſul of *Africa*.

and employments.

AFTERWARDS he came to *Rome*, where, after he had pleaded for ſome time with little ſucceſs at the bar, he was, by the intereſt of his uncle *Septimius Severus*, admitted by the emperor *M. Aurelius* into the ſenate, and appointed governor of the iſland of *Sardinia*; whence he was ſent to command the troops in *Africa*, in quality of lieutenant to the proconſul. Upon his return from *Africa*, he was created prætor; and, after his prætorſhip, preferred to the command of the fourth legion, then quartered in *Syria*. On his journey into that province, he viſited the city of *Athens*, and received ſome affront there, for which he deprived the inhabitants, when emperor, of many privileges granted them by his predeceſſors. Next, he was raiſed to the government of *Gallia Lugdunenſis*, or the country of *Lyons*, where, by his affability, and obliging behaviour, he gained the affections of all. From *Gaul* he was removed to *Pannonia*, which province he governed with proconſular authority, as he did afterwards that of *Sicily*. Upon his return to *Rome*, he was accuſed of having conſulted the aſtrologers about his attaining the empire; but, as *Commodus* began then to be univerſally hated, he was acquitted, and his accuſer crucified. He was raiſed ſoon after to the conſulſhip, and then appointed commander of all the troops employed in *Illyricum* to defend the banks of the *Danube* [q] (U).

To

[p] Get. vit. p. 90. Dio, l. lxxvi. p. 866. [q] Vit. Sev. p. 64, 65. Dio, l. lxxiv. p. 840. Herod. l. ii. p. 503.

(U) He married to his firſt wife one *Martia*; and, upon her death, *Julia*, a native of *Emeſia* in *Syria*, for no other reaſon but becauſe the aſtrologers had told her, that ſhe was to marry a ſovereign. She is ſtiled, in ſeveral inſcriptions, *Julia - Domna Auguſta, the mother of the armies, of the ſenate, of her country*, &c (7). By her *Severus* had *Baſſianus*, commonly known by the name of *Caracalla*, born the fourth of *April* 188. *Geta*, born in *Milan*, the twenty-ſeventh of *May* 189. and two daughters, who were married after their father's acceſſion to the empire. *Julia* diſhonoured with her lewdneſs her huſband and family, and had the mortification to hear herſelf publicly reproached by a *Caledonian* lady with the ſame vices, which ſhe pretended to condemn in her (8). She was likewiſe accuſed of conſpiring

(7) *Spon. p.* 270. *Spanh. l.* vi. *p.* 628. *Dio, l.* lxxvi. *p.* 869.

(8) *Aur. Vict. Sev. vit. p.* 71.

againſt

To resume now the thread of our history, and return to *Didius Julianus*: while he was striving to gain the affections of the *Roman* people by the mildness of his government, news were brought him, that *Pescennius Niger* had revolted in *Syria*, and was acknowleged emperor by all the Eastern nations, and the troops under his command. Soon after he received the like tidings from *Illyricum*, where *Severus* had been saluted by the army, which he commanded there, with the title of *Augustus*. The armies in *Gaul* likewise swore allegiance to him, as soon as they heard, that he had taken upon him the title of emperor. Their example was followed by all the armies, provinces, and cities in *Europe*, except the city of *Byzantium*; so that *Severus*, having secured the provinces behind him, and left some troops to guard the banks of the *Danube*, began his march to *Rome*. As he was well apprised, that *Albinus*, governor of *Britain*, was in a condition to thwart his designs, he wrote an obliging letter to him; wherein he declared his intention of adopting him, and gave him the title of *Cæsar*, which *Albinus* assumed at the head of his army, with all the ensigns of his new dignity, bestowing on that occasion great encomiums on *Severus*. As for *Niger*, *Severus* did not so much as attempt to gain, or rather deceive him, well knowing, that he would not hearken to any proposals whatsoever [s].

Pescennius Niger *declared emperor in the East, and* Severus *in* Illyricum. Year of the flood 2541. Of Christ 193. Of Rome 941.

JULIANUS, in the mean time, repairing to the senate, caused *Severus* to be declared an enemy to his country, and likewise his soldiers, if they did not abandon him within a limited time. Deputies were even sent by the senate to persuade the soldiers to quit the party of *Severus*, and join *Julianus*. Among these was *Vespronius Candidus*, a consular of great authority, *Valerius Catulinus*, who was named to take upon him the command of the troops which *Severus* had

Severus *declared a public enemy.*

[s] DIO, l. lxxiii. p. 837. HÉROD. l. ii. p. 513.

against her husband, and charged with several other crimes by *Plautianus*, who did all that lay in his power to discredit her with the emperor; insomuch that, to retrieve her reputation, she betook herself to the study of philosophy, and kept continually about her a great number of sophists, philosophers, mathematicians, geographers, and persons eminent in the various branches of learning; which has rendered her name famous in history (9). *Julia* had a sister named *Mæsa*, who was married to one *Julius*, who had by her two daughters, *Soæmis* and *Mamea*, the former the mother of the emperor *Heliogabalus*, and the latter of *Alexander*, who succeeded him.

(9) *Philost. vit. Apoll. Tyan. l.* i. *c.* 3. *& sqq. p.* 56. *p.* 617.

with him, and one *Aquilius*, a centurion, the chief minister of the cruelties of *Commodus*, with orders to dispatch *Severus* as soon as his troops had deserted him. But the deputies, instead of exhorting the troops to abandon *Severus*, joined him themselves, and encouraged the soldiers to pursue their march, and revenge the death of *Pertinax*. Hereupon *Julianus*, having first paid the prætorian guards the largess he had promised them, ordered them to their arms, and at the same time sent for the marines, who were on board the fleet at *Misenum*, and, with the prætorian guards, made up a considerable army. But, as they had been long inured to idleness, they scarce knew how to make use of their arms, and shewed great backwardness to make head against the enemy, who were advancing with long marches, being received every-where with loud acclamations, and supplied with plenty of provisions, upon their giving out, that they were going to revenge the death of *Pertinax*, a prince universally beloved. *Julianus*, finding he could not depend upon his troops, caused the palace to be fortified, as if he could have maintained himself there after losing all the rest. At the same time, he ordered *Marcia* and *Lætus*, the chief authors of the death of *Commodus*, to be murdered, not doubting but they favoured *Severus*; dispatched a great number of assassins, to try if he could by any means murder *Severus*, with promises of immense rewards, if they succeeded in the attempt; and caused an incredible number of children to be inhumanly butchered, in order to make use of their blood in the abominable mysteries of magic [t].

In his march to Rome *he is everywhere received with loud acclamations.*

WHILE *Julianus* was thus losing his time in useless preparations, *Severus*, arriving at *Ravenna*, made himself master of that city, and the fleet riding there; which so terrified *Julianus*, that, distrusting his troops, he ordered the senate to assemble on the twenty-ninth of *May*, when one of his ministers desired them in his name to send out the *Vestals* to meet the enemy, and intreat them to retire; which proposal being rejected as no less ridiculous than ineffectual, *Julianus*, as some authors write, was so provoked, that he assembled his troops, with a design to put all the senators to the sword, if they did not comply with his request. But he soon changed his mind, and went to the senate in person, with a proposal of a quite different nature, which was, that they would pass a decree, declaring *Severus* his partner in the empire. The decree passed without opposition, and was immediately sent to *Severus*, who not only rejected the offered association, but, at the instigation of *Julius Lætus*, ordered *Tullius Crispinus*,

Makes himself master of Ravenna.

Julianus *causes* Severus *to be declared his partner in the empire.*

[t] Dio, p. 838. Vit. Jul. p. 62.

captain

captain of the prætorian guards, who had brought the decree, to be cut in pieces, a report being ſpread, that *Criſpinus* had private orders to diſpatch him. Hereupon *Julianus*, being quite at a loſs what to do, and the ſenate declining to aſſiſt him with their advice, ordered the gladiators at *Capua* to take arms, under the command of *Lollianus Titianus*, and wrote an obliging letter to *Pompeianus*, the ſon-in-law of *M. Aurelius*, who then led a retired life at *Terracina*, offering to take him, as he was an excellent commander, for his partner in the empire. But *Pompeianus* wiſely declined the offer, pleading his old age, and the weakneſs of his ſight; which, however, would have ſerved him well, ſays *Dio Caſſius*, had he ſeen any effectual means of relieving his diſtreſſed country [u].

abandoned by all.

In the mean time the troops ſent by *Julianus* into *Umbria*, to guard the paſſes of the *Apennine* mountains, declared for *Severus*; and the prætorian guards themſelves, abandoning the emperor whom they had ſet up, agreed not to oppoſe *Severus*, upon his promiſing them impunity, provided they delivered up to him thoſe who had murdered *Pertinax* [w]. *Julianus*, ſeeing himſelf thus deſerted by his troops, ſhut himſelf up in the palace, with *Genialis*, one of the captains of the guards, and *Repentinus* his ſon-in-law. The guards in the mean time, having ſeized ſuch of their comrades as had been any-way concerned in the death of *Pertinax*, acquainted therewith *Silius Meſſala*, who had been ſubſtituted either to *Falco* or *Erucius*, the ſame ordinary conſuls of this year 193. *Meſſala* immediately aſſembled the ſenate, when a decree paſſed, depriving *Julianus* of the empire, ſentencing him to death, declaring *Severus* emperor, and appointing divine honours to *Pertinax*. This decree was carried to *Severus* by ſome of the chief men in the ſenate, who intreated him, in the name of the reſt, to haſten his march to *Rome*. At the ſame time the ſenate ſent a band of ſoldiers to the palace, with orders to put *Julianus* to death; whom they found drowned in tears, and ready to reſign the empire, upon condition that they ſpared his life. Some authors write, that, at the ſight of the armed band, he only ſaid, *What crime have I committed? whoſe life have I taken away* [x]? Others tell us, that he implored the faith of *Cæſar*, giving that title to *Severus* [y]. Be that as it will, his head was ſtruck off by a common ſoldier, and his body, according to *Aurelius Victor*, expoſed to public view. Such was the end of *Didius Julianus*, after he had lived ſixty years, four months, and as many

Julianus *degraded by the ſenate, and put to death.*

Severus *declared emperor; and* Julianus

[u] Dio, in excerpt. Val. p. 729. Vit. Jul. p. 63. [w] Dio, p. 838. Herod. p. 510. [x] Dio, p. 838. [y] Jul. vit. p. 63.

days, and reigned two months and ſix days. *Severus*, upon his arrival at *Rome*, delivered his body to his wife and daughter, by whom it was buried in the tomb of his anceſtors on the *Via Lavicana*, about five miles from *Rome* [z].

SEVERUS received the news of his competitor's death, when he was yet ſome days journey from *Rome*. However, he purſued his march with his troops in battle array, and encamped every night, as if he had been in an enemy's country; which filled the city with terror and diſmay. The ſenate deputed an hundred perſons of great diſtinction, out of their body, to congratulate him upon the death of his rival, and his acceſſion to the empire. *Severus* received them in his armour, at the head of his troops, and cauſed them to be ſearched, as if he ſuſpected their fidelity; but afterwards entertained them in a very familiar and friendly manner, preſented them with ſeven hundred pieces of gold, and gave them liberty either to depart immediately, or to ſtay, and return to *Rome* with him. He appointed *Flavius Juvenalis* captain of the guards, with *Veturius Macrinus*, whom he had named before to that employment. At the ſame time he diſpatched an expreſs to *Plautianus*, injoining him to ſeize the children of *Peſcennius Niger*, and of all the officers who ſerved under him. He had the good luck to intercept ſeveral letters and edicts ſent by *Niger* to the ſenate and people of *Rome*, which he would not ſuffer to be read to them [a]. When he approached *Rome*, he cauſed all thoſe to be executed, who had any hand in the death of *Pertinax*; and ſent orders to the other ſoldiers of the guards to meet him without their arms, and in the attire which they wore when they attended the emperor in the great ſolemnities. His orders were obeyed, the guards imagining, that they were to attend in that dreſs the emperor's entry. When they arrived in the camp, *Severus* ſent them word to wait in a body, till he was at leiſure to receive and harangue them; and, in the mean time, gave private orders to his own troops to ſurround them at a diſtance, and ſhut them up on all ſides, while they were intent upon hearing his harangue.

An hundred ſenators ſent to meet Severus.

HE then aſcended the tribunal; and, betraying great anger and reſentment in his countenance, reproached them in moſt bitter terms for murdering their prince, and ſuch a prince as *Pertinax*; for ſelling by auction, to the eternal ignominy of the *Roman* name, the empire; and even for abandoning, like ſo many cowards and traitors, *Julianus*, whom they had themſelves choſen. He told them, that he could inflict no puniſhment

[z] Dio, p. 868. Vit. Jul. p. 66. & Nigr. p. 75. HERODIAN. l. iii p. 526.

[a] Vit. Sever. p. 66.

upon

upon them anſwerable to the enormity of their crimes; that, nevertheleſs, he granted them their lives; but commanded them forthwith to quit their horſes, and all their military badges, and retire without delay an hundred miles from *Rome*, ſolemnly declaring, that whoever among them ſhould be found within that diſtance of the city, ſhould irremiſſibly be put to death, and publicly executed. They were thunderſtruck with this order; but forced to comply with it, being ſurrounded on all ſides by the armed troops of *Severus*, who obliged them to quit their horſes, and ſtripped them even of their tunics. Thus ſtripped and degraded, they retired with that ſhame and confuſion, which were juſtly owing to the heinouſneſs of their crimes [b] (W).

He diſbands all the prætorian guards.

SEVERUS entered *Rome*, attended by all his troops under arms, and with the ſtandards of the prætorian guards reverſed. He came to the gate on horſeback, and in his military habit; but there took his gown, and made his entry on foot, accompanied by the ſenators in their robes, with crowns of laurel on their heads; which the people likewiſe wore, who, on this occaſion, were all clad in white. The ſtreets through which he paſſed were ſtrewed with flowers, the houſes adorned, and covered with rich tapeſtry, and the whole city perfumed with ſweet odours. *Severus*, having viſited the capitol, and the uſual temples, retired to the palace; but the ſoldiers, taking up their quarters in the temples, porticoes, and other public buildings, ſpread themſelves all over the city, and committed every-where great diſorders, threatening to plunder the citizens houſes, if they were not plentifully ſupplied with proviſions, for which they would allow nothing. This alarmed the people, and inſpired them with a great averſion from the new emperor [c]. The next morning *Severus* went to the ſenate, attended by all his troops under arms; but he had ſcarce begun to ſpeak, when he was interrupted on a ſudden by dreadful cries of the ſoldiers without, demanding an immenſe ſum of the ſenate, which had been formerly given to the troops that

His entry into Rome.

The ſoldiers mutiny.

[b] HERODIAN. p. 510. DIO, p. 839. [c] HERODIAN. p. 839.

(W) *Dio Caſſius* tells us, that one of their horſes followed his old maſter, throwing down, and treading under-foot, all thoſe who endeavoured to ſtop him; inſomuch that the unhappy ſoldier, finding his horſe would not, by any means, leave him, killed him, and, running himſelf thro' with the ſame ſword, fell dead by him. The ſame hiſtorian adds, that the faithful horſe betrayed a kind of joy in dying by his maſter's hand (9).

(9) *Dio*, p. 839.

had attended *Auguſtus* to *Rome*, and was conſequently, ſaid they, due to them. The ſenate, altogether unappriſed of the cauſe of that uproar, was, as we may well imagine, ſtruck with horror and diſmay. The emperor himſelf betrayed ſome fear; however, ſtarting up, he went out to them; but could not appeaſe the mutinous multitude, without promiſing them part of what they demanded, that is, two hundred and fifty drachmas a man, inſtead of two thouſand five hundred. Then, returning to the ſenate, he excuſed himſelf for having aſſumed the title of *emperor* without their conſent, pretending, that he had done it purely to revenge the death of *Pertinax*, and deliver them from the tyranny of *Julianus*. He promiſed to govern with great moderation, and tread in the footſteps of *M. Aurelius* and *Pertinax*, adding a ſolemn oath, by which he bound himſelf to the obſervance of all the laws; and particularly ſwore, that no ſenator ſhould, for any crime whatever, be put to death in his reign, who had not been firſt tried and condemned by the ſenate; nay, he obliged the ſenate to paſs a decree, declaring ſuch emperors as acted otherwiſe, thoſe who obeyed them therein, and their children, public enemies. This gave great ſatisfaction to the generality of the ſenators; but men of diſcernment, and ſuch as were better acquainted with his dark and reſerved temper, with his fallhood and diſſimulation, gave no credit to his fair promiſes; but, on the contrary, looked upon him as a ſecond *Tiberius* [d].

The emperor's ſpeech to the ſenate.

HOWEVER, they unanimouſly conferred upon him all the titles peculiar to the imperial dignity, veſted him with the tribunitial and proconſular powers, created him high pontif, *&c.* *Severus* acquainted the ſenate with his having beſtowed on *Albinus* the title of *Cæſar*, begged they would confirm it to him, cauſed ſeveral medals to be ſtruck with his name, ſtatues to be erected to him, *&c.* He diſtributed large ſums among the ſoldiery and people, which are taken notice of on ſeveral medals of this year [e]; but what chiefly gained him the hearts of the people, was, his conſecrating, and inrolling with extraordinary pomp and ſolemnity, the emperor *Pertinax* in the number of the gods. This apotheoſis, perhaps the moſt magnificent that had ever been ſeen in *Rome*, is deſcribed at large by *Dio Caſſius* [f]. Before he left *Rome*, to march againſt *Niger*, he cauſed the ſenate to proſcribe all the friends and adherents of *Julianus*; executed without mercy ſuch of them as were diſcovered and ſeized; and even attempted, out of

The title of Cæſar *confirmed to* Albinus.

The friends of Julianus *proſcribed.*

[d] Vit. Sever. p. 66. HEROD. p. 512. DIO, l. lxxiv. p. 840.
[e] BIRAG. p. 268. [f] DIO, p. 840.

hatred

hatred to that prince, to aboliſh the decrees of the celebrated civilian *Salvius Julianus*, his great-grandfather.

New prætorian guards choſen.

IN the next place, he choſe new guards in the room of thoſe whom he had caſhiered, and four times as many; which filled *Rome* with ſoldiers, and proved very chargeable to the ſtate; for their pay much exceeded that of the other troops. Beſides, the natives only of certain countries, to wit, of *Spain*, *Macedon*, *Noricum*, and, above all, of *Italy*, had been hitherto admitted to ſerve in the guards; but *Severus*, without any regard to their countries, choſe the moſt reſolute and brave men in his army; and appointed, that, for the future, they ſhould be always taken from among the other troops; by which means the guards, who of late had ſerved only for ſhew, became the flower of the *Roman* forces; and the hopes of a leſs toilſome, and more honourable and advantageous, warfare encouraged the reſt to diſcharge their duty with more punctuality and exactneſs; but, on the other hand, the *Italian* youth (for the guards had hitherto been moſtly natives of *Italy*), having no longer that reſource, turned either robbers or gladiators: hence this regulation was no-way pleaſing, either to the *Romans*, or to the other inhabitants of *Italy* g.

Severus ſets out againſt Niger.

THE emperor, having thus ſettled affairs in *Rome*, and ſupplied the city with great plenty of corn, ſet out in the beginning of *July* on his march into the Eaſt againſt *Niger*, whom he had never once named during his ſtay at *Rome*. His troops mutinied the firſt day at a place called *Saxa Rubra*, about nine miles from *Rome*; but the mutiny was ſoon quelled. He purſued his march with all poſſible expedition, having diſpatched an expreſs to the commander of the troops in *Illyricum*, injoining him to haſten into *Thrace*, and wait for him there. He ordered *Heraclius* to attempt the recovery of *Bithynia*, which province had declared for *Niger*; and wrote to *Albinus* in *Britain*, to hold himſelf ready to march upon the firſt notice h.

Niger prepares for war.

IN the mean time *Niger*, hearing that *Severus* had been acknowleged emperor by the ſenate and people of *Rome*, and was already advancing by long marches againſt him, wrote to the governors of the provinces, injoining them to guard the narrow paſſes, eſpecially that of mount *Taurus* between *Cappadocia* and *Cilicia*; raiſed new forces in *Antioch*, and all the other cities of *Syria*; and ſent deputies to demand ſuccours of the neighbouring princes. He went in perſon to view the fortifications of *Byzantium*, in which city he left a numerous gariſon, looking upon it as a place of the utmoſt importance.

g HEROD. p. 512. DIO, l. lxxiv. p. 840. & in excerpt. VAL. p. 733. h Vit. Sever. p. 67.

From

From *Byzantium* he advanced to *Perinthus*, called afterwards *Heraclea*, where, in a ſkirmiſh between his men and thoſe of *Severus*, whoſe party the city of *Perinthus* had embraced, a conſiderable number of the latter were ſlain, and, among them, ſeveral perſons of great diſtinction. Hereupon the ſenate, to gain the favour of *Severus*, declared *Niger* a public enemy, and likewiſe *Æmilianus*, then proconſul of *Aſia*, a perſon of extraordinary talents, long experience, and generally eſteemed the greateſt ſtateſman of his age [i] (X).

He is declared a public enemy.

THE following year *Severus* and *Albinus* were both conſuls the ſecond time, and *Niger* in all likelihood took upon him the ſame dignity; for, on ſome medals, he is ſtiled conſul [k]. We know nothing of what paſſed in the war between *Niger* and *Severus*, till the arrival of the latter before the city of *Byzantium*, which he beſieged this year; but, meeting with a vigorous reſiſtance from the numerous gariſon, he left ſome of his troops before the place, and ordered the reſt to croſs the ſea, and march towards *Cyzicus*, in the neighbourhood of which city they were met by *Æmilianus*, at the head of a numerous army. Hereupon a battle enſued, in which much blood was ſhed on both ſides; but *Æmilianus* was in the end defeated, and obliged to ſhelter himſelf firſt in *Cyzicus*, and afterwards in another city not named in hiſtory, where he was taken, and put to death, by the generals of *Severus*; for the emperor himſelf was not, it ſeems, preſent at the battle of *Cyzicus* [l].

Æmilianus, Niger's general, defeated, and ſlain.

Year of the flood 2542. Of Chriſt 194. Of Rome 942.

NOT long after, another battle was fought between *Nicæa* and *Cius*, two cities of *Bithynia*, which proved far more bloody than the former, *Niger* commanding his own troops in perſon, and *Candidus*, an officer of great experience, thoſe of *Severus*. Both armies fought with a fury hardly to be expreſſed, as appears from *Dio Caſſius*'s account of the engagement; but *Niger*, in ſpite of his utmoſt efforts, was at laſt obliged to ſave himſelf by flight beyond the ſtreights of mount *Taurus*; which he cauſed to be fortified and well guarded [m].

Niger *himſelf overthrown.*

[i] HEROD. l. ii. p. 512, 513. Nig. vit. p. 76. DIO in excerpt. VAL. p. 734. [k] BIRAG. p. 264. [l] HERODIAN. p. 516. DIO, p. 842. Vit. Sev. p. 67. [m] DIO, p. 842.

(X) *Spartian* writes, that *Niger*, improving the advantage he had gained at *Perinthus*, made himſelf maſter of all *Greece*, *Macedon*, and *Thrace*, and thereupon offered to take *Severus* for his partner in the empire; which propoſal he rejected with contempt and deriſion (1).

(1) *Vit. Nigr. p.* 67.

After

After this victory, *Severus* wrote to *Niger*, offering to let him live in ſafety, provided he laid down his arms, and diſbanded his troops; which *Niger* ſeemed inclined to do; but was diverted from it by *Aurelianus*, whoſe daughters were betrothed to his ſons. He therefore retired to *Antioch*, in order to raiſe there troops and money. In the mean time the cities of *Laodicea* and *Tyre* declaring for *Severus*, *Niger* detached againſt them a body of *Moors*, who pillaged the rebellious cities, put moſt of the inhabitants to the ſword, and ſet fire to their houſes, which were in great part conſumed, but afterwards reſtored by *Severus*. In the mean time *Severus*'s army, advancing to the foot of mount *Taurus*, was ſtopped there, and quite diſheartened, at the ſight of the ſtrong works, and the great number of troops that defended them; inſomuch that, deſpairing of being able to open themſelves a paſſage, they had ſome thoughts of returning; but an incredible quantity of rain, mixed with ſnow, falling in the night-time, the fortifications were utterly demoliſhed the next day by an impetuous torrent from the mountain; which ſo terrified *Niger*'s men, now perſuaded that the gods favoured the enemy, that they betook themſelves to flight, and left *Severus*'s troops to enter *Cilicia*, without offering to make head againſt them. *Niger* had already raiſed a new army, conſiſting chiefly of the *Antiochian* youth, who were very zealous and ſanguine in his cauſe, but utter ſtrangers to military diſcipline. However, *Niger* placed them ſo advantageouſly, that, when they were attacked by the regular and well-diſciplined troops of *Severus*, under the command of *Valerianus* and *Anulinus*, they not only repulſed them, but would have gained a complete victory, had it not been ſnatched out of their hands by a dreadful ſtorm of thunder and lightning; which, diſcharging itſelf in their faces, prevented then from purſuing the advantage they had gained, and diſheartened them to ſuch a degree, that, no longer doubting but the gods were averſe from their cauſe, they began to deſpair of ſucceſs, and retire.

HEREUPON *Severus*'s troops, reſuming their courage, renewed the charge, and in the end gained a complete victory. This battle, by far the moſt bloody of the three, was fought on the very ſpot where *Alexander the Great* firſt vanquiſhed *Darius*; that is, near the city of *Iſſus*, at a place called *Pylæ Ciliciæ*, or the *Gates of* Cilicia, it being a narrow plain on the confines of *Syria* and *Cilicia*, incloſed on one ſide by the ſea, and on the other by ſteep mountains, on which *Niger*'s forces were poſted. *Niger* is ſaid to have loſt in this battle twenty thouſand men. Of the dead on the ſide of *Severus*, no mention is made in hiſtory. *Niger*, after this overthrow, retired to *Antioch*; but, not thinking himſelf ſafe there, continued

A third battle, in which Niger is utterly defeated.

tinued his flight towards the *Euphrates*, with a deſign, as was ſuppoſed, of taking ſhelter among the *Parthians*: but thoſe who purſued him, overtaking him at a ſmall diſtance from *Antioch*, cut off his head, and carried it on the point of a ſpear to *Severus*, who cauſed it to be firſt ſhewn to the inhabitants of *Byzantium*, and then ſent it to *Rome*[n] (Y).

Niger *is ſlain.*

SEVERUS was not preſent at any of theſe battles; but, where-ever he was (for, as to that particular, we are left by hiſtorians quite in the dark), he ſoon made all thoſe who had ſided with his competitor, feel the effects of his reſentment. He put ſuch of the ſenators to death, as had ſerved under *Niger* in quality of generals or tribunes. He ſpared the lives of the other ſenators; but baniſhed them to the iſlands, and ſeized their eſtates. He cauſed an infinite number of other perſons of an inferior rank to be publicly executed, without conſidering whether they had engaged in the war by choice or conſtraint. Many who had never ſeen *Niger*, were involved in this general maſſacre of his friends and partiſans[o] (Z).

Severus *puniſhes without mercy ſuch as had ſided with* Niger.

He

[n] HEROD. l. iii. p. 519, 520. DIO, l. lxxiv. p. 843. [o] *Dio*, l. lxxv. p. 851. & in excerpt. VAL. p. 734.

(Y) Thus *Dio Caſſius*, and *Herodian*; but *Spartian* tells us, that *Niger*, being dangerouſly wounded, was taken priſoner, and in that condition brought to *Severus*, in whoſe preſence he expired (2).

(Z) *Herodian* writes, that *Severus* perſuaded *Niger*'s generals, by means of their children, whom he had with him, to betray the cauſe which they had embraced; and, after gaining the victory by their treachery, murdered both them and their children (3). He firſt baniſhed the wife and children of *Niger*, and afterwards cauſed them, and all thoſe of his family, to be murdered, and their eſtates to be confiſcated. *Spartian* names ſix illuſtrious perſons of the *Peſcennian* family, who were put to death by his orders (4). However, he would not ſuffer a pompous inſcription on the baſis of a ſtatue of *Niger* at *Rome* to be eraſed, ſaying, *Let the world know what an enemy I have conquered* (5). The houſe of *Niger* was ſtill ſtanding in *Diocleſian*'s time, as *Spartian* informs us; and, in one of the rooms, his ſtatue done to the life in the black marble of *Thebes*, with an epigram on the baſis to this purpoſe: *Here ſtands the great* Niger, *the terror of* Egypt, *the ally of* Thebes, *who had propoſed a golden age to all. Kings, nations*, Rome *itſelf, loved him. He was dear to both the* Antonini's, *and to the whole empire. As his name was* Niger (that is, *black*), *we have cauſed a ſtatue*

(2) *Nig. vit. p.* 76. (3) *Herod. l.* iii. *p.* 521. (4) *Sev. vit. p.* 63. (5) *Nig. vit. p.* 79.

to

He punished with exemplary severity such cities as had sided with *Niger*, especially *Antioch*, which he deprived of the privileges and title of a city, subjecting it as a mere village to *Laodicea*; which heightened the jealousy between these two neighbouring cities. However, the following year, at the intreaties of his eldest son, then an infant, he reinstated the city of *Antioch* in its former rights and privileges [p]. He obliged such cities, as had assisted *Niger* with money, though not by choice, but constraint, to pay four times as much to him; which drew upon him the public hatred: but, as he loved money, he was glad of any pretence to raise it [q].

THE next consuls were *Scapula Tertullus* and *Tineius Clemens*; during whose administration, *Severus*, passing the *Euphrates*, reduced the inhabitants of *Osrhoene* and *Adiabene*; who, taking advantage of the late disturbances, had murdered the *Roman* soldiers left among them, and shaken off the yoke [r]. He likewise entered *Arabia*; for the *Arabians* also had either revolted, or joined *Niger*, but were in the end obliged to submit to *Severus* [s] (A). He likewise made war upon the *Parthians*; but did not bring them under subjection, as *Spartian* pretends [t]. For these wars the senate decreed him the titles of *Arabicus*, *Parthicus*, and *Adiabenicus*, which, with that of *imperator* the fifth time, are given him in the inscriptions of this year 195. the third of his reign [u]. He refused the triumph which was also decreed him, that he might not seem to have triumphed for victories gained in a civil war. The title of *Parthicus* he likewise rejected, lest his assuming it should provoke the *Parthians* [w]. The *Scythians* designed

He makes war upon the Adiabenians, Arabians, *and* Parthians.

Year of the flood 2543. Of Christ 195. Of Rome 943.

[p] HERODIAN. lib. iii. p. 523. DIOG. p. 1921. Vit. Caracal. p. 85. [q] DIO in excerpt. VAL. p. 737. [r] Dio, lib. lxxv. p. 848. [s] Idem, p. 948. [t] SPART. in vit. Sever. p. 67. [u] Idem ibid. GOLTZ. p. 84. [w] Vit. Sever. ibid.

to be erected to him in black marble, that it might answer his name. This statue was, as *Spartian* informs us, a present from the king of *Thebes* to *Statius Postbumius*.

(A) *Herodian* writes, that he over-ran all *Arabia Felix* (6); and *Eutropius* and *Victor* extol his exploits in that country, speaking of them as if he had been the first who reduced *Arabia* to a *Roman* province. But *Arabia Petræa* had long before been made a province by *Trajan*; and, as for *Arabia Felix*, we do not find it mentioned among the provinces of the empire, either in *Severus*'s time, or afterwards. *Eusebius* tells us, that *Severus* subdued the *Adiabenians* and *Arabians*, who had assisted *Niger* (7).

(6) *Herod. l.* iii. *p.* 528. (7) *Euseb. chron. ad ann.* 199.

to

to make war upon him, and had already begun their march; but were ſtopped, and deterred from putting their deſigns in execution, by a dreadful ſtorm, in which three of their chiefs were ſtruck dead with lightning [x].

The city of Byzantium *taken,*

In the beginning of the following year, when *Cn. Domitius Dexter*, governor of *Rome*, was conſul the ſecond time, with *L. Valerius Meſſala Thraſea Priſcus*, the city of *Byzantium* ſurrendred, after a three years ſiege (B). This city *Niger* ſeized at the firſt breaking out of the war, placed a numerous gariſon in it, and ſupplied the inhabitants with great ſtore of warlike machines, moſt of them invented and built by *Periſcus* a native of *Nicæa*, and the greateſt engineer of his age. *Severus* laid ſiege to this place when he firſt arrived in *Thrace*, left a conſiderable body of troops to carry it on, and, after the defeat and death of *Niger*, purſued it with the greateſt part of his army by land, and by ſea with all the ſhips he could aſſemble from the different ports of *Aſia*. The *Byzantines* defended themſelves, before the death of *Niger*, and even after his head had been ſhewn to them, with ſuch reſolution and intrepidity, as can hardly be expreſſed. They baffled all the attempts of the aſſailants, killed great numbers of them, cruſhed ſuch as approached the walls with huge ſtones, and, when ſtones began to fail them, with the ſtatues of their gods and heroes; but in the end they were obliged by famine, after having been reduced to the fatal neceſſity of devouring one another, to ſubmit, and open their gates to the conqueror, who put all the magiſtrates and ſoldiers to the ſword; but ſpared the engineer *Periſcus*. The city, with its ſtately theatres, baths, and public buildings, was laid in aſhes; the inhabitants were ſtripped of all their effects, and publicly ſold for ſlaves, and the walls leveled with the ground; thoſe walls, ſays *Dio Caſſius*, which were the ſtrongeſt rampart of the *Roman* empire againſt the incurſions of the barbarians [y] (C). After the ſurrender of *Byzantium*, *Severus* ſent his

and deſtroyed.

[x] Dio, l. lxxiv. p. 849. [y] Idem ibid. p. 847. Herod. l. iii. p. 523.

(B) It was at this time by far the greateſt, and the moſt populous and wealthy city of *Thrace*, fortified with walls of an extraordinary height and breadth, and defended by a great number of towers, ſeven of which were built with ſuch art, that the leaſt noiſe heard in one of them was immediately conveyed to all the reſt (8).

(C) The chronicle of *Alexandria*,

(8) *Dio, l.* lxxiv. *p.* 847.

his army, divided into three bodies, under the command of *Lætus*, *Anulinus*, and *Probus*, to reduce part of *Mesopotamia*; which they did accordingly: and the country they conquered, perhaps *Acabene*, or *Aretacene*, was by *Severus* made a new province, whereof *Nisibis* was declared the capital. The government of this new province was, like that of *Egypt*, given only to *Roman* knights [z].

Severus *resolves to destroy* Albinus.

AFTER these successes, *Severus* began to think of destroying *Albinus*, whom he had lulled asleep with the title of *Cæsar*, while he was employed against *Julianus* and *Niger*. *Albinus* being as much beloved by the senate, as *Severus* was hated on account of his cruelty, and many persons of great distinction having even solicited him to come to *Rome*, and there assume the title of emperor, *Severus* thought he could not use too much dispatch in crushing him. However, not judging it adviseable to declare himself an open enemy to one who had not given him the least provocation, he had recourse to treachery, and wrote a pompous letter to the senate in his commendation, and another to *Albinus* himself, filled with the most tender expressions of friendship, calling him his dearest and intirely beloved friend, his brother, his partner in the sovereign power; but those who brought him this letter, had secret orders to draw him aside, under colour of communicating to him in private some affairs of the utmost importance, and dispatch him with their daggers. They were likewise provided with poison, in case they could prevail upon any of his domestics to administer it to him. After *Albinus* had read the letter, the assassins, pursuant to their directions, told him, they had something to communicate to him by word of mouth, which required the utmost secrecy. Hereupon *Albinus* desired them to attend him into a gallery; but, observing that they took more than ordinary care to prevent others from entering with them, he began to suspect some treachery, and caused them to be seized, and put to the question, when the violence of the torments extorted from them a full confession of the errand on which they were come.

Sends assassins to murder him.

Albinus *causes himself to be*

HEREUPON *Albinus* betook himself to open force; and, having assembled a mighty army, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor in *Britain*, and thence passed over into *Gaul*,

[z] Dio, l. lxxiv. p. 847—850.

dria, and the modern *Greek* writers, tell us, that *Severus* himself rebuilt in great part the city of *Byzantium*, calling it *Antoninia*, from his son *Caracalla*, who assumed the name of *Antoninus* (9).

(9) *Chron. Alex. p.* 620. *Suid. p.* 724.

proclaimed emperor.

where he was joined by many perſons of great diſtinction, both *Gauls* and *Spaniards*. *Severus*, upon the firſt news of his revolt, leaving the Eaſt, haſtened through *Thrace* and *Illyricum* into *Gaul*. Some writers tell us, that, before he ſet out on his march, he cauſed a young virgin to be ſacrificed, hoping to learn from her entrails what ſucceſs would attend him in this war [a]. At *Viminacium*, a famous city in *Upper Mœſia* on the *Danube*, he gave the title of *Cæſar* to *Baſſianus* his eldeſt ſon, and on that occaſion diſtributed large ſums among the ſoldiers. At the ſame time he obliged his ſon to quit the name of *Baſſianus*, and ſtile himſelf thenceforth *M. Aurelius Antoninus*, for whom *Severus* ever had a great eſteem and veneration [b]. Before *Severus* reached *Gaul*, ſeveral ſkirmiſhes happened between the troops that had declared for him there, and thoſe of *Albinus*, in one of which, called by *Herodian* a battle, the generals of *Severus* were utterly defeated, and their troops diſperſed [c]. This greatly alarmed him, and obliged him to quicken his march, after he had detached part of his troops to guard the narrow paſſes of the *Alps*, and prevent his competitor from entering *Italy*.

Is declared a public enemy.

In the mean time the ſenate declared *Albinus* a public enemy; after which declaration, one *Numerianus*, who kept a grammar-ſchool at *Rome*, haſtening into *Gaul*, paſſed himſelf there upon the inhabitants for a ſenator ſent by *Severus* to raiſe troops; and, having by this means got together a conſiderable body, he attacked and defeated a detachment of *Albinus*'s horſe, and gained ſome other ſmall advantages; which *Severus* no ſooner knew, than he wrote to him as a ſenator, believing him to be one, commended his zeal, and commiſſioned him to levy what forces he could. Having, therefore, raiſed a ſmall army, he continually haraſſed *Albinus*'s men, took many priſoners, and intercepted a great ſum of money, which he ſent to *Severus*. When *Albinus* was defeated, *Numerianus* went to wait upon *Severus*, and told him who he was; but, deſpiſing the great riches and honours which the emperor offered him, he accepted only a ſmall penſion, and, retiring into the country, ſpent the reſt of his life in quiet and ſolitude [d].

Severus *marches againſt him.*

In the beginning of the following year, when *Lateranus* and *Rufinus* were conſuls, *Severus*, having paſſed the *Alps* in the midſt of winter, approached *Lyons*, where *Albinus* then reſided, with a deſign to enter *Italy* early in the ſpring. He was not a little alarmed at the ſudden and unexpected arrival of *Severus*; however, having with incredible expedition drawn

[a] Suid. p. 257. [b] Vit. Sever. p. 68. [c] Herod. lib. iii. p. 524. Sev. vit. p. 68. [d] Dio, lib. lxxv. p. 851.

together

together his troops quartered in that neighbourhood, he fell upon *Lupus*, one of *Severus*'s generals, and defeated him with great ſlaughter [e]. Hereupon *Severus* advanced in perſon againſt his rival; and, *Albinus* not declining the challenge, both armies, to the number of one hundred and fifty thouſand men, were drawn up, on the nineteenth of *February*, in the neighbourhood of *Lyons*, probably in the ſpacious plain between that city and *Trevoux*. As the fate of the two commanders depended upon this battle, and no leſs a reward was propoſed for the conqueror than the *Roman* empire; as the *Britiſh* legions were no-way inferior either in courage or experience to thoſe of *Illyricum*; and both armies expected to ſhare the fortune, whatever it ſhould be, of their generals; the engagement was one of the moſt ſharp and bloody recorded in hiſtory. After they had fought many hours with a fury hardly to be expreſſed, without any conſiderable advantage on either ſide, *Albinus*'s left wing was utterly defeated, and obliged to take ſhelter in their camp, which the enemy entered in that confuſion, and plundered; but, on the other hand, his right wing, having drawn *Severus*'s men into certain ditches, which they had covered with earth, gained ſo great an advantage over them, that the emperor himſelf, who flew to their aſſiſtance at the head of the prætorian guards, was put into the utmoſt confuſion, and obliged, if we believe *Herodian*, to ſave himſelf by flight, after having quitted all the enſigns of the imperial dignity [f]. *Spartian* writes, that he was wounded, and believed dead by the army, who were for creating another emperor in his room [g]; and *Dio Caſſius*, that his horſe was killed under him, and he himſelf in imminent danger of loſing his life [h]. The ſame author adds, that, ſeeing his men fly, he threw himſelf ſword in hand upon the fugitives, and forced them to return to the charge: which they did with ſuch fury, that the enemy, not able to withſtand them, began to give ground; which *Lætus* perceiving, fell upon them with the whole body of horſe under his command, and completed their overthrow. *Lætus* had declined engaging ſo long as the victory continued doubtful, with a deſign, as was ſuppoſed, of ſetting up for himſelf, after the two parties had deſtroyed each other [i]; and hence it was, that *Severus*, as *Herodian* informs us [k], inſtead of rewarding him, as he did his other generals, put him ſoon after to death.

The two armies engage near Lyons.

Severus *in great danger.*

ALBINUS's army, no longer able to keep the field, fled to *Lyons*, whither they were purſued by the conquerors; who, Albinus *intirely de-*

[e] DIO, lib. lxxv. p. 851. [f] HERODIAN. lib. iii. p. 524.
DIO, ibid. [g] Vit. Sev. p. 63. [h] DIO, p. 852.
[i] Idem ibid. [k] HEROD. l. iii. p. 524.

feated, and killed. entering the city with the fugitives, firſt plundered it, and then laid it in aſhes [l]. *Albinus*, who had concealed himſelf in an houſe on the *Rhone*, finding no means of making his eſcape, laid violent hands on himſelf [m] (D). *Severus* beheld with great pleaſure the dead body of his competitor; rode over it ſeveral times, cauſing his horſe to tread it under-foot; left it lying in its gore before his tent, till it was half putrefied, and torn in pieces by the dogs; and then ordered the poor remains of it to be thrown into the *Rhone*. The head he cauſed to be cut off, and ſent it to *Rome*, ordering it to be ſet up there on a pole in the forum. He pardoned at firſt his wife and children; but, ſoon after changing his mind, he cauſed them to be inhumanly maſſacred, and their bodies to be thrown into the river. The whole family of *Albinus*, all his friends, and moſt diſtant relations, without diſtinction of ſex or age, were by *Severus*'s orders barbarouſly ſlaughtered, and their eſtates confiſcated. Moſt of the great men of *Gaul* and *Spain*, who had ſhewn any attachment to *Albinus*, underwent the ſame fate. By means of theſe murders and confiſcations, he amaſſed an immenſe treaſure, enriched his ſoldiers, and, at his death, left greater wealth to his children, than any prince had done before him [n].

The cruelty of Severus.

AFTER this victory, all the cities that had declared for *Albinus*, were ſoon reduced, and the inhabitants puniſhed, ſome with death, ſome with the confiſcation of their eſtates; ſo that *Severus*, ſeeing all quiet in *Gaul*, and likewiſe in *Britain*, which he divided into two provinces, ſet out for *Rome*, leading with him his victorious army. His approach filled the city with terror and diſmay, thoſe who had favoured *Albinus*, expecting no better treatment than the friends of that unfortunate commander had met with in *Gaul* (E). However,

[l] HEROD. l. iii. p. 524. [m] DIO, p. 853. [n] Vit. Sev. p. 68.

(D) Thus *Dio Caſſius*. But other authors write, that, being mortally wounded either by himſelf, or ſome of his own men, he was brought in that condition to *Severus*, in whoſe preſence he expired (1).

(E) Their apprehenſions were heightened by a letter which *Severus* wrote to the ſenate, when he ſent the head of *Albinus* to *Rome*; for, in that letter, he complained of their affection to *Albinus*, as if they had all privately favoured and aſſiſted his declared enemy; reproached them with ingratitude; extolled the conduct and government of *Commodus*, whom he had never mentioned before, but as a tyrant and

(1) *Vit. Alb. & Sev. p.* 68.

monſter;

ever, as he drew near, the ſenate went out to meet him, and received him with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy, attended him to the capitol, and thence to the palace, where he ordered great ſums to be diſtributed among the people and ſoldiery. The next day he went to the ſenate, and there read a ſpeech filled with bitter invectives againſt the partiſans of *Albinus*; produced the letters that had been written to him; commended the cruelties of *Sylla*, of *Marius*, and of *Auguſtus*, as neceſſary precautions; aſcribed the ruin of *Pompey*, and the death of *Cæſar*, to their unſeaſonable clemency; and, mentioning *Commodus*, ſtiled him a god, and beſtowed the higheſt encomiums upon him; adding, that none but infamous and abandoned wretches could cenſure or blame the conduct of ſuch an excellent prince [o].

His cruelties in Rome.

HAVING ended his ſpeech, he returned to the palace, and filled the city with maſſacres and bloodſhed. In a few days forty-two ſenators, moſt of whom had been conſuls or prætors, were ſacrificed to his fury and revenge, and an incredible number of perſons of an inferior rank. *Herodian* tells us, that he cut off all thoſe, who, on account of their birth or riches, bore any ſway in the ſenate, or the provinces. Many were condemned and executed upon bare ſuſpicions, and many for no other crime, but that of being poſſeſſed of great wealth under a covetous and inhuman tyrant [p]. While the city was yet floating in blood, he went to the ſenate, and, out of hatred to the ſenators, cauſed them to rank *Commodus* with the uſual ceremonies among the gods, to appoint prieſts, and inſtitute an annual feſtival, to his honour. He condemned *Narciſſus*, the famous wreſtler, who had ſtrangled him, to be devoured by the wild beaſts; and ſpared none who were ſuſpected of having been any-way privy to his death [q]. After *Severus* had ſpent ſome months at *Rome*, and there cut off not only the partiſans of *Albinus*, but ſuch as gave him the leaſt umbrage, he took leave of the ſenate, and, with his two

[o] Dio, l. lxxv. p. 526. Vit. Alb. p. 60. & Sever. p. 68. [p] Dio, p. 853. Herod. p. 527. Vit. Sev. p. 69. [q] Vit. Sev. p 69.

monſter; and, in ſpeaking of the head of *Albinus*, uſed this expreſſion; *I ſend it to you, that you may thereby know you have provoked me, and ſee with your eyes the effects of my reſentment.* Both the ſenate and people were thunderſtruck with this letter; they expected nothing but a general maſſacre, the more becauſe they were informed, that *Severus* had ſeized the papers of *Albinus*, and by that means diſcovered all his friends and correſpondents.

Goes into the East to make war upon the Parthians.

ſons *Caracalla* and *Geta*, ſet out for the Eaſt, with a deſign to make war upon the *Parthians*, who, under the conduct of their king *Vologeſes*, had made themſelves maſters of great part of *Meſopotamia*. He embarked with his army at *Brunduſium*, and, arriving in *Syria*, marched ſtrait to *Niſibis* in *Meſopotamia*, whence the *Parthians* retired into their own country upon the firſt news of his approach.

THE following year, *Tib. Saturninus* and *C. Gallus* being conſuls, *Severus*, having made vaſt preparations for the war againſt the *Parthians*, began his march about the end of the ſummer, judging the autumn the moſt proper ſeaſon for that expedition. He followed the courſe of the *Euphrates*, the greater part of his army being conveyed down in boats, and the reſt marching on the banks of the river. To paſs from the *Euphrates* into the *Tigris*, he cauſed the canal *Naarmalcha* to be cleanſed; and by that means arrived in a ſhort time at *Seleucia* and *Babylon*, both which places he found abandoned by the enemy, and took without oppoſition. Thence he advanced to *Cteſiphon*, the metropolis of the *Parthian* dominions; which he inveſted, and took after a laborious ſiege, during which his ſoldiers, for want of proviſions, were obliged to feed upon ſuch roots as they found in the fields; which bred various diſtempers in the army. However, the place was in the end forced to ſurrender; but the king, who had ſhut himſelf up in it, found means to make his eſcape, attended by a ſmall body of horſe; which was a great diſappointment to *Severus*. The emperor gave up the city to be plundered by the ſoldiers, who put all the men to the ſword; bnt ſpared the women and children, whom, to the number of one hundred thouſand, they ſold for ſlaves. After the reduction of *Cteſiphon*, *Severus* wrote to the ſenate, giving them a pompous account of his exploits, which he cauſed to be repreſented in painting, and expoſed to public view. The ſenate decreed him a triumph, and honoured him with the title of *Parthicus Maximus*; which is to be ſeen on ſeveral medals of the next and following years [r] (F). While *Severus*

He takes Seleucia, Babylon, *and* Cteſiphon.

Year of the flood 2546. Of Chr. 198. Of Rome 946.

[r] HEROD. l. iii. p. 528. DIO, p. 854. AMMIAN. l. xxiv. p. 278. ONUPH. in faſt. GOLTZ. p. 85.

(F) *Spartian* tells us, that the army, in the tranſports of their joy for the reduction of *Cteſiphon*, proclaimed *Caracalla*, the emperor's eldeſt ſon, his partner in the ſovereign power, and at the ſame time gave the title of *Cæſar* to his ſecond ſon *Geta* (2); which honours were afterwards confirmed to both by the ſenate. *Cara-*

(2) *Vit. Sev. p.* 70.

calla

verus was thus employed in the Eaſt, ſome diſturbances aroſe in *Britain*, where the *Caledonians*, taking up arms, invaded the *Roman* dominions, committing every-where dreadful ravages. *Lupus*, whom *Severus* had appointed governor of *Britain*, not finding himſelf in a condition to make head againſt that warlike nation with the troops he had with him, and well knowing, that *Severus* could not ſend him timely aſſiſtance, was forced to purchaſe a peace of the enemy, and, with large ſums, redeem the *Roman* territories from their daily incurſions [s]. *Diſturbances in Britain.*

THE following year, when *P. Cornelius Aullinus* and *M. Aufidius Fronto* were conſuls, *Severus*, on his march back into *Syria*, attacked the city of *Atra*, *Barſemus*, king of that place, having formerly ſent conſiderable ſuccours to *Niger*; but was obliged to abandon the enterprize, after having loſt a great many men, and moſt of his warlike engines [t]. About this time *Severus* cauſed two officers of great diſtinction to be put to death; to wit, *Julius Criſpus*, tribune of the prætorian guards, and *Lætus*, one of his beſt generals; the former for ſaying, that *Severus* expoſed his troops wantonly to dangers, and obliged them to undergo great hardſhips, only to ſatisfy his private ambition and vanity. *Lætus*'s crime was, according to *Herodian*, his having acted with treachery in the battle of *Lyons*, as we have related above (G). After he had allowed ſome reſpite to his haraſſed troops, and amaſſed an immenſe quantity of proviſions and warlike engines, he returned before the city of *Atra*; but all his efforts againſt that place proving unſucceſsful, he was forced to raiſe the ſiege anew, having loſt, during the eighteen days it laſted, moſt of his machines, and an incre- *Lætus murdered.* *Severus attacks the city of Atra: but is obliged to raiſe the ſiege.*

[s] Dio, p. 851. 866. [t] Idem, p. 844.

calla had entered the eleventh year of his age on the fourth of *April*, of this year 198. *Severus*, not thinking it adviſeable either to keep *Cteſiphon*, or purſue *Vologeſes*, ſet out on his return into *Syria* about the beginning of winter, loaded with booty. He is ſuppoſed to have concluded a treaty with the *Parthians*; for we read of no wars between them and the *Romans* till eighteen years after, and *Vologeſes* reigned peaceably to his death, which happened after that of *Severus* (3).

(G) *Dio Caſſius*, who commends him, both as an excellent citizen and ſoldier, tells us, that *Severus* put him to death for no other reaſon, but becauſe he was greatly beloved by the ſoldiers, which the jealous emperor could not bear (4).

(3) *Dio, l.* lxxv. *p.* 854. & *in excerpt. Val. p.* 746. (4) *Dio, p.* 855.

dible number of men [u]. Thus did one city baffle all the attempts of *Trajan* and *Severus*, the two greateſt commanders among the *Roman* emperors, as it did afterwards thoſe of *Artaxerxes*, who, about the year 226. re-eſtabliſhed the *Perſian* on the ruin of the *Parthian* empire. *Severus* ſpent moſt part of the following year, when *Tib. Claudius Severus* was conſul the ſecond time, with *C. Aufidius Victorinus*, in ſearching after ſuch of *Niger*'s partiſans, as had not yet been diſcovered, and in gleaning, to uſe the expreſſion of *Tertullian* [w], after the vintage. Many perſons of diſtinction, who believed themſelves to be ſafe, were on this occaſion ſeized, and condemned without mercy, ſuch eſpecially as gave the tyrant any umbrage on account of their birth or riches [x].

THE next year, when *L. Annius Fabianus* and *M. Nonius Mucianus* were conſuls, *Severus* gave the manly robe to his eldeſt ſon, tho' he was then but fourteen years old, and named him conſul with himſelf for the year following. They both entered upon their conſulſhip in *Syria*; and, on that occaſion, the emperor gave a largeſs to the ſoldiers. *Severus* went, during his conſulſhip, into *Arabia*, and from thence into *Palæſtine*, where he remitted the taxes with which he had loaded the inhabitants for their ſteady adherence to *Niger*. While he was in *Palæſtine*, he publiſhed an edict, forbidding, under the ſevereſt penalties, the ſubjects of the empire to embrace either the *Jewiſh* or Chriſtian religion; which gave riſe to the fifth general perſecution [y]. From *Palæſtine* he paſſed into *Egypt*, where he viſited the tomb of *Pompey the Great*; and then purſued his route to *Alexandria*, to which city he granted a public council or ſenate; a mark of diſtinction, which they had often begged in vain of other emperors [z]. During his ſtay in *Egypt*, he viſited all the cities, and viewed, with great attention, the curioſities of that antient kingdom, eſpecially the pyramids, the labyrinth, the ſtatue of *Memnon*, &c (H).

Severus *viſits* Arabia, Palæſtine, Egypt, *&c.*

Year of the flood 2549. Of Chriſt 201. Of Rome 949.

[u] DIO, l. lxxv. p. 555. [w] TERTUL. apol. c. 35. [x] Vit. Sev. p. 69. [y] Idem, p. 70. EUSEB. l. vi. c. 2. [z] Vit. Sev. p. 70.

(H) He examined with great care the books he found in the temples, and cauſed ſuch of them, as contained any ſecret knowlege, to be conveyed into the ſepulcre of *Alexander the Great*, which he ordered to be ſhut up, that no one might, for the future, either ſee the body of that prince, or peruſe thoſe books (5).

(5) *Dio, in excerpt. Val. p.* 737. *Vit. Sev. p.* 70.

THE

THE next conſuls were *Septimius Geta*, the emperor's brother, and *Fulvius Plautianus*, his great favourite. Some writers call *Plautianus* the emperor's kinſman; others ſay, that he was only his countryman, being a native of *Africa*, as was *Severus*. Be that as it will, all agree, that he was of a very mean deſcent; and ſome add, that in his youth he had been baniſhed, for ſtirring up and heading the populace in a ſedition. However, the emperor favoured him above all the great men in *Rome*, and was ſo paſſionate for him, that not in converſation only, but in public, in his ſpeeches to the ſenate and people, he extolled him more than *Tiberius* had ever done his favourite *Sejanus*. He created him captain of the prætorian guards, and ſhared with him the power and wealth of the empire; for *Plautianus* was ſaid to be poſſeſſed of as great riches as *Severus* himſelf, and thought to be no leſs powerful; at leaſt more court was paid to his power, than to that of the emperor. The ſenators and ſoldiers ſwore by *the fortune of* Plautianus; public vows and ſacrifices were offered for his ſafety, as if he had been emperor; and *Rome* was filled with his ſtatues, moſtly erected by the authority of the ſenate. His table was better ſerved than the emperor's, and his equipage far more magnificent. As there was no acceſs to honours but through his favour, his houſe was conſtantly crouded with ſenators, knights, and great part of the people, all ſolicitors for admiſſion to *Plautianus*, who was harder of acceſs than the emperor. *Geta*, the brother of *Severus*, and the empreſs *Julia*, ſtood no leſs in awe of him than the reſt, well knowing that his authority was of far greater weight than theirs. This exorbitant power was moſt notoriouſly abuſed by the favourite miniſter, who condemned, baniſhed, and even put to death, many illuſtrious perſons, whom he hated or ſuſpected, without conſulting the emperor, nay, without his knowlege; for, tho' whatever the emperor ſaid or did was immediately carried to *Plautianus*, yet *Severus* was quite unacquainted with the crimes and arbitrary proceedings of his miniſter; and hence, looking on him as a man without reproach, he continued to heap upon him all ſorts of honours. He had already diſtinguiſhed him with the conſular ornaments, and created him ſenator, without removing him from the command of the prætorian guards; and this year he not only appointed him conſul, but, to the great ſurprize of *Rome*, and the whole empire, declared his intention of marrying his eldeſt ſon *Caracalla* to *Fulvia Plautilla*, the daughter of *Plautianus*; which he did accordingly this very year, ſoon after his return to *Rome*; for, having ſettled the affairs in the Eaſt, he arrived unexpectedly at *Rome*

Plautianus *his chief favourite.*

His great power.

Severus *marries his ſon* Caracalla *to the daughter of* Plautianus.

Rome about the latter end of *May*, and, according to *Herodian*, entered the city in triumph [a] (I).

His generosity to the people and soldiery.

THE emperor, upon his return, distributed immense sums among the soldiers and people, ten pieces of gold a man, more than any other prince had ever been known to give; and added to this extraordinary largess most magnificent shews, which lasted seven days [b]. When the shews were over, the nuptials of *Caracalla* and *Plautilla* were celebrated with the utmost pomp and magnificence (K). About this time *Severus* gave the manly robe to his second son *Geta*, who had entered the fourteenth year of his age on the twenty-seventh of *May*, of this year 203. the tenth of his father's reign [c].

The emperor orders some of his statues to be pulled down.

THE following year, *L. Fabius Septimius Cilo* being consul the second time, with *L. Libo*, the emperor, notwithstanding his great kindness for *Plautianus*, being offended at the great number of statues erected to him in all the public places of the city, caused some of them to be taken down. Hereupon a report being spread, that he was disgraced, several governors of provinces, looking upon him already as a public enemy, caused his statues to be pulled down in their governments; but paid dear for their over-hasty zeal, some of them being deprived of their employments, and others tried by the senate, and condemned to banishment. Among the latter was *Racius Constans*, governor of *Sardinia*, who was tried by the emperor in person, in conjunction with *Dio Cassius*, and several other senators. *Severus* on this occasion solemnly declared, that he would never suffer the least affront or injury to be offered with impunity to *Plautianus*; but nevertheless, before a year was over, he changed his sentiments, and suffered him to be put to death in his presence.

[a] HEROD. l. iii. p. 529. [b] DIO, l. lxxvi. p. 859, 860. HEROD. ibid. [c] Vit. Sev. p. 69.

(I) *Spartian* writes, that he declined the triumph decreed him, because he could not sit in the triumphal chariot, by reason of the gout; but suffered his son *Caracalla* to triumph over the *Jews*, who had, it seems, revolted, but had been again brought under subjection by *Severus* (6).

(K) *Dio Cassius* writes, that what *Plautianus* gave his daughter on this occasion, would have been a sufficient dower for fifty queens; and adds, that he appointed an hundred persons of good families to attend her, whom he had for that purpose privately caused to be made eunuchs, tho' some of them were married, and even had children; which, as that writer observes, highly provoked both the senate and people against him (7).

(6) *Vit. Sev. p.* 63.

(7) *Dio, p.* 859.

His ruin was chiefly owing to *Caracalla*, who, not able to bear with the haughty and imperious temper of his wife *Plautilla*, hated both her and his father-in-law *Plautianus*, openly declaring, that, if ever he obtained the sovereign power, they should both soon feel the effects of his resentment. Hereupon *Plautianus* resolved to be beforehand with him, not doubting but upon his death he should be able to seize the empire for himself, as *Severus* was now advanced in years, and troubled with the gout. In the mean time *Geta*, the emperor's brother, being taken ill, and, finding there was no hope of his recovery, desired to see *Severus* before he died, and acquainted him with the haughty, imperious, and tyrannical conduct of his favourite minister. Thenceforth the emperor began to look upon him with a jealous eye, and to lessen, by degrees, his overgrown power; which he was no sooner apprised of, than he resolved to exert the authority he still enjoyed, and secure, by the murder both of the emperor and his son, the sovereignty to himself; at least, *Saturninus*, one of the tribunes of the prætorian guards, declared to *Severus*, that *Plautianus* had charged him to assassinate them both, and shewed him his orders in writing. *Herodian* [d] and *Ammianus Marcellinus* [e] seem not to question in the least the truth of his deposition; but *Dio Cassius* looks upon the whole as a contrivance of *Caracalla* to destroy *Plautianus*, whose haughty behaviour he could no longer brook [f].

Caracalla the occasion of his ruin.

Be that as it will, they all agree, that *Plautianus* coming to the palace of his own accord, or sent for by the emperor, as *Dio* will have it, and entering the emperor's room, where *Caracalla* then was, in order to clear himself from the crime laid to his charge, the young prince rushed upon him with great fury, snatched his sword from his side, which he wore as captain of the guards, and ordered those who were present to dispatch him, being prevented by the emperor, who began to relent, from doing it himself. His body was cast into the street; but soon after taken, by the emperor's order, and interred [g]. *Severus* immediately assembled the senate; but, without uttering any invectives against *Plautianus*, only bewailed the unhappy lot of mankind, since some loved to excess, and others abused the love that was shewn them (L).

He is murdered by his order.

The

[d] Herod. l. iii. p. 531. 533. [e] Ammian. l. xxix. p. 368.
[f] Dio, l. lxxvi. p. 861. [g] Idem ibid. Herod. p. 534.

(L) He did not seem to believe, says *Dio Cassius*, that *Plautianus* had ordered the tribune to murder him; but nevertheless prosecuted, and condemned either to death or banishment, all his friends

THE next conſuls were the emperor's two ſons, *Caracalla* the ſecond time, and *Geta* the firſt. During their adminiſtration, *Severus* continued either at home, or in the neighbourhood, and applied himſelf wholly to the adminiſtration of juſtice, which he did with great impartiality, following therein the advice of the celebrated civilian *Papinianus*, whom he appointed captain of the guards; for at this time the chief province of that officer was to decide law-ſuits with the emperor, or in his name. *Papinianus*, in the diſcharge of this important office, employed as his counſellors *Paulus* and *Ulpianus*, two men eminently accompliſhed in the knowlege of the laws. As the empire now enjoyed a profound peace, *Severus* was at leiſure to reform many abuſes; which he did accordingly: but is blamed by moſt of the antients, on account of his exceſſive ſeverity, eſpecially by the emperor *Julian*, who thinks his cruel inflexibility, as he ſtiles it, his greateſt fault [h]; for he never pardoned the leaſt tranſgreſſion. He enacted ſeveral laws, which are mightily extolled by the writers of thoſe times, as equally juſt and neceſſary. Many of them are ſtill extant in the *code*. He allowed no power to his freedmen; nor would he ſuffer the ſenate to diſtinguiſh them with any honours. He choſe for governors of the provinces men of unblemiſhed characters, and was always ready to hear with great patience the complaints of his people. No prince ever managed the public money more frugally; and, by that means, he left the exchequer exceeding rich at his death, tho' he had found it quite empty, and had been engaged in ſeveral expenſive wars. When he died, corn was found in the public granaries ſufficient to ſupply the city for ſeven years, and oil in the ſtorehouſes, which he built at a vaſt charge, for the conſumption of five years, reckoning not only the city of *Rome*, but all the places in *Italy* that produced no oil. He even left wherewithal to ſupply for ever the indigent people of *Rome* with a certain quantity of oil

Papinianus made captain of the guards.

Severus reforms ſeveral abuſes, enacts good laws, &c.

[h] JUL. Cæſ. p. 14. Vit. Sev. p. 71.

friends and creatures. His daughter *Plautilla*, and his brother *Plautius*, were baniſhed to the iſland of *Liparis*, where they were murdered by order of *Caracalla*, ſoon after his acceſſion to the empire (8). *Herodian* writes, that they were baniſhed to *Sicily*, and there generouſly ſupported by *Severus* during his life-time (9). This year, the 957th of *Rome*, the 209th of the Chriſtian æra, and the twelfth of the reign of *Severus*, were celebrated with extraordinary pomp the ſecular games (1).

(8) *Dio.* p. 862. *Zoſ.* l. iii. p. 669.

(9) *Herod.* l. iii. p. 535.

(1) *Cenſor.* c. 17.

every day, which was in part to be ſent yearly by the inhabitants of *Libya Tripolitana*, who, of their own accord, ſubmitted to that burden out of regard to *Severus*, who was of the ſame province, and had obliged them, by utterly extirpating a neighbouring nation, that often invaded their country, and laid waſte their fields [i]. But this contribution proving in proceſs of time very burdenſome to them, *Conſtantine* remitted it. *Severus* repaired moſt of the public edifices of *Rome*, and raiſed an incredible number of new ones in *Rome*, in *Antioch*, in *Alexandria*, in *Byzantium*, and in moſt of the great cities of the empire.

THE following year, when *Nummius Albinus* and *Fulvius Æmilianus* were conſuls, was remarkable for the death of many illuſtrious ſenators, inhumanly maſſacred by the emperor's orders. Among theſe were *Quintillus Plautianus* and *Apronianus*, both perſons of unblemiſhed characters, and of great authority in the ſenate, but hated by the emperor on account of their illuſtrious birth, and extraordinary accompliſhments. They were both accuſed of having conſulted the aſtrologers about the death of *Severus*, and their own fate; and condemned, without ſo much as being heard. *Bæbius Marcellinus*, another ſenator of great diſtinction, was condemned by the ſenate, and that inſtant hurried to execution, upon the depoſition of a ſingle evidence, who charged him with having liſtened while *Apronianus* was conſulting the aſtrologer. The evidence had been ſuborned by *Pollenius Sebennus*, who was himſelf ſoon after condemned at the ſuit of the people of *Noricum*, whom he had tyrannically oppreſſed; while he governed that province [k]. The following year, when *Aper* and *Maximus* were conſuls, the northern inhabitants of *Britain* invaded the *Roman* territories, and, putting to flight the legions that guarded them, committed every-where moſt dreadful ravages. *Virius Lupus*, then governor, or, as *Ulpian* calls him, preſident of *Britain*, not thinking himſelf in a condition to withſtand the enemy, retired before them; and, in the mean time, acquainted the emperor with the ſtate of affairs in that province; who, apprehending that the whole iſland, unleſs awed by a powerful army, would ſoon revolt, and ſhake off the yoke, reſolved to go thither in perſon; and accordingly, having made the neceſſary preparations for this expedition, he ſet out for *Britain* the enſuing year, while his two ſons were conſuls, *Caracalla* the third time, and *Geta* the ſecond. Before he left *Rome*, he veſted his ſon *Geta* with the tribunitial power, and conferred upon him the title

Several ſenators put to death.

The Britons revolt.

Geta veſted

[i] Vit. Sev. p. 67. Dio, p. 869. Val. p. 741, &c.

[k] Dio, in excerpt.

of

with the tribunitial power, and declared Auguſtus.

of *Auguſtus*, which he had beſtowed three years before on his eldeſt ſon *Caracalla*; ſo that there were now three *Auguſtus's* at a time, which had never happened before. The emperor took both his ſons with him, being glad of that opportunity to remove them from *Rome*, where they abandoned themſelves to idleneſs and debauchery, and to inure them to the toils and fatigues of war.

Severus's *expedition into* Britain.

Year of the flood 2556. Of Chriſt 208. Of Rome 956.

THE *Britons* were no ſooner informed of his arrival in their iſland, than, dreading his power, they ſent embaſſadors to him, offering to ſubmit upon honourable terms. *Severus* detained the embaſſadors till he was ready to take the field; and then diſmiſſed them, without granting them their requeſt. He paſſed the firſt winter, it ſeems, in the ſouthern parts of *Britain*, whence he marched early in the ſpring of the enſuing year, when *Pompeianus* and *Avitus* were conſuls, againſt the *Mæatæ*, who bordered on the *Roman* dominions, and the *Caledonians*, who dwelt more to the north. No battle was fought in this expedition; but nevertheleſs, partly by the enemy's ambuſcades, partly by the hardſhips the *Roman* ſoldiers underwent, and the toils they endured in cutting down woods, building bridges, and drying marſhy grounds, fifty thouſand of them are ſaid to have periſhed [l]. *Herodian* writes, that the *Caledonians* inceſſantly haraſſed the army on their march, attacked them unexpectedly, cut many thouſands of them in pieces, and then retired into their fens and woods, whither the *Romans* could not follow them [m]. The emperor, tho' advanced in years, and troubled with the gout, purſued his painful march, ſurmounting with great chearfulneſs all difficulties, till he reached the moſt diſtant and northern coaſts of the iſland, laying the country waſte far and wide, and putting all to fire and ſword; inſomuch that the *Caledonians* were in the end obliged to purchaſe a peace, by yielding to the *Romans* part of their country, and delivering up their arms (M). Having thus concluded a peace with the *Caledonians*, he returned to the ſouthern parts of *Britain*, where he had left his ſon *Geta* to adminiſter juſtice during his abſence. For this expedition he was honoured by the ſenate

He overruns the whole iſland.

[l] Dio, l. lxxvi. p. 867. [m] Herod. l. iii. p. 867.

(M) *Dio Caſſius* adds, that *Severus*, during his ſtay in the moſt northern parts of *Britain*, obſerved with great exactneſs the length of the days and nights, of the ſummer and winter (2); which he could not do, without continuing there, that is, in the north of *Scotland*, at leaſt ſix months.

(2) *Dio*, p. 869.

with

with the title of *Britannicus Maximus*, and his two ſons with that of *Britannicus* [n].

SEVERUS ſpent great part of the following year, when *Man. Acilius Fauſtinus* and *Triarius Rufinus* were conſuls, in building a wall in *Britain* from ſea to ſea, to ſecure his conqueſts, and part the *Roman* territories from thoſe of the more northern *Britons* not ſubject to *Rome* (N). The wall being *His wall in* Britain.

[n] GOLTZ. p. 88. P. PAGI, p. 207.

(N) No mention of this wall is made, either by *Dio Caſſius* or *Herodian*, who lived at that time, and give us a very particular account of the exploits of *Severus* in *Britain*. However, *Spartian* ſpeaks of it, and calls it the chief ornament of *Severus*'s reign; nay, he pretends, that, on account of this wall, he was honoured by the ſenate with the title of *Britannicus* (3). There is a great diſagreement among authors, both as to the nature of this work, and its ſituation. Some writers take it to have been a wall, and others only a ditch, fortified on the *Roman* ſide with a rampart and paliſades. *Spartian* ſtiles it a wall or ditch (4). *Oroſius* ſuppoſes it to have been a ditch defended by a rampart, and a great number of towers at a ſmall diſtance from each other (5). *Beda* thinks it was a wall, built not with ſtone, but turf, and ſupported by a rampart, and ſharp ſtakes driven deep into the ground (6). The ſame writer is of opinion, that it was raiſed by *Severus* in the ſame place, where a new wall was built by the *Romans* about the middle of the fifth century, when they intirely abandoned the iſland; that is, ſo far as we can judge from the context, on the iſthmus, which he deſcribed before, between the friths of *Forth* and *Clyde* (7). *Buchanan* likewiſe places this wall on the ſame iſthmus (8); and adds, that, in his time, ſome remains of it were ſtill to be ſeen. On the other hand, *Camden* maintains *Severus*'s wall to have ſtood a great way more to the ſouth, that is, between the mouth of the *Tyne*, and *Solway frith*. The learned *Uſher* is of the ſame opinion, and alleges very ſtrong reaſons to ſupport it (9). However, we cannot perſuade ourſelves, that *Severus*, after having marched from one end of the iſland to the other, and obliged the enemies of *Rome* to yield to him part of their country, ſhould have abandoned to them a conſiderable portion of the *Roman* dominions; to wit, the countries lying between *Northumberland* or *Cumberland*, and the friths of the *Forth* and *Clyde*. For, that theſe countries belonged to the *Romans* before *Severus*'s time, *Uſher* himſelf owns; and maintains (1), that *Antoninus* built his wall on the above-mentioned iſthmus.

(3) *Vit. Sev. p.* 71. (4) *Idem, p.* 73. (5) *Oroſ. l.* vii. *c.* 17. (6) *Bed. hiſt. Ang. l.* i. *c.* 5. (7) *Idem ibid. c.* 12. (8) *Buchan. rer. Scot. l.* i. *p.* 16. *l.* iv. *p.* 116. *& l.* v. *p.* 135. (9) *Uſh. Britan. eccleſ. antiquit. p.* 606. (1) *Idem ibid. p.* 1024.

mus.

being ended, he retired with his army to *Eboracum*, now *York*, where he was ſeized with a lingering diſtemper, occaſioned, as was believed, by his grief and affliction for the wicked life of his eldeſt ſon, who, notwithſtanding the extraordinary affection *Severus* had ever ſhewn him, had, during the late expedition, with a boldneſs hardly to be matched, attempted to murder him in the ſight of the whole army. For, while the emperor, at the head of his troops in battle-array, was concluding a treaty with the *Britons*, and receiving their arms, *Caracalla*, who ſtood behind him, drawing unexpectedly his ſword, in the ſight both of the *Roman* and *Britiſh* army, advanced to ſtab him; and would have put his wicked deſign in execution, had he not been deterred from it by the outcries of thoſe, who ſtood next the emperor. *Severus*, turning about that inſtant, ſaw his ſon with a naked ſword in his hand; but, without betraying the leaſt ſurprize, or uttering a ſingle word, purſued the buſineſs in hand, received the arms of the *Britons*, and ſigned the treaty. When he returned to his tent, he ſent for his ſon; and, in the preſence of *Papinianus*, captain of the guards, and *Coſtor*, his chief chamberlain, firſt reproached him with his black and wicked attempt; then offering him a drawn ſword, *If your ambition to reign alone prompts you*, ſaid he, *to imbrue your hands in the blood of your father, execute your impious purpoſe rather in this place, than in the ſight of the whole world, and in the preſence both of our friends and enemies: if you are not yet abandoned to ſuch a degree, as to murder your father with your own hand, order* Papinianus *to commit the parricide: you are emperor; he muſt obey you* [o]. We do not find, that *Caracalla attempts to murder his father.*

[o] Dio, p. 868.

mus. We do not find, that the northern *Britons* ſeized any part of the *Roman* dominions in the reign of *M. Aurelius*, nor in that of *Commodus*; for, tho' they paſſed the wall in the time of *Commodus*, yet they were driven back by *Ulpius Marcellus*, and reſtrained within their antient bounds, that is, according to *Uſher*, within the two above-mentioned friths. Is it therefore probable, that *Severus* thus curtailed the *Roman* empire, and abandoned to the barbarians, as they are called by the *Roman* writers, ſuch an extenſive country, after having, at immenſe charge, and with the loſs of fifty thouſand men, obliged them to yield part of theirs? Beſides, *Spartian* tells us, in expreſs words, that *Severus*'s wall reached from ſea to ſea; and *Eutropius*, that it was but thirty-two miles in length (2); which proves, that it ſtood on the above-mentioned iſthmus, and could ſtand in no other part of the whole iſland.

(a) *Eutrop. l.* viii. *c.* 10.

calla

calla was touched with remorſe, or any-way affected, by this ſpeech.

THE following year, when *Gentianus* and *Baſſus* were conſuls, the *Mæatæ* and *Caledonians*, underſtanding that the emperor was indiſpoſed, and not in a condition to take the field, without any regard to the late treaty, flew to arms; and, aſſembling their forces, attempted to paſs the new wall, and invade the *Roman* dominions; which ſo provoked *Severus*, that he ordered *Caracalla* to lead the whole army againſt the enemy, and, entering their country anew, to put all he met to the ſword, without diſtinction of ſex or age. The young prince, ſeeing himſelf, contrary to his expectation, intruſted with ſo great a command, made it his whole ſtudy to corrupt the officers and ſoldiers, with a deſign to depoſe his father. Many tribunes and centurions, hearkening to him, publicly declared, before the army ſet out from *York*, that they would no longer obey an old man, worn out with infirmities, lame, and diſabled by the gout from marching at their head, and diſcharging the duties of an emperor. Theſe ſpeeches were ſoon carried to *Severus*, who, immediately ſummoning the army to aſſemble, cauſed himſelf to be taken up, and placed upon his tribunal; whence, in moſt bitter terms, he reproached with folly, ingratitude, and treachery, ſuch of the officers as had ſeconded the wicked attempts of his ſon; ordered them all to be beheaded that inſtant in his preſence; and then, addreſſing himſelf to the army, ſtruck with terror and diſmay at the ſight of ſo many executions, aſked them with an imperious and majeſtic air, whether they were yet ſatisfied, that the head ruled, and not the feet [p] (O).

The Mæatæ *and* Caledonians *revolt.*

Caracalla attempts to depoſe his father.

AFTER this, his diſtemper being greatly increaſed by the uneaſineſs of his mind, he was ſoon reduced to the laſt extremity; when he ſent for his two ſons, cauſed the ſpeech of *Micipſa* to his children, in *Salluſt*, to be read to them, exhorted them to concord and unity, and recommended to them this tyrannical maxim, to enrich the ſoldiers, and gain their

His diſtemper increaſed with the uneaſineſs of his mind.

[p] Vit. Sev. p. 71. AUR. VICT.

(O) Some writers tell us, that he would at the ſame time have put his ſon to death, had he not been diverted from it by the captains of the guards (3); others, on the contrary, ſay, that the captains of the guards adviſed him to deliver himſelf, by the death of his unnatural ſon, from the dangers that threatened him; but that he could not by any means prevail upon himſelf to follow their advice (4).

(3) *Vit. Caracal. p.* 89.

(4) *Dio, l.* lxxvi. *p.* 868.

affections, without caring whether they were beloved or hated by the reſt of their ſubjects [q]. When he found his end approaching, he cried out, *I have been every thing, and every thing is nothing* [r]. Then ordering the urn to be brought to him, in which his aſhes were to be incloſed, on ſeeing it, *Little urn*, ſaid he, *thou ſhalt contain one, for whom the whole world was too little* [s]. Before he expired, he ordered the golden ſtatue of *Fortune*, which always ſtood in the emperor's apartment, to be carried into the rooms, firſt of his eldeſt, and then of his youngeſt ſon [t]. As his pains increaſed, eſpecially in his feet, he called for poiſon; but, no one daring to adminiſter it to him, he is ſaid to have glutted himſelf with coarſe meats, which ſoon put an end to his life [u]. He died at *York* on the fourth of *February* of the year 211. after having lived, according to *Dio Caſſius* [w], ſixty-five years, nine months, and twenty-five days, and reigned ſeventeen years, eight months, and three days. His body was burnt at *York* with great ſolemnity, and his aſhes conveyed by his two ſons to *Rome*, in a golden urn, or, as others will have it, in one of porphyry. It was received in all the provinces with extraordinary pomp, and depoſited at *Rome* in the ſtately mauſoleum of the emperor *Adrian*. He was ſoon after ranked among the gods, with the uſual ceremonies, deſcribed at length by *Herodian* [x].

Severus *dies.*

Year of the flood 2559. Of Chriſt 211. Of Rome 959.

His character.

Severus was, without all doubt, a perſon of moſt extraordinary parts; but all his good qualities were quite eclipſed by his exceſſive cruelty, and inſatiable avarice. Some writers endeavour to excuſe his cruelty, which they ſoften with the name of ſeverity; and pretend, that, without violent remedies, the many evils that had long prevailed in the ſtate could never have been rooted out. It was ſaid of him, if *Spartian* is to be credited, as it had been formerly ſaid of *Auguſtus*, *That he ought never to have been born, or never to have died.* He was, according to the ſame writer, greatly eſteemed, nay, and generally loved, after his death, when no one dreaded his cruelty, and all felt the effects of his excellent regulations [y] (P). But, after all, the moſt we can ſay in his commendation

[q] Dio, p. 868. [r] Vit. Sev. p. 73. [s] Dio, p. 869. [t] Vit. Sever. p. 74. [u] Vict. epit. [w] Dio, ibid. [x] Herod. lib. iv. p. 540. [y] Vit. Sev. p. 71.

(P) *Galen* tells us, that his greateſt pleaſure was, to do good to all; and adds, that he kept conſtantly by him a great ſtore of treacle, and other expenſive remedies, to relieve ſuch as wanted them; by which means he ſaved the lives of many perſons;

tion is, that *Severus* deſerves to be ranked among the great, but not among the good princes. Of the writers who flouriſhed in his reign, we ſhall give an account in our note (Q).

SEVERUS

ſons; namely, of *Antipater*, his *Greek* ſecretary; of the ſon of *Piſo*, to whom *Galen* inſcribed his treatiſe on treacle; and of a lady of diſtinction, named *Arria*, for whom *Severus* had a particular value, becauſe ſhe applied herſelf to the ſtudy of philoſophy, and the reading of *Plato* (5).

(Q) Among the writers who flouriſhed at this time, we may reckon the emperor himſelf; for he wrote the hiſtory of his own life, which was a kind of apology for his great ſeverity. *Spartian* commends it as a ſincere and impartial account of the tranſactions of his reign (6); and *Victor* ſpeaks of it as an elegant and judicious performance. It has been long ſince loſt. The ſophiſt *Antipater*, a native of *Hierapolis* in *Aſia*, wrote likewiſe the hiſtory of *Severus*'s reign; and was for that work firſt appointed the emperor's *Greek* ſecretary, afterwards charged with the care of educating his two ſons *Caracalla* and *Geta*; then honoured with the conſulſhip; and, laſtly, preferred to the government of *Bithynia*; from which employment he was ſoon removed, on account of his exceſſive cruelty (7). His hiſtory has not reached our times. *Galen*, the prince of phyſicians, was ſtill alive in *Severus*'s time; for he lived, according to *Suidas*, ſeventy years (8). He was a native of *Pergamus*, and the ſon of one *Nico*, a celebrated architect and geometrician. He was likewiſe well verſed in the other branches of mathematics, and pretended to underſtand and teach the *Greek* tongue in its greateſt purity. His ſon *Claudius Galenus* was born in the year 131. the fifteenth of *Adrian*'s reign, as appears from F. *L'Abbé*, who collected out of *Galen*'s works, and publiſhed in 1660. all the paſſages in which that writer makes any mention of himſelf (9). He came to *Rome*, while *L. Verus* was making war upon the *Parthians* in the Eaſt, being at that time thirty-two or thirty-three years old (1). He ſtaid in *Rome* about three years, and then returned to his own country; whence, three or four years after, he was invited into *Italy* by *M. Aurelius*, that is, about the end of the year 169. He refuſed to attend that prince into *Germany*, and continued at *Rome*, where he is ſuppoſed to have ſpent the remaining part of his life. He left behind him a great many works on different ſubjects, to wit, on phyſic, rhetoric, philoſophy, and ſome grammatical pieces (2). *Jonſſius* takes the treatiſe on *treacle* not to be his, becauſe he does not mention it among his other works (3). The ſame writer maintains *the hiſtory of the philoſophers*, aſcribed to

(5) *Gal. de ther. l.* ii. *p.* 457, 458. (6) *Vit. Sev. p.* 65. (7) *Herod. l.* ii. *p.* 514. *Philoſt. ſoph.* 50. *Galen. ther. t.* ii. *p.* 458. (8) *Suid. p.* 597. (9) *Gal. vit. Jonſ. l.* iii. *c.* 11. (1) *Gal. prog. c.* 3. (2) *Suid. ibid.* (3) *Jonſ. l.* iii. *c.* 12.

Is ſucceeded by his

SEVERUS was ſucceeded by his two ſons *Baſſianus* and *Geta*, whom he had inveſted with the ſovereign power, during

Galen, to be nothing elſe but the five books of *Plutarch* upon *the opinions of philoſophers* (4). Some find fault with *Galen* for decrying all thoſe of his profeſſion, who in his time were in any repute at *Rome* (5). *Diogenes Laertius*, the author of the lives of the philoſophers, compriſed in ten books, flouriſhed, according to *Voſſius*, under *Antoninus Pius*; but, according to *Jonſius*, whoſe conjectures ſeem to us better grounded, under *Severus* (6). He was a native, as *Jonſius* conjectures, of *Laertes*, a ſmall city of *Cilicia*, and thence took the ſurname of *Laertius*. After he had taken great pains to inform himſelf of the different tenets of the various ſects of philoſophers, he embraced the worſt of all, that is, the *Epicurean*. His work is greatly eſteemed by the learned, but in many places ſtrangely corrupted. *Caſaubon* aſcribes many of the faults, which are to be found in the work, to the author himſelf, who, according to him, wanted either memory, judgment, or time, to digeſt the materials which he had collected (7). Before he wrote the lives of the philoſophers, he publiſhed a great number of epigrams in all kinds of verſes, which he ſtiled *pammetra*, that is, all ſorts of meaſures (8). *Neſtor*, a native of *Laranda* in *Lycaonia*, flouriſhed, according to *Suidas* (9), under *Severus*, and wrote ſeveral *Greek* poems. *Piſander*, who, in the reign of the emperor *Alexander*, wrote ſome hiſtories, or rather fables, in *Greek* verſe, was his ſon. *Hermocrates* the ſophiſt would have proved the moſt eloquent orator of his age, had he had time to improve his extraordinary talents; but he died in the twenty-eighth year of his age. *Severus* often heard him, and with great pleaſure. The emperor obliged him, while he was in the Eaſt, to marry the daughter of the ſophiſt *Antipater*; but he divorced her ſoon after (1). *Julius Titianus*, the father of the orator of the ſame name, who was preceptor to the ſon of *Maximinus*, about the year 235. publiſhed many pieces mightily extolled by the antients; and, among the reſt, a deſcription of all the provinces of the empire; and a book of letters, in which he imitated the ſtile of *Cicero*; for he had an extraordinary talent in imitating the different ſtiles of authors, and was thence called *the ape of his time* (2). *C. Julius Solinus*, whoſe deſcription of the earth, under the title of *Polyhiſtor*, has reached us, flouriſhed, according to ſome writers, under *Severus*; but others, with *Voſſius*, are quite at a loſs about the time in which that author wrote. All we know for certain is, that he lived after *Pliny* the elder, and before St. *Jerom*;

(4) *Jonſ. lib.* iii. *c.* 12. (5) *Vide Salmaſ. not. in Spart. p.* 732. (6) *Jonſ. ibid.* (7) *Diog. Laert. not. Caſaubon. p.* 18. (8) *Hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 13. (9) *Suid. p.* 211. (1) *Philoſtrat. ſoph.* 51. (2) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* ii. *c.* 1.

that

jing his life-time, and by his laſt will appointed to reign ſo ointly after his death. The former, commonly known by the nickname of *Caracalla*, a *Gauliſh* word for a kind of caſſock uſed in *Gaul*, and by him firſt introduced among the *Romans*, gave, in his infancy, many inſtances of an extraordinary ſweet and mild temper; but, as he grew up, abandoned himſelf to all manner of cruelty, and proved in the end a moſt inhuman and bloody tyrant; whereas the latter, who in his tender years ſeemed no leſs void of humanity than his father, changed, we may ſay, by degrees, his temper, and became, in regard of his affability, moderation, and complaiſance towards all, the darling both of the people and ſoldiery. They ſhewed, from their childhood, an utter averſion from each other, and were continually quarreling, even in their common ſports and diverſions. This natural antipathy increaſed as they grew in years, notwithſtanding all the intreaties, rebukes, and exhortations, both of their father, and

ſons Caracalla *and* Geta.

Their different tempers.

that is, after the firſt century, and before the end of the fourth (3). *Dodwell* obſerves, that no author quotes him before the fourth century; and concludes, from ſome conjectures, that he flouriſhed after *Cenſorinus*, who wrote in the year 238 (4). His work is, for the moſt part, copied, and not very judiciouſly, from other writers, eſpecially from *Pliny* the elder. Under *Severus* flouriſhed *Philoſtratus*, author of the life of *Apollonius Tyanæus*; which work he undertook at the requeſt of the empreſs *Julia*, the wife of *Severus*. *Photius* commends the elegance and ſoftneſs of his ſtile; but thinks his conſtructon not always agreeable to the rules of grammar (5). We have ſhewn, in the preceding part of this volume, how little credit his life of *Apollonius* deſerves (6). In that hiſtory he promiſes to clear his hero, in another work, from the aſperſions of the philoſopher *Euphrates* (7). But, if he was as good as his word, that performance has not reached us. He was, according to *Euſebius*, a native of *Athens*, and the ſon of *Philoſtratus Verus*, who publiſhed a great many works, and, among the reſt, one againſt the ſophiſt *Antipater* (8). Beſides the life of *Apollonius*, *Philoſtratus* wrote four books of *pictures*, or deſcriptions, a treatiſe on heroes, letters on friendſhip, and the lives of the ſophiſts in four books. All theſe works have reached our times. Under *Severus* lived two other writers of the ſame name, to wit, *Philoſtratus* the ſon of *Nervianus*, to whom ſome writers aſcribe the lives of the ſophiſts; and *Philoſtratus*, a native of *Lemnos*, who wrote ſome deſcriptions: of theſe, the former was great-nephew, and the latter grandſon by the mother, to the author of the life of *Apollonius* (9).

(3) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* iii. *p.* 720, 721. (4) *Dod. apperd. ad diſſert. Cyprian. c.* 15. (5) *Phot. c.* 44. (6) *See before, p.* 100, (A), *&ſeqq.* (7) *Philoſ. vit. Apoll. l.* i. *c.* 10. (8) *Euſeb. in Hier. p.* 435. (9) *Caſaub. in Spart. p.* 30.

their preceptor *Antipater*, who were continually laying before them the many evils that must necessarily attend the division and disagreement of brothers. But all to no purpose; for *Severus* no sooner expired, than *Caracalla* strove to have his brother excluded, by the officers of the army, from any share in the sovereignty; but, the soldiers protesting, that they would equally obey both the sons of *Severus*, since he had appointed both to succeed him, he was forced to acknowlege his brother partner in the empire, and suffer the soldiers to take the usual oath of allegiance to each.

Caracalla concludes a shameful treaty with the Britons.

AFTER this *Caracalla* led his army towards the borders of the *Mæatæ* and *Caledonians*, who had begun hostilities anew; but, instead of attacking those warlike nations, he concluded a treaty with them, withdrew his men from the forts erected in their country, and restored to them the lands which *Severus* had obliged them to yield to him [z]. Before he left *Britain*, he discharged *Papinian*, captain of the guards; caused *Castor*, his father's chamberlain, and chief favourite, to be put to death, together with *Evodius*, another of the deceased emperor's freedmen, and formerly his own preceptor; and dispatched assassins into *Italy*, to murder *Plautilla*, who had been his wife, *Plautius* her brother, and a celebrated charioteer, of the faction in the circus opposite to that which he favoured [a] (R). Such was the beginning of the reign of *Caracalla*. The two brothers left *Britain* about the middle of the summer, and set out for *Rome* with their mother *Julia*, and the ashes of their deceased father. *Caracalla* attempted on the road to murder his brother *Geta*; which attempt increased their mutual animosities and jealousies to such a degree, that thenceforth they both marched with their separate guards, and with no less wariness than if they had been in an enemy's country, lodging constantly in different houses, and carefully watching the motions of each other.

Misunderstanding between the two brothers.

They are received at Rome

THEY were received with great solemnity at *Rome*, where they performed with extraordinary pomp the obsequies of their father, and then withdrew to the palace, which they di-

[z] Dio, l. lxxviii. p. 882, & seq. Carac. & Get. vit. p. 87, & 91. [a] Dio, l. lxxvii. p. 870. & l. lxxvi. p. 867.

(R) *Herodian* tells us, that, before he left *Britain*, he dispatched, under various pretences, the physicians who had refused to poison his father, and all the deceased emperor's friends, especially such as endeavoured to promote a good understanding between him and his brother (1).

(1) *Herod. l.* iii. *p.* 538.

vided

vided into two; for it was larger, if *Herodian* is to be credited, than any city in the whole empire, except *Rome*. This division between the two princes rent the whole city, nay, and the empire, into factions; insomuch that, to avoid the many inconveniences and disorders thence arising, a division of the empire was proposed. To this expedient they both hearkened; *Geta*, who loved a quiet life, declaring, that, if *Caracalla* would but yield to him *Asia* and *Egypt*, he would retire to *Antioch* or *Alexandria*, and leave him in quiet possession of the rest of the empire. But this scheme was defeated by their mother *Julia* throwing herself at their feet, and begging, with many tears, that they would divide her, too, between them[b]. Towards the close of this year, *Caracalla* attempted anew to murder his brother, during the feast of *Saturn*; which occasioned almost an open war between the two princes, and a great deal of bloodshed[c]. *with great solemnity.*

THE following year, when the two brothers *Julius* and *Caius Asper* were consuls, *Caracalla*, unalterably fixed in his wicked purpose of destroying his brother, and ruling alone, but finding him guarded both against poison, and open force, pretended a desire of being reconciled with him, and, by means of their common mother *Julia*, invited him to an interview in her chamber. *Geta* readily accepted the invitation, and repaired, without guards, to the appointed place, not suspecting the least treachery in a proposal which came from his mother, who loved him with great tenderness. But he had no sooner entered her chamber, than some centurions, whom *Caracalla* had found means to convey privately into an adjoining room, rushing in, sword in hand, fell upon *Geta*, and dispatched him, with many wounds, in his mother's arms, who, in endeavouring to save him, was wounded in the hand[d] (S). Such was the end of this unhappy prince, after he had lived twenty-two years, and nine months, and reigned, from the death of his father, one year, and twenty-three days: for his father died on the fourth of *February* of the year 211. and he was killed the year following, on the twenty-seventh of the same month[e]. He no sooner expired, than *Caracalla*, leav-

Geta *murdered in the arms of his mother.*

Year of the flood 2560. Bef. Chr. 212. Of Rome 960.

[b] HERODIAN. lib. iii. p. 539—543. DIO, lib. lxxvii. p. 871.
[c] DIO, ibid. [d] HEROD. lib. iii. p. 543. [e] Vit. Get. p. 91.

(S) *Caracalla* himself seems to have imbrued his hands in the blood of his brother; for *Dio Cassius* tells us, that he afterwards consecrated, in the temple of *Serapis*, the sword with which he had murdered him (2).

(2) *Dio, p.* 880.

ing the palace with great haſte and precipitation, flew thro' the city to the camp of the prætorian guards, pretending great fear and diſmay, and crying out aloud, that his life was in danger; that a bloody conſpiracy had been formed againſt him; that he muſt have fallen a victim to the rage of his enemies, had not his innocence protected him. Upon his arrival in the camp, he went ſtrait to the place where the enſigns and banners were kept, which was a kind of temple and aſylum; and there throwing himſelf upon the ground, returned thanks to the gods for delivering him from ſo great and imminent a danger.

Caracalla gains the ſoldiery with an immenſe largeſs.

To the ſoldiers who crouded about him, he expreſſed himſelf with the ſame ambiguity; but by degrees let them know, that he was ſole ſovereign, and in a condition to beſtow upon them what wealth and honours he pleaſed; and that they might immediately feel the effects of his generoſity, which, he ſaid, was no longer checked or reſtrained, he doubled their pay, already very high, and added a largeſs of two thouſand five hundred drachmas a man, which he gave them leave to take that inſtant out of the public treaſury. Thus was the exchequer, which his father had, by innumerable murders, and unjuſt confiſcations, been filling for the ſpace of eighteen years, emptied in one day. *Caracalla*, having, by this extravagant largeſs, ſecured the affections of the ſoldiery, told them in the end, that his brother *Geta* had attempted to murder him, but had loſt his life in the attempt. Hereupon *Caracalla* was ſaluted ſole emperor by the whole army, and the unhappy *Geta* declared a traitor, and a public enemy [f]. There was at this time another camp in the neighbourhood of *Alba*, now *Albano*, where the murder of *Geta* was highly reſented; but *Caracalla*, haſtening thither, ſoon appeaſed them, by exaggerating to them the pretended treachery of his brother, and promiſing them an immenſe donative. *Caracalla* paſſed that night in the camp of the prætorian guards, and the next day went to the ſenate, with a cuiraſs under his robes, guarded by all his troops, ſome of whom he even placed among the ſenators, to be ready in caſe any of them ſhould attempt to revenge the death of *Geta*.

His ſpeech in the ſenate.

His ſpeech turned upon the wicked deſigns of *Geta*, whom, he ſaid, he had ſlain unwillingly in his own defence, leſſening the heinouſneſs of his crime by the example of *Romulus*, and others, who had revenged with death injuries offered them by their brothers. In withdrawing from the ſenate, he pronounced aloud the following words: "I give leave to all thoſe "who are in baniſhment, to return home; I except none,

[f] Dio, p. 872. Herod. lib. iv. p. 544. Vit. Get. p. 91. & Carac. p. 86.

"by

" by what crimes ſoever they may have deſerved that puniſh-
" ment [g]."

FROM the ſenate he returned to the palace, leaning upon *Papinian* and *Chilo*; whence he cauſed the body of his deceaſed brother to be with great pomp conveyed to the tomb of the *Septimian* family on the *Appian* way; and, when the funeral ceremonies were over, prevailed upon the ſenate to rank him, with the uſual ſolemnity, among the gods [h]. Finding, upon his return to the palace, his mother *Julia*, bewailing with other women the death of her ſon, tranſported with rage, he was at firſt for putting them all to death; but in the end got the better of his paſſion, and even ſhewed great kindneſs to *Julia*, ordering the ſame honours to be paid to her as to himſelf (T). Among many illuſtrious perſons, whom the inhuman tyrant ſacrificed to his rage and jealouſy, as the friends of *Geta*, no one was more univerſally, or more deſervedly, regretted, than the celebrated *Papinian*, the greateſt civilian, in the opinion of *Zoſimus* [i] and *Cujas* [k], that ever was, or ever will be. As *Severus* had recommended chiefly to him his two ſons, he ſpared no pains to reconcile them, and often defeated the wicked attempts of *Caracalla*; on which account he was by him reckoned among the friends of *Geta*. Beſides, the tyrant deſiring him, after the murder of his brother, to compoſe a ſpeech for him, excuſing the crime, which he deſigned to pronounce in the ſenate, *Papinian*, whoſe love for juſtice, to

Performs the obſequies of his brother, and cauſes him to be ranked among the gods.

Several illuſtrious perſons put to death.

[g] Vit. Car. p. 86. [h] Idem ibid. & Get. vit. p. 91, 92.
[i] Zos. l. i. p. 637. [k] CUJ. in cod. Theod.

(T) *Spartian*, and ſome other writers, pretend, that ſhe gained his favour by ſacrificing to him what ought to have been dearer to her than her life. But neither *Herodian* nor *Dio Caſſius* charge *Julia* or *Caracalla* with any ſuch crime; and thoſe who do, ſuppoſe *Julia* to have been only ſtepmother to *Caracalla*, which is now by all writers agreed to be a groſs miſtake. We are told, that *Caracalla*, on hearing the name, or beholding the images or ſtatues, of *Geta*, uſed to burſt into tears; but this affected grief did not prevent his maſſacring, without diſtinction of ſex, age, or quality, all the friends of *Geta* (3). *Dio Caſſius* writes, that he began this general maſſacre by ordering all his domeſtics, to the number of twenty thouſand perſons, to be inhumanly butchered. It was death to utter his name; inſomuch that no one durſt uſe it thenceforth, even on the ſtage, where it was commonly given to ſlaves. He likewiſe ordered all the money with his name to be melted down, and the inſcriptions eraſed.

(3) *Get. vit. p. 92. Herod. l. iii. p. 546.*

uſe

uſe the expreſſion of *Zoſimus*, was equal to his knowlege of it, anſwered with great firmneſs, *It is not ſo eaſy a thing to juſtify a parricide, as to commit it; and it is a ſecond parricide to defame an innocent perſon, after having taken away his life.* The emperor, provoked at this anſwer, ordered his head to be immediately ſtruck off, and likewiſe his ſon's, who was then quæſtor, and had but three days before exhibited moſt magnificent ſports[l]. *L. Fabius Chilo*, another of *Severus*'s great favourites, for whom *Caracalla* himſelf had a particular eſteem (for he uſed to ſtile him his true friend, his benefactor, his father), was in the next place doomed to deſtruction, for having, together with *Papinian*, endeavoured by all means to promote union and concord between the two brothers. A tribune was ſent with a band of ſoldiers to ſeize him in his houſe, drag him to the palace, and there butcher him in the preſence of the emperor. But the people, and the city-guards, whom *Chilo* had commanded while governor of *Rome*, moved with compaſſion at ſeeing a perſon of his rank thus ignominiouſly treated by the inſulting ſoldiery, like a common malefactor, reſcued him out of their hands, uttering dreadful menaces againſt the authors of ſuch outrages; which ſo frightened *Caracalla*, that he declared he had given no ſuch orders; and, to appeaſe the multitude, cauſed both the tribune and ſoldiers to be immediately put to death [m].

The death of Papinian,

He ſpared *Chilo*, but vented his rage without controul upon many other illuſtrious perſons, both of the ſenatorial and equeſtrian order, not pardoning any for whom either his father or brother had ever ſhewn the leaſt kindneſs or eſteem. Among theſe unhappy victims were, a daughter of the emperor *M. Aurelius*, whom the other emperors had treated with the utmoſt reſpect, but *Caracalla* ordered to be ſtrangled, for ſhedding a few tears, when news were brought her of the death of *Geta*; *Septimius Severus Afer*, the ſon of *Geta*, brother to the late emperor *Severus*, to whom *Caracalla* had ſent, the day before, a diſh from his own table, as a token of his friendſhip; *Pompeianus*, who had been twice conſul, had commanded armies in ſeveral wars, and was grandſon to the emperor *M. Aurelius*, by the empreſs *Lucilla*; *Helvius Pertinax*, ſon to the emperor of that name, and therefore greatly beloved by the people, and no leſs hated by the jealous tyrant, whom he had likewiſe provoked with a ſatirical jeſt; for, when the titles of *Parthicus* and *Sarmaticus* were decreed to him by the ſenate, *Pertinax* moved, that the ſurname of *Geticus* might be added to the other two, alluding not ſo much to the victory which *Ca-*

and of ſeveral others.

[l] Vit. Car. p. 88. Dio in excerpt. Val. p. 742. [m] Vit. Car. p. 86. Dio, l. lxxvii. p. 872.

racalla

racalla pretended to have gained over the *Getæ*, as to the murder of his brother *Geta* [n]. Some of *Geta*'s enemies fared to better than his friends; but the death of no man occaſioned greater ſurprize in the city, than that of *Lætus*, one of *Caracalla*'s moſt intimate friends, and the firſt who had adviſed him to diſpatch his brother. He did not even ſpare the *Veſtal* virgins, ſome of whom he ordered to be ſtrangled for having bewailed the death of *Geta*. In ſhort, no ſex, rank, or age, eſcaped his cruelty.

Loads the people with taxes.

THE people he loaded with taxes in all the provinces of the empire, and at *Rome* cauſed great numbers of them to be put to death, ſometimes out of revenge, and ſometimes only for his diverſion; for he delighted in nothing ſo much as in feats of cruelty, and in bloodſhed (U). No prince ever employed more iniquitous means of raiſing money than *Caracalla*, or ſquandered it away with more prodigality. He often uſed to ſay, that money ought not to be lodged in private hands, but only in the prince's. Purſuant to his maxim, he impoveriſhed his ſubjects in all the provinces of the empire, loading them with exceſſive impoſts and taxes; for which, as well as for his extravagant expences, when his mother took the liberty to blame him, he, like a true tyrant, ſhewed her his naked ſword, ſaying, *As long as I have this, I ſhall never want* (W). *Caracalla*

[n] Vit. Car. p. 87.

(U) The people having one day raillied, at the *Circenſian* games, a charioteer whom he favoured, he commanded his guards to ruſh in among the multitude, and put all the delinquents to the ſword; but, as the ſoldiers could not in ſo great a croud diſtinguiſh them from the reſt, they fell indifferently upon all, ſword in hand, and made a dreadful havock of the diſarmed multitude, ſparing only ſuch as had money enough about them to redeem their lives (4).

(W) However, he gave away ſuch immenſe ſums, moſtly to perſons who leaſt of all deſerved them, to wit, to his guards, buffoons, players, gladiators, charioteers, freedmen, *&c.* that he was in the end obliged to coin falſe money, which he ſpent at home, while he employed what true gold and ſilver he could extort from his ſubjects, in keeping the barbarians quiet, who were conſtantly threatening him with war (5). He ſhewed on all occaſions the utmoſt contempt for the ſenate, intirely neglected the adminiſtration of juſtice, took no care of the provinces, and raiſed to the higheſt employments the meaneſt, and in every reſpect the moſt infamous and unworthy, perſons of the empire. Thus he gave the government of *Rome* to

(4) *Herod. l.* iv. *p.* 546.

(5) *Dio in excerpt. Val. p.* 758. *& l.* lxxvii. *p.* 875.

an

Declares all the subjects of the empire Roman *citizens.*

racalla was author of the famous law declaring all the free subjects of the empire *Roman* citizens. This conſtitution is commonly aſcribed to *M. Aurelius*; but that it was publiſhed not by that prince, but by *Caracalla*, we are told in expreſs terms by *Dio Caſſius* [o], whoſe authority is of far greater weight with us, than that of *Aurelius Victor*, who was, as we conjecture, led into that miſtake by the words of *Ulpian*, aſcribing the above-mentioned law to *Antoninus* [p]; though from the context it is manifeſt, that *Ulpian* ſpeaks in that place of *Antoninus Caracalla*, and not of *M. Aurelius Antoninus*. St. *Chryſoſtom*, whom ſome writers have followed, ſuppoſes *Adrian* to have been the author of this law [q]. Though the name and privileges of *Roman* citizens were by this conſtitution made common to all the ſubjects of the empire, yet the antient diſtinction of *colonies*, of *Latin*, *municipal*, and *free* cities, ſubſiſted long after, as appears from the *Theodoſian* code [r] and *digeſts* [s]. But to clear up this difficulty, which has puzzled the beſt civilians, is not the province of an hiſtorian.

CARACALLA, finding himſelf generally hated at *Rome*, on account of his cruelties, reſolved to leave the city, and viſit, after the example of *Adrian*, all the provinces of the empire. Purſuant to this reſolution, having in the third year of his reign taken upon him his fourth conſulſhip, and named *Decius Cœlius Balbinus*, afterwards emperor, for his collegue,

His cruelties in Gaul.

he ſet out for *Gaul*, where he cauſed the proconſul of the province of *Narbonne* to be put to death, and made ſuch havock of the people, that he was more hated and abhorred there, than he had ever been at *Rome*. He did not even ſpare the phyſicians, who had taken care of him during a dangerous malady, with which he was ſeized; but, upon his recovery,

[o] DIO in excerpt. VAL. p. 755. l. xvii. [p] Digeſt. 1. t. 5. [q] CHRYS. in act. apoſt. hom. xlviii. [r] Cod. th. 2. t. 21. p. 189, 190. l. iv. t. 9. l. iii. p. 370. [s] Digeſt. 50. t. 15. l. i. p. 1921. & l. viii. p. 1923.

an eunuch named *Sempronius*, who was by birth an *Iberian*, by profeſſion a poiſoner and magician, who had been baniſhed by his father *Severus*, and confined to a deſert iſland. He appointed one *Theocritus* captain of the guards, who had been firſt a ſlave, and afterwards a dancing-maſter and ſtage-player. One *Epagathus*, another manumitted ſlave, bore likewiſe great ſway at court, and, with the other two, ruled and controuled both the empire and emperor, ſetting all things to ſale, offices, provinces, public revenues, public juſtice, and the lives of men, both innocent and guilty (6).

(6) *Dio, l.* lxxvii. *p.* 877.

cauſed

cauſed them to be put to death [t]. In the beginning of the following year, when *Meſſala* and *Sabinus* were conſuls, he returned to *Rome*, bringing with him an incredible quantity of habits made after the *Gauliſh* faſhion, which he wore himſelf, diſtributed among the people, and would ſuffer none to wait upon him but in that dreſs (X). His ſtay at *Rome* was very ſhort; for this very year the *Catti*, the *Alemanni*, whom we find now mentioned for the firſt time in hiſtory, and ſeveral other *German* nations, taking up arms, began to make inroads into the *Roman* dominions (Y). *Caracalla* therefore marched againſt them, but in that expedition approved himſelf a better ſoldier than commander.

His expedition againſt the Catti *and* Alemanni.

FOR, though he behaved with great courage, and even challenged the braveſt of the enemy to a ſingle combat; yet, for want of conduct, he was obliged to purchaſe a peace with vaſt ſums, and the liberty of retiring with ſafety into the *Roman* dominions [u] (Z). It was no ſooner known in *Germany*, that he had bought a peace of the *Catti* and *Alemanni*, than all the nations inhabiting that extenſive country flew to arms, threatening him with a deſtructive war, unleſs with them too he ſhared his treaſures; which he did accordingly, paying them yearly penſions, and by that means reducing himſelf to ſuch ſtreights, that he was obliged, as we have hinted above, to coin falſe money. When he received the deputies of the barbarians, he ſuffered no one to be preſent except the interpreters,

Buys a peace.

Year of the flood 2561. Of Chriſt 213. Of Rome 961.

[t] Vit. Carac. p. 87.

[u] Dio, l. lxxvii. p. 876.

(X) From this habit, the emperor was nicknamed *Caracalla* or *Caracallus*; for ſuch was its *Gauliſh* name (7). Hence *Scaliger* derives, how rightly we leave the reader to judge, the word *caſſock*, the *caracalla* being a kind of caſſock. At *Rome* it was called *Antoniniana*, from *Antoninus*, which was one of the emperor's names.

(Y) The *Alemanni* inhabited at this time the preſent duchy of *Virtemberg*, and were, as appears from their name, a mixed multitude of all the neighbouring nations (8). They had entered into an alliance with the *Catti*, whom we have frequently mentioned in the foregoing reigns, and made daily incurſions into the *Roman* territories.

(Z) Having aſked ſome women, whom he had taken in the countries of the *Catti* and *Alemanni*, which they choſe, to be ſold for ſlaves, or put to death, they all preferred death to ſlavery. The emperor nevertheleſs ordered them to be ſold; but they all laid violent hands on themſelves, and ſome of them after having put to death their children (9).

(7) *Dio, l.* lxxvii. *p.* 890. *Spart. p.* 72. *Euſeb. chron. p.* 230. (8) *Vorburg. hiſt. Rom. Ger. p.* 473. *& Bucb. Belg. l.* vi. *c.* 7. (9) *Dio in excerpt. Val. p.* 749, 750.

whom he cauſed to be immediately put to death, leſt they ſhould divulge what had paſſed. However, the barbarians themſelves, when he was murdered, owned, that he had encouraged them to invade *Italy*, in caſe any misfortune ſhould befal him, and to march ſtrait to *Rome*, which, he ſaid, they might take with great eaſe [w]. During his ſtay in *Germany*, he cauſed *Gaiobamarus* king of the *Quadi* to be treacherouſly murdered; and, having ordered all the youth of *Noricum* to take arms, and join him, he commanded his troops, on what provocation we know not, to put them all to the ſword [x]. For his pretended victories over the *Alemanni*, he took the title of *Germanicus* and *Alemannicus* [y].

He paſſes over into Aſia.

Year of the flood 2563. Of Chriſt 215. Of Rome 963.

In the fifth year of his reign, when *Lætus* was conſul the ſecond time with *Cerealis*, *Caracalla*, leaving *Germany*, led his army into *Dacia*; where he gained ſome ſmall advantages over the *Getæ*, and then purſued his march through *Thrace* to the *Helleſpont*, which he croſſed, not without danger of being ſhipwrecked; and, arriving in *Aſia*, haſtened to *Pergamus*, hoping to be delivered by the god *Æſculapius*, worſhiped in that city, from all the maladies, ſays *Herodian*, both of his body and mind: but the god, continues that hiſtorian, was deaf to his prayers; ſo that he left *Pergamus*, after having enriched it with many privileges, as if he deſigned to bribe the deity; and purſued his journey to *Ilium*, where he viewed the remains of antient *Troy*, and viſited the tomb of *Achilles*, paying extraordinary honours to the memory of that hero, though an implacable enemy to the *Trojans*, from whom the *Romans* pretended to derive their origin. From *Ilium* he went to *Nicomedia*, where he ſpent the winter. In that city he invited *Dio Caſſius* to ſup with him, during the feaſt of *Saturn*; for he obliged moſt of the ſenators to attend him in all his journeys, to defray his traveling charges, and to build in the cities, where he paſſed the winter, theatres, circus's, and amphitheatres, for public ſports [z] (A).

The

[w] Dio, l. lxxviii. p. 891. & 754. [y] Car. vit. p. 89.
[z] Dio, l. lxxviii. p. 883, 884.
[x] Idem in excerpt. Val. p. 749, Goltz. p. 93. Birag. p. 293.

(A) Hiſtorians obſerve, that, to gain the affections of the foreign nations, he dreſſed after the manner of the countries through which he paſſed: thus in *Germany* he aſſumed the *German* habit, and choſe ſuch of the *German* ſoldiers as were moſt ſtrong and active, for his guard. When he entered *Macedon*, from a *German* he became a *Macedonian* in habit and behaviour. For, pretending to be a great admirer of *Alexander*, he adopted, not only the habit in which that conqueror was repreſented, but

THE following year, when *C. Atius Sabinus* was conſul the ſecond time, with *Cornelius Anullinus*, *Caracalla*, leaving *Nicomedia* after the fourth of *April* (for he celebrated his birth-day there), croſſed *Bithynia*, *Aſia*, and the other provinces, on his journey to *Antioch*, in which city he was received with extraordinary pomp. During his ſtay there, he wrote to the ſenate, that he was well appriſed they did not approve of his conduct; but ſo long as he had an army at his command, he neither valued their reproaches, nor feared their hatred [a]. He was very deſirous of picking a quarrel with the *Parthians*, who were involved in a civil war, occaſioned by the ambition of the two ſons of the late king *Vologeſes*; but they complying with all his demands, he poſtponed his intended expedition againſt them, and bent his mind on the reduction of *Oſrhoene* and *Armenia*, though the kings of theſe two countries lived in perfect amity with the *Romans*. However, *Caracalla*, having invited them to *Antioch*, as friends and allies of the *Roman* people, cauſed them to be arreſted there, and impriſoned, without the leaſt colour or pretence for ſo doing. Hereupon *Oſrhoene* immediately ſubmitted, and was, according to ſome writers, reduced to a *Roman* province; though others maintain, that it was long after governed by its own princes [b]. All we know for certain is, that *Caracalla* eſtabliſhed a *Roman* colony at *Edeſſa*, the capital of *Oſrhoene* [c]; and that, in the fourth century, the whole country was ſubject to the *Romans*. The *Armenians*, notwithſtanding the captivity of their king, made a vigorous reſiſtance; gave a total overthrow to *Theocritus* the comedian, who was ſent againſt them at the head of a numerous army; baffled all the efforts of *Caracalla*; and maintained themſelves in poſſeſſion of their antient liberties [d].

Arrives at Antioch.

He treacherouſly ſeizes and impriſons the kings of Oſrhoene *and* Armenia.

[a] DIO, l. lxxvii. p. 879. HEROD. l. iv. p. 519. [b] Vide SPANH. l. ii. p. 86. & SYNCEL. p. 359. [c] SPANH. l. ix. p. 775. [d] DIO, l. lxxvii. p. 875.

but his air and mien, affecting an awful and threatening countenance, and bending his head ſomewhat to one ſide. He ordered ſeveral ſtatues to be ſet up in *Rome*, to the honour of that hero; and, among the reſt, ſome with two faces, one reſembling *Alexander*, and the other himſelf. He ordered himſelf to be ſtiled *Alexander*, and *Antoninus the Great*, called a ſquadron of his army a *phalanx*, and gave to his officers the names of the commanders of *Alexander*. He had no ſooner entered *Aſia*, than he forgot *Alexander*, and ſtudied in all things to reſemble *Achilles*, whoſe tomb he had viſited. Thus he traveled, more like a player than an emperor, being the laughing-ſtock of other nations, and the ſhame and diſgrace of his own.

FROM *Antioch* the emperor proceeded to *Alexandria*, where he made a dreadful havock of the inhabitants, being highly provoked againſt them for the many lampoons, which, agreeable to their ſatirical humour, they had publiſhed on occaſion of the death of *Geta*. He gave private orders to his numerous troops, who were diſperſed all over the city, to fall upon the inhabitants in the night-time, to enter and pillage their houſes, and put all to the ſword, without diſtinction of ſex, age, or condition. His cruel orders were executed with ſuch barbarity, as can hardly be expreſſed; the whole city floated in blood; every houſe was filled with carcaſes; and the return of day diſcovered in every ſtreet the ſad monuments of the mighty butchery: but the tyrant, not yet ſatiated with blood, commanded the ſlaughter to be continued all the day following, that he might have the pleaſure of beholding it from the temple of *Serapis*, where he had paſſed the preceding night, imploring, during the general maſſacre, the protection of that deity. When the ſoldiers were tired with ſlaughter, *Caracalla* wrote to the ſenate, acquainting them, that he had revenged the affronts offered him by the *Alexandrians*; but that it was not neceſſary to ſpecify the number of the dead, nor their condition, ſince none had periſhed but ſuch as were guilty. Before he left the city, he ſtripped it of all its privileges; ſuppreſſed the celebrated aſſembly of learned men; ordered all ſtrangers, who lived there, to abandon the place; and that ſuch as had eſcaped the general maſſacre, who were very few, might not have the ſatisfaction of ſeeing one another, he cut off all communication of one ſtreet with another, by walls built for that purpoſe, and guarded by the troops he left there [e]. However, as the tyrant died ſoon after, *Alexandria* ſpeedily recovered its former ſplendor, and continued to be the firſt city of the empire after *Rome*.

Orders a general maſſacre at Alexandria.

FROM *Alexandria* the emperor returned to *Antioch*, with a deſign to make war upon the *Parthians*, and, by ſome memorable exploit, deſerve the ſurname of *Parthicus*, which he ſeems to have preferred to all others. In order to have ſome pretence for declaring war, he ſent an embaſſy to *Artabanes* with rich preſents, to deſire his daughter in marriage, not doubting but the *Parthian* would deny him his requeſt; which happened accordingly, *Artabanes* alleging, that his daughter, brought up after the *Parthian* manner, could never be reconciled to the cuſtoms of the *Romans* [f]. *Herodian* writes that, *Caracalla* perſiſting in his demand, *Artabanes* at

His treachery towards the Parthians.

[e] HEROD. l. iv. p. 549. DIO, l. lxxvii. p. 879, 880. Vit. Car. p. 87. [f] DIO, l. lxxviii. p. 896.

length

length complied with it; ſuffered him to enter his dominions; diſpatched orders to his governors to receive and entertain him every-where with the utmoſt magnificence; and went out himſelf in perſon to meet him, as he approached the royal city of *Cteſiphon*, where the nuptials were to be ſolemnized. *Artabanes* was attended by the chief nobility of the kingdom, and a numerous body of guards, all unarmed, and in their gayeſt attire. But *Caracalla*, abuſing the confidence they repoſed in him, with a treachery hardly to be matched, gave the ſignal to his ſoldiers to fall upon them ſword in hand; which they did accordingly, and made a terrible ſlaughter of the unarmed multitude, expecting nothing leſs than ſuch a reception. However, the king had the good fortune to eſcape unhurt. After this exploit, worthy of ſuch an emperor as *Caracalla*, the cruel and perfidious monſter, enraged that *Artabanes* had eſcaped him, wreaked his fury on all the countries through which he paſſed on his return to *Syria*, leaving every-where diſmal monuments of his barbarous cruelty, and inſatiable avarice [g] (B). The emperor returned from this memorable expedition to *Edeſſa*; whence he wrote boaſting letters to the ſenate, as if he had ſubdued the *Parthians*, and reduced all the Eaſt. The ſenate, though informed of what had paſſed, yet decreed him a triumph, and the title of *Parthicus*, which, above all, he ſeemed to covet [h].

Honoured by the ſenate with the title of Parthicus.

THE following year, when *C. Bruttius Præſens* and *T. Meſſius Extricatus* were conſuls, a bloody doom at length overtook this man of blood. He had often raillied as a coward, and threatened with death, *Macrinus* captain of the guards; beſides, about this time a ſoothſayer declared publicly in *Africa*, that *Macrinus*, and his ſon *Diadumenus*, were deſtined to the empire. Hereupon the ſoothſayer was immediately

A predilection in favour of Macrinus,

[g] HEROD. l. iv. p. 551—553.

[h] DIO, l. lxxviii. p. 881.

HEROD. p. 553.

(B) Thus *Herodian*. But *Dio Caſſius* writes, that *Caracalla*, upon the *Parthian* king's refuſing him his daughter, entered his dominions, without any farther declaration of war; ravaged great part of *Media*; deſtroyed ſeveral cities; took *Arbela*; and there demoliſhed the tombs of the *Parthian* monarchs, inſulting their remains in a moſt outrageous manner. The ſame writer adds, that as the irruption was ſudden and unexpected, he no-where met with the leaſt oppoſition, or even ſaw the face of an enemy (1). *Spartian*, indeed, ſpeaks of a tumultuary engagement between the *Parthians* and *Romans*, in which *Caracalla* let looſe wild beaſts againſt the enemy (2).

(1) *Dio, l.* lxxviii. *p.* 881.

(2) *Vit. Car. p.* 87.

diately ſent to *Rome*, where he repeated and maintained the ſame thing before *Maternianus*, captain of the city-guards, whom the emperor, as he repoſed in him an intire confidence, had injoined to employ all poſſible means, even the deteſtable myſteries of magic, in order to diſcover, whether any one privately aſpired at the empire. *Maternianus*, therefore, did not fail to write immediately to the emperor what he had learned of the ſoothſayer; but the letter being delivered to *Julia*, whom *Caracalla* had left at *Antioch*, with full power to open and read all his diſpatches (for he himſelf was ſtill at *Edeſſa*, where he had paſſed the winter), *Macrinus*, who attended the emperor, was acquainted with the contents of it, before *Julia* could tranſmit it from *Antioch* to *Edeſſa*. This intelligence was conveyed to him by *Ulpius Julianus* his intimate friend, who delivered the letter to a courier diſpatched from *Rome* ſtrait to the court at *Edeſſa* [i] (C). *Macrinus* being thus informed before the emperor of what *Maternianus* had written, and therefore ſenſible, that he could not uſe too much diſpatch [k], he immediately gained, with great promiſes, two brothers, *Aurelius Nemeſianus* and *Aurelius Apollinaris*, both tribunes of the guards; *Julius Martialis*, an exempt, whom the emperor had provoked, by refuſing him the poſt of a centurion; *Martius Agrippa* the admiral; *Rhætianus*, tribune of the ſecond legion; and ſeveral others; who put their deſign in execution on the eighth of *April* of this year 217. while the emperor was going on horſeback with a ſmall retinue from *Edeſſa* to viſit a temple of the *Moon* at *Carrhæ*; for, being obliged to ſtop by the way to eaſe nature, and all withdrawing, except one of the prince's domeſtics, as he was ready to mount again, *Martialis*, loth to let ſlip that opportunity, ran haſtily to him, gave him with his dagger ſuch a ſtab in the throat, that he expired immediately, and, returning to the reſt, mixed with the croud, before they were appriſed of what had paſſed; but, when the emperor's death was publicly known, a *Scythian*, who belonged to the guards, obſerving *Martialis* with a bloody dagger in his hand, which, in that confuſion, he had not the precaution to conceal, and thence concluding him to be the author of the murder, ſhot him through with an arrow. *Caracalla* was killed after he had

who conſpires againſt Caracalla.

Caracalla *murdered.*

Year of the flood 2565. Of Chriſt

Of Rome 965.

[i] Dio, l. lxxviii. p. 882. [k] Herod. l. iv. p. 554.

(C) *Herodian* writes, that a packet being brought to the emperor, while he was buſied in driving a chariot at the public ſhews, he ordered *Macrinus* to read the letters, and acquaint him with the contents of them afterwards; and that *Macrinus* found, among the reſt, the letter of *Maternianus*.

lived

lived twenty-nine years and four months, and reigned six years, two months, and four days, from the death of his father [1] (D).

THE

[1] Dio, p. 891. Herod. p. 556.

(D) The authors who lived under *Caracalla*, were, *Q. Severus Sammonicus*, who wrote a great number of books, which were much admired by *Geta*; and hence *Sammonicus* was, by *Caracalla*'s order, murdered, while he was at supper, as a friend to *Geta* (3). None of his works have reached our times, except some books in *Latin* verse on physic, and a few passages quoted by *Macrobius* out of a book in prose, which he inscribed to the emperor *Severus* (4). *Vossius* is of opinion, that he published some historical pieces (5). His library consisted of sixty-two thousand volumes, which his son, who bore the same name, bequeathed to young *Gordian*, whose preceptor he had been (6). The emperor *Alexander* is said to have taken great delight in reading the works of *Horace* and *Serenus Sammonicus*, with whom he had been acquainted (7); but this must have been the son. *Ælius Maurus*, whom *Spartian* quotes in relating the death of *Severus* (8), wrote in the reign of *Caracalla*, being then very old; for he had been a slave to *Phlegon*, the celebrated freedman of the emperor *Adrian* (9). *Vossius* ranks him among the *Latin* historians; because *Spartian* does not say, that he wrote in *Greek* (1). *Oppian*, the celebrated *Greek* poet, lived under *Antoninus*, the son of *Domna*; that is, under *Caracalla*, the son of *Julia Domna*, as he himself informs us (2), and not under *Antoninus the Philosopher*, as we read in the chronicle of *Eusebius* and St. *Jerom* (3). He was a native of *Anazarbus*, a town of *Cilicia*, as appears from the short account of his life, which is prefixed to his works (4). His father being banished by *Severus* to the island of *Malta*, or to that of *Melada* near *Ragusa*, *Oppian* accompanied him to the place of his exile, and there composed his poems, which he afterwards rehearsed at *Rome*, where they were received with extraordinary applause, and pleased the emperor *Severus* to such a degree, that he recalled his father from banishment, and rewarded the poet with as many pieces of gold as there were verses in his poem on the art of fishing; whence he used to call those verses, *golden verses* (5). He inscribed that poem to *Antoninus*, that is, to *Caracalla*, about the year 204. according to *Scaliger*, and the other on the chace to the same prince, after the death of his father *Severus* (6). The latter poem ought to consist of five books as well as the former, tho' there are but four in the *Paris* edition of 1555. and in that of *Plantin* in 1597. both which edi-

3) *Car. vit. p.* 86. & *Get. vit. p.* 92. (4) *Voss. poet. Lat. p.* 52. & *Macrob. Saturn. l.* ii. *c.* 12. (5) *Voss. hist. Lat. l.* ii. *c.* 2. (6) *Gord. vit. p.* 159. (7) *Alex. vit. p.* 124. (8) *Vit. Sev. p.* 71. (9) *Voss. hist. Lat. ibid.* (1) *Idem ibid.* (2) *Oppian. de venat. l.* i. *p.* 129. (3) *Euseb. chron. p.* 121, 122. (4) *Oppian. vit.* (5) *Sozom. l.* i. *p.* 394. (6) *Oppian. de pisc. l.* ii. *p.* 54. & *de venat. l.* i. *p.* 129. *Euseb. chron. p.* 222.

THE ſoldiers immediately gathered about the body of the deceaſed prince, conveyed it to *Edeſſa*, and there proceeded, even before they had performed the funeral obſequies, to the election of a new emperor. They were in ſuſpenſe that and the two following days; but, on the fourth, the eleventh of *April*, and the birth-day of *Severus*, the prætorian guards, who were at *Edeſſa*, at the inſtigation of the tribunes, who had been privy to the conſpiracy of *Macrinus*, declared him emperor; for no one, except his accomplices, imagined him to have been any-way acceſſory to the death of *Caracalla*, which they aſcribed to *Martialis* alone, as if he had committed the murder out of private paſſion and revenge. *Macrinus* pretended at firſt to decline ſuch an heavy burden; but was eaſily prevailed upon to ſubmit to it; diſtributed, on that occaſion, large ſums amongſt the ſoldiery; made them ample promiſes; and granted a general pardon to all perſons accuſed of, or condemned for, crimes of majeſty or high-treaſon [m] (E).

Opelius Macrinus *declared emperor by the ſoldiery.*

[l] Dio, p. 891. Herod. p. 556. [m] Dio, l. lxxviii. p. 893—895.

tions are evidently imperfect. St. *Jerom* extols the poem on the art of fiſhing as a wonderful performance (7). *Scaliger* ſtiles it a *divine work*; but *Sozomenus*, not ſo laviſh of his praiſes, calls it only an indifferent poem (8). We learn from his life, that, beſides the two above-mentioned works, he compoſed ſeveral other admirable poems, as the anonymous author ſtiles them (9). He tells us himſelf, that he deſcribed in verſe the *Parthian* war, and the taking of *Cteſiphon*, no doubt by *Severus*. He is ſaid to have retired with his father to *Anazarbus*, their native city, and to have died there of the plague in the flower of his age, being but thirty years old (1). The inhabitants of *Anazarbus*, his countrymen, erected a ſtatue to him, with a pompous inſcription.

(E) *Herodian* writes, that the army firſt choſe *Adventus*, *Macrinus*'s collegue in the command of the prætorian guards, who excuſed himſelf on account of his great age (2). But, according to *Dio Caſſius*, *Adventus* only bragged, that, in regard to his ſeniority, he had a better right to the empire than *Macrinus*, declaring, at the ſame time, that he willingly yielded it to him (3). *Adventus* was an excellent commander; but altogether unqualified for a ſtateſman, exceeding old, no leſs meanly born than *Macrinus*, and illiterate to ſuch a degree, that he could not even read (4). However, *Macrinus* created him ſenator, appointed him governor of *Rome*, and the following year choſe him for his collegue in the conſulſhip.

(7) *Hier. chron.* (8) *Sozom. l.* i. *p.* 394. (9) *Oppian. vit.* (1) *Ibid.*
(2) *Herod. l.* iv. *p.* 535. (3) *Dio, p.* 894. (4) *Idem ibid.*

As

As for the new emperor *Opilius*, or rather *Opelius Macrinus*, he was a native of *Cæsarea* in *Mauritania*, now *Algier*, and of a very mean descent. We are told, that many things concerning his birth, his education, and first employments, were invented by his successor *Heliogabalus*, and, by his orders, inserted, as true, in his life. Hence, without taking notice of what we read in *Julius Capitolinus*, who was strangely prejudiced against him, we shall chiefly follow *Dio Cassius*, who flourished under him, and seems quite free from all personal hatred, and personal affection. According to that writer, he was a person of a most mild and humane temper, which gained him the affections both of the people and soldiery, and covered the meanness of his birth, and first employments. He was pretty well versed in the laws, which induced *Plautianus* to commit to him the care of his estate; that is, to appoint him his steward. Afterwards *Severus* charged him with the care of the posts in *Italy*; but soon after banished him, for what transgression we know not, into *Africa*, where he supported himself with pleading causes of small consequence. He returned to *Rome* after the death of *Severus*, when *Caracalla* gave him an employment in the exchequer, in which he acquitted himself so well, that the same prince named him to succeed the celebrated *Papinian* in the command of the prætorian guards. His chief province in that office was to decide causes with the emperor, or in his name; which he did with great equity, when *Caracalla* himself was not present [n]. He married one *Nonia Celsa*, a woman of a very indifferent character, and had by her a son, born on the nineteenth of *September* of the year 208. and commonly called by the *Latin* historians *Diadumenus*; but by *Dio Cassius*, by *Herodian*, and in most inscriptions, *Diadumenianus* [o]. With the empire he took the names of *Severus* and *Aurelius*, which are still to be seen on several of his medals [p]: but on none appears that of *Antoninus*; whence we conclude *Capitolinus* to have been mistaken in giving him it. Before he left *Edessa*, he caused the body of *Caracalla* to be burnt with the usual solemnity, and sent his ashes, inclosed in an urn, to his mother *Julia* at *Antioch*, who, not caring to outlive him, especialy after *Macrinus* had ordered her to leave that city, on account of her bitter invectives against him, and her private intrigues, in order to seize the empire for herself, abstained from all food, and died starved. Her body was sent to *Rome*, and deposited in the tomb of *Caius* and *Lucius Cæsars*, the grandsons

His birth and preferments.

The death of Julia.

[n] Dio, l. lxxviii. p. 892, 893. [o] Idem, p. 888. Herod. p. 566. Goltz. p. 100. [p] Goltz. p. 95.

grandſons of *Auguſtus*, and from thence conveyed afterwards by her ſiſter *Mæſa* to the mauſoleum of *Adrian* [q].

Diadumenus *declared* Cæſar.

MACRINUS was no ſooner declared emperor, than he ſent for his ſon *Diadumenus*, who was then at *Antioch*. The ſoldiers who attended him, and were intirely addicted to *Macrinus*, gave him, purſuant to their private inſtructions, as it were of their own motion, the title of *Cæſar*; which, upon his arrival at *Edeſſa*, was confirmed to him by the whole army, his father giving, on that occaſion, another bounty to the ſoldiery. The new prince did not fail to acquaint the ſenate immediately with the death of *Caracalla*, and his acceſſion to the empire, by a letter, in which he ſpoke with great reſerve of the deceaſed emperor, neither commending nor diſcommending him: he only ſaid, that ſince the doom which he ſeemed to have deſerved had at length overtaken him, and the army had choſen him to command in his room, he would acknowlege himſelf indebted to the ſenate alone for the empire, if they thought fit to confirm that choice. Though the ſenate had heard before the news of the death of *Caracalla*, yet, apprehending it to be only a falſe report, they had carefully concealed their ſentiments; but, being now aſſured

The hatred of the ſenate to Caracalla.

of the truth by *Macrinus*'s letters, they loaded him with dreadful curſes; ordered all his gold and ſilver ſtatues to be melted down, his name to be eraſed out of all inſcriptions; annulled his acts; and declared his memory infamous, ſtiling him no longer *Antoninus*, but *Baſſianus*, *Caracalla*, and *Tarantus*, which was the name of a little, deformed, and cruel gladiator [r]. They were ſo tranſported with joy in ſeeing themſelves delivered from the tyranny of *Caracalla*, that, overlooking the meanneſs of *Macrinus*'s birth, they declared him emperor without the leaſt heſitation, heaping upon him all the honours, which they had ever conferred upon any prince. His family was ranked among the patrician families, his ſon proclaimed *Cæſar*, and his wife, *Nonia Celſa*, honoured with the title of *Auguſta*. In their anſwer to his letter, they earneſtly intreated him to puniſh, according to their deſerts, the miniſters of the late tyrant, and utterly to extirpate the whole tribe of informers. *Macrinus* complied, in ſome degree, with their requeſt; for he ſuffered them to condemn, not to death, but to baniſhment, three ſenators, and many others of an inferior rank; and ordered all the ſlaves and freedmen, who had informed againſt their maſters or patrons, to be crucified.

Macrinus *acknowleged emperor by the ſenate.*

THE new emperor in the mean time, leaving *Edeſſa*, led his army to *Antioch*; and there, in the preſence of all his

[q] Dio, l. lxxviii. p. 899. [r] Idem, p. 892.

troops,

troops, gave his ſon the name of *Antoninus*; a name highly revered, and, in a manner, adored by the ſoldiery [s]. On this occaſion the whole army demanded, with loud cries, the deification of *Caracalla*; a demand which greatly ſurpriſed *Marcrinus*, who, nevertheleſs, was, in the end, forced to comply with it, and command the ſenate to rank among the gods one, whom he himſelf had cauſed to be murdered, and who was deſervedly looked upon by all, except the ſoldiery, as a profeſſed foe to human race, a monſter gorged with blood, a parricide, and the moſt inhuman tyrant that could ever wear and diſgrace a diadem. The ſenate, purſuant to the emperor's orders, immediately decreed him divine honours, a temple, altars, prieſts, ſacrifices, and all the apparatus of divinity. The new emperor was even obliged to cauſe one *Aurelianus* to be condemned and executed, for having privately removed ſome of the deceaſed emperor's ſtatues [t]; ſo great was the authority which the army had, by degrees, uſurped both over the ſenate and prince.

Caracalla deified.

WHILE theſe things paſſed at *Antioch* and *Rome*, *Artabanes*, king of the *Parthians*, having aſſembled a powerful army, advanced at the head of it, with a deſign to invade the *Roman* territories, and retaliate the injuries he had received. *Macrinus*, prompted partly by his natural timidity (for he was not a man of courage), and partly by motives of juſtice and equity, endeavoured to appeaſe him, by ſending back all the priſoners taken by *Caracalla*, and with them embaſſadors to propoſe a peace, on terms equally honourable to both nations; but *Artabanes* declaring, that he would hearken to no propoſals, unleſs the *Romans* engaged, by way of preliminary, to rebuild all the cities they had deſtroyed, to give up *Meſopotamia*, and to pay an immenſe ſum, to be employed in repairing the tombs of the *Parthian* monarchs overturned by *Caracalla*, and making good the loſſes his ſubjects had ſuſtained by the late unjuſt invaſion, *Macrinus*, aſhamed to comply with ſuch high demands, took the field, and met the enemy in the neighbourhood of *Niſibis* [u]. But the *Romans*, inured under *Caracalla* to an idle and effeminate life, were overcome in two engagements; inſomuch that *Macrinus*, not daring to venture a third, ſent embaſſadors with rich preſents for *Artabanes*, and all the grandees of his court; and by that means obtained a peace, which coſt him, according to our hiſtorian, fifty millions of drachmas [w]. However, the ſenate decreed him the ſurname of *Parthicus*, which he

The Parthian war.

The Romans defeated.

Macrinus *concludes a peace with the* Parthians

[s] Dio, p. 896. HEROD. l. iv. p. 561. [t] Dio, l. lxxviii. p. 892. Vit. Macr. p. 95. [u] Vit. Macr. p. 96. Dio, ibid. p. 890. [w] Dio, ibid. p. 896.

accepted, as appears from ſome of his medals [x]; but declined the triumph, which was decreed him at the ſame time [y].

and Armenians. Reſtores Tiridates *to the throne of* Armenia.

As for the *Armenians*, whom *Caracalla* had likewiſe provoked, *Macrinus* appeaſed them, by reſtoring their king *Tiridates* to the throne, and to him thoſe lands, which they had formerly poſſeſſed in *Cappadocia* [z]. *Capitolinus* ſpeaks of a war with the people of *Arabia*, in which *Macrinus* ſignalized his courage, and was attended with great ſucceſs [a]; but of this war no mention is made by any other hiſtorian. *Macrinus*, having thus concluded a peace both with the *Parthians* and *Armenians*, returned to *Antioch*; and there, by means of many excellent laws, endeavoured, as much as in him lay, to reform the abuſes, which had prevailed in the reign of his predeceſſor. He declared all the reſcripts and deciſions of the emperors void and null, unleſs they were found agreeable to the antient and known laws of *Rome*, ſaying, It was a ſhameful thing, that the caprices of a *Commodus*, or a *Caracalla*, ſhould be held for laws. He puniſhed crimes with great ſeverity. When any perſons, of what rank ſoever, were convicted of adultery, he cauſed the delinquents to be tied together; and, thus tied, to be burnt alive. He obliged fugitive ſlaves to fight like gladiators: ſometimes he ordered criminals to be ſhut up, and ſtarved to death. He puniſhed with death ſuch informers, as could not make good their accuſations; when they did, they had the uſual reward, that is, the fourth part of the criminal's eſtate; whence they were called *quadruplatores*; but at the ſame time *Macrinus* declared them infamous (F). He took from the inhabitants of *Pergamus* all the privileges, which had been lately granted them by *Caracalla*, and appointed *Dio Caſſius* the hiſtorian

Macrinus's *ſeverity againſt criminals.*

[x] Noris. de Dio. p. 19. [y] Dio, l. lxxviii. p. 900.
[z] Idem, p. 887. [a] Vit. Macr. p. 95.

(F) He revived, according to *Capitolinus*, who betrays a ſtrange prejudice againſt him, the puniſhment of *Mezentius*, who is ſaid to have tied the living to the dead, that they might both putrefy together. Hence the people, commending once in the circus the mild temper of his ſon *Diadumenus*, publicly repeated the verſe of *Virgil* in commendation of *Lauſus* the ſon of *Mezentius*;

——— *Dignus* ——— *cui pater haud Mezentius eſſet*:

A ſon, whoſe virtues juſtly might require
A worthier than *Mezentius* for his ſire (5).

(5) *Vit. Macr. p.* 96. *Virg. Æn.* vii. *ver.* 654.

governor

governor of that city, and of *Smyrna* [b]. A conſpiracy being diſcovered againſt him, he puniſhed ſome of the authors of it; but pardoned *Arbianus*, *Thuſcus*, and *Gellius*, of whom the former is ſtiled duke of *Armenia*, and the two latter lieutenants of *Aſia* and *Arabia*; nay, he continued them in their employments, hoping to gain them by that means. We are told by *Capitolinus*, that *Diadumenus* wrote on this occaſion to his father, and likewiſe to the empreſs his mother, complaining of the indulgence which the emperor had ſhewn them, and begging that they might be executed without mercy [c] (G). But we can hardly perſuade ourſelves, that *Diadumenus*, then only nine or ten years old, was capable of writing ſuch letters.

An inſtance of his clemency.

[b] Dio, p. 897.

[c] Diad. vit. p. 100.

(G) The letter, which he is ſaid to have written to his father, was conceived in the following terms: "I cannot be ſilent on "the preſent occaſion, without "being wanting to my duty. "You were ſurely quite unmind-"ful of your own ſafety, when "you ſpared the authors of the "late rebellion. Men, whoſe "minds are once exulcerated, "will never be reclaimed by "mercy; and friends, when they "once begin to hate, are of all "enemies the moſt cruel, the "moſt implacable; beſides, they "are ſtill in a condition to do "miſchief, they have ſtill troops "under their command:

Si te nulla movet tantarum gloria rerum,
Aſcanium ſurgentem, & ſpes hæredis Iuli
Reſpice; cui regnum Italiæ, Romanaque tellus
Debetur (6).

If glory with its charms too weak appears,
Regard *Aſcanius*, and his blooming years;
Whom *Italy* ſhall as thy heir obey,
And *Rome*'s dominions own his ſov'reign ſway.

"You muſt put them to death, "if you deſire to live in ſafety. "Your ſparing them will encou-"rage others (ſuch is the per-"verſeneſs of mankind!) to fol-"low their example." In his letter to his mother, he expreſſed himſelf thus: "The emperor "my father, by ſparing his ene-"mies, ſhews, that he neither "loves you nor himſelf: there-"fore exert yourſelf on this oc-"caſion, and take care they be "executed; for, tho' my father "ſpares them, they will not, "when occaſion offers, ſpare us "(7)."

(6) *Virg. Æn.* iv. *ver.* 272, 274, 275.

(7) *Vit. Diad. p.* 100.

Raiſes only perſons of mean deſcent, and no merit.

We have hitherto ſeen nothing in *Macrinus* blame-worthy: however, he was not without his faults; for, in the firſt place, as he himſelf was of a mean deſcent, he deprived of their employments thoſe who were nobly born, and raiſed to the higheſt poſts perſons of his own condition, tho', generally ſpeaking, void of all merit. Thus he appointed *Adventus*, of whom we have ſpoken before, governor of *Rome*, and prince of the ſenate, even before he was a ſenator, tho' altogether unequal to that high poſt, being incapable of ſpeaking in public, and ſo illiterate, that he could not ſo much as read. He recalled from the government of *Pannonia* and *Dacia*, *Sabinus* and *Caſtinus*, men of merit and diſtinction; and ſent *Marcius Agrippa*, a manumitted ſlave, formerly baniſhed by *Severus* for treaſonable practices, to ſucceed the former; and ſubſtituted *Decius Triccianus*, a man of no rank, in the room of the latter. In the ſoldiers he puniſhed the leaſt tranſgreſſion or neglect of duty with ſuch ſeverity, that, inſtead of *Macrinus*, he was called by them *Macellinus*, from the word *macellum*, ſignifying *ſhambles*. In the reign of *Caracalla*, they had been quartered in the cities, where they indulged themſelves with impunity in all manner of licentiouſneſs; but *Macrinus* obliged them to live under tents in the fields, and would not ſuffer them to approach or enter any city, in order to inure them to a regular and military life. This they could not endure, the more becauſe the emperor himſelf wallowed in pleaſures at *Antioch*, while they in the field often wanted neceſſaries. They therefore began to regret the loſs of *Caracalla*, to hate the very name of *Macrinus*, and publicly to reproach him with the meanneſs of his birth, and former life. At the ſame time they were informed, that he had been the chief author of the murder of *Caracalla*; which incenſed them againſt him to ſuch a degree, that they only wanted a favourable opportunity to revolt from *Macrinus*, and appoint another emperor in his room; which they did accordingly the following year, when *Macrinus* and *Adventus* were conſuls.

He diſobliges the ſoldiers by his exceſſive ſeverity.

A conſpiracy formed againſt him.

This revolution was brought about by the contrivance and artifices of *Mæſa*, ſiſter to the late empreſs *Julia*, a woman of great craft, dexterity, experience, and even courage. She had lived at court with her ſiſter during the reigns of *Severus* and *Caracalla*, and had acquired there great knowlege of affairs, and likewiſe immenſe wealth; which *Macrinus* ſuffered her to enjoy after the murder of *Caracalla*, but ordered her to quit the court, and retire to *Emeſa* in *Phœnicia*, her native city. She had two daughters; to wit, *Julia Soæmis*, or *Soæmias*, and *Julia Mamæa*. Of theſe the latter had a ſon named *Alexianus*, and the former one called *Varius*

Avitus

Avitus Baſſianus. When *Mæſa* retired by *Macrinus*'s orders to *Emeſa*, ſhe took her two grandſons with her, *Avitus* being then thirteen years old, and *Alexianus* only nine; and cauſed them both to be conſecrated to the *Sun*, the chief deity of the inhabitants of *Emeſa*, who had erected a ſtately temple to him, under the name of *Eleagabalus*. *Baſſianus*, the eldeſt of the two, was appointed pontif of that deity, and thence called *Eleagabalus*, or, as he is commonly ſtiled by hiſtorians, *Heliogabalus* [d]; for his name has occaſioned great diſputes among the learned. As the temple of the *Sun* was but at a ſmall diſtance from *Macrinus*'s camp, the *Roman* ſoldiers, coming frequently to viſit the deity of the place, were very much taken with the comelineſs of the young pontif, who, in his perſon, was tall and genteel, well-ſhaped, and had ſomething in his air and looks extremely gracious and pleaſing. *Mæſa*, obſerving her grandſon thus admired by the ſoldiery, reſolved to improve the opportunity, giving out, that *Heliogabalus* was the ſon of *Caracalla*; that ſhe poſſeſſed immenſe treaſures, and would willingly enrich with them ſuch as ſhould eſpouſe the cauſe of the deceaſed emperor's ſon. The ſoldiers, who were encamped in the neighbourhood of *Emeſa*, believing *Heliogabalus* to be truly the ſon of *Caracalla*, and allured by the mighty promiſes of *Mæſa*, invited her with her grandſon to their camp; and, upon their arrival, proclaimed *Heliogabalus* emperor, by the name of *M. Aurelius Antoninus*, and inveſted him with all the enſigns of ſovereignty [e].

Heliogabalus is by ſome proclaimed emperor.

MACRINUS, who was then at *Antioch*, when informed of this revolt, inſtead of marching in perſon to quaſh it at once, as he might have eaſily done, contented himſelf with ſending *Ulpius Julianus*, one of the captains of the guards, with ſome troops, againſt them. *Julianus* attacked their camp with great reſolution, and might have made himſelf maſter of it the very firſt day, the ſoldiers under his command being moſtly *Moors*, and conſequently greatly attached to *Macrinus* their countryman; but *Julianus* checking their ardour, and putting off the aſſault to the next day, in hopes they would, in the mean time, ſubmit of their own accord, the beſieged raiſed new works during the night; ſuſtained the aſſault the next morning with great reſolution; and, by ſhewing *Heliogabalus* on the ramparts, and with him the treaſures they had received from *Mæſa*, induced the *Romans*, who were with *Julianus*, and highly diſſatisfied with *Macrinus*, to murder

Julianus, *ſent againſt him, is betrayed by his own men, and murdered.*

[d] HEROD. l. v. p. 562. DIO, in excerpt. VAL. p. 111. Macr. vit. p. 96. [e] DIO, p. 902. HEROD. p. 564. Vit. Macr. p. 96.

their

their own officers, and join them. *Julianus* betook himſelf to flight, and lay for ſome time concealed; but, being at length diſcovered, one of the ſoldiers ſtruck off his head, and carried it to the emperor, wrapped up in a linen cloth, and ſealed with *Julianus*'s own ſeal, pretending it to be the head of *Heliogabalus*; and made his eſcape while the emperor was unfolding it. *Macrinus*, perceiving whoſe head it was, and thence concluding, that he had been betrayed and defeated, haſtened to the camp of the *Albanians*; that is, of the ſoldiers who had their fixed quarters at *Alba*, and were then encamped in the neighbourhood of *Apamea*; acquainted them in a very injudicious ſpeech with the revolt of the troops near *Emeſa*; declared *Heliogabalus*, his couſin *Alexianus*, both their mothers, and their grandmother *Mæſa*, public enemies; and proclaimed his ſon *Diadumenus Auguſtus*, and his partner in the empire, promiſing, on that occaſion, to each ſoldier five thouſand drachmas, and paying them of that ſum one thouſand on the ſpot. At the ſame time he wrote to the ſenate, acquainting them with rhe revolt of the troops, and the promotion of his ſon, and injoining them to promiſe to the people, in his name, one hundred and fifty drachmas a man. The ſenate, by whom *Macrinus* was greatly beloved, confirmed the title of *Auguſtus* to his ſon, and declared *Heliogabalus* a public enemy.

Macrinus *proclaims his ſon* Diadumenus *emperor.*

FROM *Apamea* the emperor returned to *Antioch*, inſtead of marching without loſs of time againſt the rebels at *Emeſa*; which city was but at a ſmall diſtance. He was ſcarce gone, when the *Albanians*, and the other troops encamped in that neighbourhood, declared for *Heliogabalus*, who thereupon marched ſtrait to *Antioch*, to attack *Macrinus*, before he had time to aſſemble his other forces. The emperor, upon the news of his approach, marched out of *Antioch* at the head of the prætorian bands; and the two armies meeting on the confines of *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, a bloody engagement enſued, in which the troops of *Heliogabalus*, after a long and vigorous reſiſtance, began in the end to give ground; but were brought back to the charge by *Mæſa*, *Soæmis* the mother of *Heliogabalus*, and by *Heliogabalus* himſelf, who ſignalized his valour on that occaſion in a very eminent manner.

Moſt of the troops revolt.

Macrinus *abandons his men in an engagement, who join* Heliogabalus.

The fight being thus renewed with more fury than ever, *Macrinus*'s men would have gained the day, according to *Dio Caſſius*, had they not been abandoned by their leader, who, as he was naturally timorous, betook himſelf to flight, when he ſaw the troops of *Heliogabalus* return to the charge. The prætorian guards kept their ground, even after his flight, till *Heliogabalus* aſſured them upon his oath, that they ſhould not be diſcharged, but ſhould enjoy, under him, all the privileges

vileges and exemptions, which had been granted them by other emperors: then they declared for him, as the other troops had already done [f]. *Macrinus* retired to *Antioch*, and there giving out that he had gained a complete victory, ordered his ſon to ſhelter himſelf in the country of the *Parthians*; and, before the news of his defeat were publicly known, fled himſelf in diſguiſe, taking with him letters for thoſe who had care of the poſts, as if he had been ſent by the emperor upon ſome important affair that required diſpatch. Thus he croſſed undiſcovered the provinces of *Cilicia*, *Cappadocia*, *Galatia*, and *Bithynia*. To avoid *Nicomedia*, he embarked at a port in the neighbourhood of that city, called *Eribolus*, with a deſign to go by ſea to *Chalcedon*, and from thence to croſs over to *Byzantium*; but, being driven back by a contrary wind to *Chalcedon*, when he was upon the point of landing at *Byzantium*, he was there unfortunately taken ill, and diſcovered by thoſe whom *Heliogabalus* had ſent to purſue him.

THE ſoldiers, to whoſe cuſtody he was committed, put him into a chariot, in order to carry him to *Heliogabalus*; but he having thrown himſelf out of it, when he was informed that his ſon too had been taken, and by the fall broken his ſhoulder-bone, the ſoldiers put an end to his pain and life, by cutting off his head; which they carried to *Heliogabalus*, who ordered it to be expoſed on the point of a ſpear to public view [g]. Such was the end of *Macrinus*, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, after he had reigned four months wanting three days; for we reckon his reign ended on the day of his defeat, which was the ſeventh of *June*, of the year 218. His ſon *Diadumenus* was publicly executed by the new emperor's order, as a common malefactor, and his head carried about, with that of his father, on the point of a ſpear (H). *Baſilianus*, governor of *Egypt*, and *Marius Secundus*, governor of *Phœnicia* (for that province had at this time its peculiar governor), refuſed to acknowlege *Heliogabalus*, even after the death of *Macrinus*; which occaſioned ſeveral ſeditions in thoſe countries, in one of which great numbers of the people and ſoldiery were killed, and among the reſt *Secundus* himſelf. *Baſilianus* fled to *Italy*, and lay ſome time concealed

Both he and his ſon Diadumenus *put to death.*

Year of the flood 2566.
Of Chriſt 218.
Of Rome 966.

[f] DIO, p. 889. HEROD. l. v. p. 565. [g] DIO, l. lxxviii. p. 889. HEROD. ibid. p. 566. Macr. vit. p. 96.

(H) We are told, that ſome of the ſoldiers, conſidering his youth (for he was but ten years old), were for ſaving him; but the letters, which he was ſuppoſed to have written againſt *Arbianus* and his accomplices, being produced, they conſented to his death.

in

in the neighbourhood of *Brundusium*; but was in the end betrayed by one of his old friends, to whom he had written for some relief, and by *Heliogabalus*'s order executed at *Nicomedia*, where that prince passed the first winter after his accession to the empire [h].

Heliogabalus acknowleged emperor by the senate.

HELIOGABALUS, immediately after the defeat and flight of *Macrinus*, entered *Antioch*, and from thence wrote to the senate, acquainting them with the defeat of *Macrinus*, and his accession to the empire, and promising to conform in every thing to the excellent institutions of *Augustus* and *M. Aurelius*, and to do nothing without the advice and approbation of the senate, whose authority should be ever sacred to him. However, as he stiled himself *Augustus* the son of *Antoninus*, that is, of *Caracalla*, and the grandson of *Severus*, and likewise assumed the proconsular and tribunitial power, and the titles of *Happy* and *Pious*, before they had been conferred upon him by the senate, his letter occasioned a general consternation in the city: nevertheless they confirmed to him all the titles he had assumed; declared *Macrinus*, tho' by them greatly beloved, a public enemy; and honoured both *Mæsa* and *Soæmis* with the title of *Augustæ*. Thus was *Varius Avitus Bassianus*, commonly known in history by the name of *Heliogabalus*, raised to the empire. He was the most profligate, impious, inhuman, effeminate, and prodigal tyrant that ever disgraced a diadem. His grandmother *Mæsa*, who was a woman of great parts and experience, quite ashamed of his scandalous and unaccountable conduct, strove to the utmost of her power to keep him within some bounds; but he, utterly despising her, only hearkened to the wicked counsels of his mother *Soæmis*, and of such as flattered him in his crimes. Hence he may be truly said to have exceeded *Nero* himself in cruelty, *Caligula* in prodigality, and the most abandoned princes, who reigned either before or after him, in all manner of lewdness and debauchery. He did not reign full four years, and in that short time married six wives (I).

His character.

BUT

[h] Dio, p. 905. Heliog. vit. p. 102.

(I) His first wife was *Julia Cornelia Paula*, a lady of an unblameable character, and sprung from two of the most illustrious families in *Rome*; but he soon after divorced her, and stripped her of the title of *Augusta*, and all the other honours he had conferred upon her. He then married *Julia Aquilia Severa*, a *Vestal* virgin, which was accounted by the *Romans* an enormous crime; but soon put her away to marry *Annia Faustina*, the grand-daughter of the emperor *M. Aurelius*, tho' already married to *Pomponius Bassus*,

BUT his frequent marriages and divorces did not give ſo much offence, as his ſcandalous lewdneſs, and unheard-of debaucheries. He turned the imperial palace into a brothel, filling it with ſuch numbers of proſtitutes, for the conveniency, he ſaid, of his friends and favourites, that it ſeemed a city, ſays *Herodian*, inhabited only by lewd women. With them, and his debauched companions, he paſſed the greateſt part of his time, abandoning himſelf to the moſt ſcandalous and unnatural practices. He often aſſembled them in one of the halls of the palace; appeared among them in the apparel, and with the air, of a proſtitute; encouraged them in formal harangues to lay aſide all modeſty, ſhake off all reſtraints, and make it their whole ſtudy to find out new methods of ſatisfying their luſtful appetites. In his ſpeeches he addreſſed them with the title of *commilitones*, *fellow-ſoldiers*; and truly they were the only ſoldiers worthy of ſuch a general. After ſome time he drove many of the debauched women out of the palace, and took catamites in their room; for he was himſelf of that infamous tribe, having been publicly married firſt to *Aurelius Zoticus*, one of his officers, and afterwards to *Hierocles*, a ſlave. He was not aſhamed to ſatisfy his moſt infamous and unnatural luſts in public, in the face of the ſun, and the whole *Roman* people, putting thereby out of countenance even the moſt profligate amongſt his debauched companions. But to dwell on ſuch abominable ſcenes of impurity is beneath the dignity of an hiſtorian, and only worthy of ſuch a biographer as *Ælius Lampridius*, who ſeems to take particular delight in deſcribing the unheard-of pollutions and abominations of this lewd monſter.

His monſtrous lewdneſs.

HIS prodigality was as boundleſs as his luſt; for, in the ſhort time of his reign, he is ſaid to have reduced almoſt to beggary all the ſubjects of the empire, and to have left at his death the exchequer quite empty. He ſuffered nothing to appear at his table, but what was brought from the moſt diſtant countries at an immenſe charge. His palace, his chambers, and his beds, were all furniſhed with cloth of gold. When he went abroad, all the way between his chamber, and the place where his chariot waited for him, was ſtrewed with gold-duſt; for he thought it beneath him to tread upon the

His prodigality.

ſus, whom he cauſed to be murdered. *Fauſtina*, and three others, whoſe names are unknown, were in a ſhort time obliged to give room to *Aquilia Severa* the *Veſtal*, whom he admitted anew to his bed, ſaying, That he hoped, as ſhe was a prieſteſs, and he a prieſt, to have by her an offspring worthy of the immortal gods (8).

(8) *Dio*, *l.* lxxix. *p.* 911. *Herod. p.* 568.

ground

ground like other men. All his tables, cheſts, chairs, and ſuch veſſels as were deſtined for the meaneſt uſes, were of pure gold. Tho' his cloaths were exceeding coſtly, and beſet with jewels and precious ſtones, yet he is ſaid never to have worn one ſuit twice, nor ever to have put on again a ring which he had once uſed. He was conſtantly ſerved in gold-plate; but every night, after ſupper, preſented to his gueſts and attendants what had been made uſe of that day. He often diſtributed among the people and ſoldiery, not only corn and money, as other emperors had done, but gold and ſilver-plate, jewels, precious ſtones, and tickets, intitling them to immenſe ſums, which were immediately paid. He cauſed his fiſh-ponds to be filled with water diſtilled from roſes, and the *naumachia*, where ſea fights were exhibited, with wine. His rooms, tables, couches, and galleries, where he walked, were daily ſtrewed with roſes, lilies, and all ſorts of flowers. His banquets and entertainments were expenſive almoſt beyond belief, his favourite diſhes being tongues of peacocks and nightingales, and the brains of parrots and pheaſants. He fed his dogs with the livers of geeſe, his horſes with raiſins, and his lions, and other wild beaſts, with partridges and pheaſants. In ſhort, the whole wealth of the *Roman* empire was ſcarce ſufficient, ſays *Herodian*, to ſupply the extravagance of one man [i]. As for his unheard-of follies, we refer our readers to *Lampridius*, who relates them at length, not thinking them worthy of a place in our hiſtory.

Cauſes ſeveral perſons of diſtinction to be murdered.

To give ſome account of this reign, according to the order of time; *Heliogabalus*, before he left *Syria*, commanded ſeveral perſons, both in the Eaſt, and at *Rome*, to be put to death; and, among the reſt, *Julianus Neſtor*, captain of the guards under *Macrinus*; *Fabius Agrippinus*, governor of *Syria*; *Reanus*, governor of *Arabia*; *Claudius Attalus*, who had governed *Thrace* in the year 194. and was then governor of *Cyprus*; and *Decius Triccianus*, who commanded in *Pannonia* [k]. From *Syria*, the new emperor marched to *Nicomedia* in *Bithynia*, where he paſſed the winter, and gave many freſh inſtances of his cruel and inhuman temper, cauſing, beſides many others, one *Gannys* to be murdered for adviſing him in a friendly manner to abandon his former vices, and behave like a *Roman* emperor. *Gannys* was one of *Mæſa*'s domeſtics, but favoured to ſuch a degree by *Heliogabalus*, on account of his fidelity, and the zeal he had ſhewn in his cauſe, that he deſigned to marry his mother to him, and declare him *Cæſar*. However, his finding fault with his vices

[i] Herod. p. 569. Vit. Heliog. p. 102. [k] Dio, l. lxxix. p. 894.

provoked

rovoked him to ſuch a degree, that he ordered him to be put to death upon the ſpot, and gave him with his own hand the firſt blow [l].

In the beginning of the following year, *Heliogabalus* entered upon his firſt conſulſhip, having for his collegue one *Sacerdos*, of whom we find no farther mention in hiſtory. Early in the ſpring the new emperor ſet out for *Rome*, where he was received both by the people and ſenate with great demonſtrations of joy, tho' no one doubted but he would prove a ſecond *Nero* or *Caligula*. The next day, he went to the ſenate; and, taking with him his grandmother, placed her next to the conſuls, ordered her name to be ſet down among thoſe of the other ſenators, and appointed, that ſhe ſhould vote as the reſt, and be conſulted in all matters of importance. For his mother *Soæmis* he inſtituted a ſenate, conſiſting only of women, and declared her their head or preſident. The ſubject of their conſultations, debates, and decrees, were the dreſs and apparel of the *Roman* matrons, their ranks and dignities, their viſits, ceremonies, and other important matters of the like nature [m]. The emperor himſelf was not employed in affairs of greater moment, being wholly taken up in eſtabliſhing at *Rome* the worſhip of his god *Heliogabalus*, or, as he is ſtiled on the medals of this prince, *Eleagabalus*. He erected a magnificent temple to him, worſhiped him with ceremonies never before practiſed at *Rome*, preferred him to *Jupiter* himſelf, and to all the other gods of the *Romans*, who, he ſaid, were but the ſervants of his god; and declared, that he would ſuffer no other god to be adored at *Rome*, or elſewhere, but *Eleagabalus*. In order to this, he profaned all other temples, ſtripped them of their ornaments, and attempted to convey into the temple of his own god the perpetual fire of *Veſta*, the ſtatue of *Cybele*, the bucklers of *Mars*, the palladium brought from *Troy*, as was ſuppoſed, by *Æneas*, and whatever elſe was looked upon by the *Romans* as moſt ſacred. From *Carthage* he ordered the goddeſs *Cæleſtis* to be brought to *Rome*, and with her all the rich ornaments belonging to her temple; married her to *Eleagabalus*, and cauſed the nuptials of the two deities to be celebrated with great pomp and ſolemnity [n] (K).

He ranks his grandmother among the ſenators, and inſtitutes a ſenate of women.

Eſtabliſhes the worſhip of the god Eleagabalus.

Year of the flood 2567. Of Chriſt 219. Of Rome 967.

THE

[l] Dio, in excerpt. VAL. p. 761, 762. [m] Heliog. vit. p. 102. 105, 106. [n] Heliog. vit. p. 102, 103. HEROD. l. v. p. 568. Dio, l. lxxix. p. 912.

(K) *Dio Caſſius* tells us, that, in honour of his god, he abſtained from hogs-fleſh, and cauſed himſelf to be circumciſed (9):

(9) *Dio, in excerpt. Val. p.* 762.

THE following year, *Heliogabalus* entered upon his ſecond conſulſhip, having for his collegue *Eutychianus*, an imperial freedman, and a celebrated buffoon; whence he was ſurnamed *Comazon*, which, in the *Greek* tongue, ſignifies *waggiſh*, or *gay*. He had greatly contributed to the riſe of *Heliogabalus*; for, at his inſtigation, the troops near *Emeſa* had declared for him; on which account the new emperor immediately declared him captain of the guards, and conferred upon him the conſular ornaments. This year he honoured him with the conſular dignity; and, when his conſulſhip expired, appointed him governor of *Rome* [o]. The next year, when *Gratus Sabinianus* and *Seleucus* were conſuls, *Mæſa*, foreſeeing that the *Romans* could not long bear with ſuch a prince as *Heliogabalus*, prevailed upon him to adopt his couſin *Alexianus*, and declare him *Cæſar*, though at that time only twelve, or, at moſt, thirteen years old. The ceremony was performed with extraordinary pomp; and the young prince, on that occaſion, took the names of *Alexander* and *Severus*; the former from the king of *Macedon*, and the latter from the emperor, his ſuppoſed grandfather [p]. *Heliogabalus* treated him at firſt in a very friendly and obliging manner, hoping to draw him over to his lewd courſes; but, finding that the excellent youth could not by any means be induced to follow his example, and that he was more beloved both by the people and ſoldiery than himſelf, he began to repent his having adopted him, and gave private orders to thoſe who were truſted with the care of his education, to diſpatch him. But all their attempts being rendered abortive, by the care and circumſpection of *Mamæa*, mother to the young prince, and of his grandmother *Mæſa*, who betrayed all the emperor's ſecrets, *Heliogabalus*, tranſported with rage, ordered the ſe-

Alexianus adopted, and created Cæſar.

Heliogabalus repents his adopting him, and attempts to deſtroy him.

[o] DIO, p. 888. [p] HEROD. l. v. p. 570. DIO, l. lxxix. p. 914.

and *Herodian*, that he erected another magnificent temple for him in the country, whither he conveyed him every year in the beginning of the ſummer. The ſame author adds, that, beſides many other victims, he ſacrificed children to him, moſtly ſprung from illuſtrious families, and privately ſnatched up by the miniſters of his cruelty, diſperſed all over *Italy* for that purpoſe (1). *Dio Caſſius* obſerves, that he cauſed ſeveral illuſtrious perſons to be inhumanly murdered this year; and, among the reſt, *Seius Carus*, *Valerianus Pætus*, *Silius Meſſala*, and *Pomponius Baſſus*, all ſenators of great diſtinction, for no other crime, but becauſe he believed they diſliked his conduct (2).

(1) *Herod. l.* v. *p.* 568. *Heliog. vit. p.* 103. (2) *Dio, p.* 908, 909.

nate

nate to degrade *Alexianus* from the dignity of *Cæsar*, and annul the late adoption. At the same time he dispatched assassins to murder him; and, retiring to an old palace on mount *Esquilin*, waited there till news were brought him of his death. But, in the mean time, the prætorian guards, apprised of the danger that threatened the young prince, flew to the palace, and would have put the emperor himself to death, had he not softened them with mighty promises, abandoned to them all his debauched companions, and such as were deemed enemies to *Alexander*; and solemnly declared, that he designed for the future to lead a quite different life, and to redress all the grievances, of which, he said, they had but too much reason to complain [q].

The next year he took upon him his third consulship; and, pretending to be reconciled to *Alexander*, chose him for his collegue; but, being determined at all events, notwithstanding his late protestations, to rid himself of so troublesome a rival, in the first place, he ordered all the senators to quit the city, lest they should thwart his designs; and then causing *Alexander* to be shut up in the palace, gave out, that he was all on a sudden taken ill, and almost past recovery. This report he spread abroad, on purpose to discover the disposition of the soldiery; who no sooner heard it, than they flew to arms, and demanded to see *Alexander*. The young prince was accordingly brought forth to them, and by the emperor himself conducted to the camp, where he was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy, while no one took the least notice of *Heliogabalus*; which provoked the tyrant to such a degree, that he ordered those, who had applauded *Alexander*, to be punished as traitors. But the rest, rescuing them out of the hands of the executioners, began to croud about the emperor, uttering dreadful menaces; which so terrified him, that he attempted to save himself by flight, those who had attended him to the camp endeavouring to disperse the multitude. Hereupon a quarrel ensued between the partisans of the two princes, in which those, who favoured *Heliogabalus*, were soon defeated, and cut in pieces, with *Hierocles*, that prince's chief favourite, the captains of the guards, and all the ministers who attended him. The emperor himself withdrew, during the contest, into the most filthy place of the camp, and consequently the most worthy of him; where he was soon discovered, and murdered by the enraged soldiery, together with his mother *Soæmis*, who had retired thither with him, and held him the whole time in her arms.

The soldiers mutiny.

Heliogabalus *and his mother* Soæmis *murdered.*

[q] Dio, p. 915. Herod. l. v. p. 570. Heliogab. vit. p. 106.

Year of the flood 2570. Of Chriſt 222. Of Rome 970.

arms. Both their heads were ſtruck off; and, after their bodies were ignominiouſly dragged through the city, and moſt outrageouſly inſulted by the populace, that of *Heliogabalus* was, with a great weight faſtened to it, thrown from the *Æmilian* bridge into the *Tiber* [r]. Such was the deſerved end of *Heliogabalus*, the moſt wicked and moſt debauched of all the *Roman* emperors, in the eighteenth year of his age, after he had reigned three years, nine months, and four days, from the ſeventh of *June*, of the year 218. on which day he defeated *Macrinus*, to the eleventh of *March*, of the year 222. when he met with his deſerved doom. The ſenate cauſed the name of *Antoninus*, which he had aſſumed and diſgraced with his lewd life, to be eraſed out of the public regiſters, and all inſcriptions; and paſſed a decree, excluding for ever women from the ſenate, and loading with curſes ſuch as ſhould for the future attempt to tranſgreſs it [s].

Alexander declared emperor.

UPON the death of *Heliogabalus*, his couſin *Alexander*, then in the fourteenth year of his age, was proclaimed emperor by the ſoldiery, and conducted from the camp to the ſenate, where he was received with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy, and honoured with the titles of *Auguſtus*, of *father of his country*, and all the other marks of diſtinction peculiar to the imperial dignity. At the ſame time they offered him the name of *Antoninus*, and the ſurname of *Great*; but he modeſtly declined them both. He was the ſon of *Julia Mamæa*, or *Mammæa*, of whom we have ſpoken above, and of *Geneſius Marcianus*, a *Syrian*. He was a native of the city of *Acra* in *Phœnicia*, and born there, according to *Lampridius* [t], in a temple conſecrated to *Alexander the Great*; whence, upon his being adopted by *Heliogabalus*, he took the name of *Alexander*. His former name was *Baſſianus*, according to *Dio Caſſius*; but, according to *Herodian*, *Alexianus*, his grandfather's name. His father dying when he was very young, his mother brought him up with great care (L), employ-

His birth and education.

His mother Julia Mamæa.

[r] HEROD. p. 573. Heliog. vit. p. 106. [s] Heliog. vit. p. 107. [t] Vit. Alex. p. 114.

(L) *Julia Mamæa* is thought by many writers of great note to have been inſtructed in the truths of the goſpel, and to have embraced the Chriſtian religion (3): at leaſt, *Euſebius* ſtiles her a very pious and religious woman (4); epithets which we can hardly perſuade ourſelves a Chriſtian biſhop would have beſtowed upon a pagan. While ſhe was at *Antioch*, in the year

(3) *Vide Oroſ. l.* vii. *c.* 18. *Cedren. t.* i. *p.* 256. *Abulfar. p.* 80. *Vinc. Lirin. c.* 23. (4) *Euſeb. l.* vi. *c.* 21.

218.

employing only such persons to instruct him as were equally renowned for their probity and learning, and allowing no one to come near him, whom she suspected capable of corrupting his morals. He applied himself, from his infancy, to the study of the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues, and was as well versed in the former as any man of his age; but his improvement in the latter was not so great, as appeared from his speeches to the senate, to the soldiery, and to the people [u]; neither did he admire the *Latin* eloquence so much as the *Greek*. He was well skilled in all the other branches of polite learning, and, besides, in the arts of painting, singing, playing upon instruments, *&c.* From his infancy, he gave innumerable instances of a most mild, humane, and generous temper; shewed an utter aversion from bloodshed, and all manner of cruelty, and made it his chief study to please and oblige, not only his parents and relations, but even his domestics.

As he paid an intire deference to his mother *Mamæa*, and grandmother *Mæsa*, both women of great experience, and extraordinary parts, at their motion, he chose, as soon as he was raised to the empire, sixteen senators for his council, all men of known probity, and long versed in public affairs, transacting nothing without their advice, and constantly conforming to it (M). The deference he paid to his mother was so great, that *Herodian* reckons it among his faults; for, though he was himself a man of extraordinary talents, of such discernment and penetration, says *Lampridius*, that no one ever deceived him, yet he constantly preferred her opinion to his own [w]. He gave her name to several buildings, which they still retained in the fourth century [x]; and caused her to be ho-

His counsellors.

[u] Vit. Alex. p. 115. [w] Herod. l. vi. p. 575. [x] Ammian. l. xxviii. p. 372.

218. hearing *Origen* greatly commended on account of his knowlege in religious matters, she shewed a great desire to see him, sent for him from *Alexandria*, received him with great joy, and kept him some time with her (5). It is not improbable, that she was by him convinced of the truth, and embraced it.

(M) Among these were, *Fabius Sabinus*, generally stiled the *Cato* of his time; *Domitius Ulpianus*, and *Julius Paulus*, two celebrated civilians; *Antoninus Gordianus*, afterwards emperor; *Catilius Severus*, *Alexander*'s kinsman, and one of the most learned persons of his age; *Ælius Servianus*, a man of extraordinary integrity; and *Quintilius Marcellus*, a great admirer of the customs and manners of the antient *Romans* (6).

(5) *Euseb. l.* vi. *c.* 21. (6) *Alex. vit. p.* 241.

noured with the titles of *Auguſta*, of *mother of her country*, *of the armies*, *and of the ſenate*, which had been formerly conferred on *Julia* the wife of *Severus* [y]. As *Mamæa* profeſſed, in all likelihood, the Chriſtian religion, no wonder that *Alexander* ſhewed great favour to the Chriſtians, and would not ſuffer them to be any-way moleſted on account of their religion (N). He ſeems to have been well acquainted with the morals of the Chriſtian religion; for he had conſtantly in his mouth that golden rule, *Do as you would be done by*; cauſed it to be ſet up over the gates of his palace, and on ſeveral public edifices; and obſerved it himſelf, if the writers of his life may be credited, with the greateſt exactneſs [z]. For he made it his chief ſtudy to oblige all men, and is ſaid never to have wronged any. During the firſt year of his reign, he was wholly taken up in reforming the many enormous abuſes which had prevailed in the court under his predeceſſor. With this view he baniſhed all the freedmen, ſlaves, eunuchs, players, and buffoons, who had borne any ſway in the late reign; and choſe in their rooms perſons of blameleſs characters, and known integrity.

Alexander favours the Chriſtians.

Diſcharges the miniſters of the late emperor.

HAVING by this means reformed the court, he made a ſtrict inquiry into the manners and conduct of the public officers, eſpecially of the governors of provinces; and diſcharged moſt of thoſe who had been employed by *Heliogabalus*. Such of them as had oppreſſed the people committed to their care, were baniſhed; and the reſt reduced to their former condition, as perſons altogether unfit for any public office [a]. The next year, when *L. Marius Maximus* and *L. Roſcius Ælianus* were conſuls, the emperor's nuptials were celebrated with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. He married *Sulpitia Memmia* the daughter of *Sulpitius* a conſular, and granddaughter of *Catulus*. As the whole empire enjoyed at this time a profound peace, nothing remarkable happened either

[y] SPON. p. 194. [z] Alex. vit. p. 132. [a] Idem ibid.

(N) *Euſebius* tells us, that his court was filled with Chriſtians (7); and *Lampridius*, that in his private oratory he worſhiped Chriſt and *Abraham*, and would have cauſed temples to be erected to the founder of the Chriſtian religion, had he not been diverted from it by the anſwers of the oracles, aſſuring him, that, if he ever ſuffered Chriſt to be ranked among the gods, all the other temples would be ſoon abandoned, and the gods neglected (8).

(7) *Euſeb. l.* vi. *c.* 28. (8) *Alex. vit. p.* 124. 139.

at

at *Rome*, or in the provinces, in the two following years; in the firſt of which *Julianus* and *Criſpinus* were conſuls, and, in the ſecond, *Fuſcus* and *Dexter*. But the fourth year of *Alexander*'s reign, and during his ſecond conſulſhip, in which he had *Quintilius Marcellus* for hii collegue, *Artaxerxes* having utterly ruined the *Parthian*, and re-eſtabliſhed the *Perſian* em- *The* Per-
pire, of which great revolution we have ſpoken elſewhere, ſian *empire*
advanced at the head of a mighty army againſt the *Romans*, *re-eſta-*
with a deſign to recover *Meſopotamia*, and the other provinces, *bliſhed.*
which had formerly belonged to the *Perſian* empire. His ap- Year of
proach occaſioned great conſternation in *Syria*; and many of the flood
the *Romans* quartered in *Meſopotamia*, abandoning the caſtles 2574.
which they gariſoned, liſted in his army; ſo that he might with Of Chriſt
great eaſe have over-run not only *Meſopotamia*, but like- 226.
wiſe *Syria*, had he not attacked on his march the city of *Atra*, Of Rome
before which place he loſt ſuch numbers of his men, without 974.
being able to reduce it, that, dropping for the preſent his ex-
pedition againſt the *Romans*, he thought it adviſeable to march
back into his own country, after having ravaged great part of
Media, and made ſome unſucceſsful attempts upon *Armenia* [b].

THE next conſuls were *Albinus* and *Maximus*; during whoſe adminiſtration nothing happened which authors have thought worth tranſmitting to poſterity: but the following conſulſhip of *Modeſtus* and *Probus* was remarkable for the death of the celebrated civilian *Domitius Ulpianus*, who, being *The death*
appointed by *Alexander* captain of the prætorian guards, and *of* Ulpian.
endeavouring to eſtabliſh among them the antient diſcipline, provoked their hatred to ſuch a degree, that, after having in vain ſolicited *Alexander* to remove him, they at length murdered him in the emperor's preſence. The chief authors of his death were puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity, and the moſt factious among the guards ignominiouſly diſcharged. In the room of *Ulpian*, the emperor choſe one *Decimus*, and *Julius Paulus* a native of *Padua*, who had been baniſhed by *Heliogabalus*, on account of his great probity, and was perhaps as well ſkilled in the laws as *Ulpian* [c].

THIS year ſeveral tumults happened at *Rome*, and in the *The ſol-*
provinces. The troops quartered in *Meſopotamia* revolted, *diers muti-*
murdered their general *Flavius Heracleo*, and went in great *ny in ſeve-*
numbers over to the *Perſians* [d]. The troops in *Syria* pro- *ral pro-*
claimed one *Taurinus* emperor, who, as they had conferred *vinces.*
that honour upon him againſt his will, made his eſcape; and,

[b] DIO, l. lxxx. p. 918. & in excerpt. VAL. p. 769. HEROD. l. vi. p. 176. [c] Vit. Alex. p. 122. [d] DIO, l. lxxx. p. 917, 918.

being purſued by the mutinous ſoldiery, threw himſelf into the *Euphrates*, and was drowned [e]. *Zoſimus* and *Syncellus* ſpeak of one *Uranus*, who, having uſurped the empire at *Edeſſa* in *Oſrhoene*, was defeated by the troops that remained faithful to *Alexander*. At *Rome*, the prætorian guards attempted to raiſe one *Antoninus* to the empire; but he, declining that burden, withdrew into the country, and never afterwards appeared in the city [f]. But *Ovinius Camillus*, a ſenator, ſprung from one of the moſt illuſtrious families in *Rome*, ſtudying to gain the affections of the ſoldiery, in order to raiſe himſelf, by their means, to the empire, *Alexander* was no ſooner informed of his private practices, than he ſent for him to court, and thanked him for offering to take upon him ſo great a burden, ſtiled him his collegue, took him with him to the ſenate, allotted him an apartment in the palace, cauſed him to be attired in a far more pompous habit than his own, and treated him in every reſpect as his partner in the empire. As a war broke out at this time, which required the emperor's preſence, *Alexander* offered the command of the army to *Camillus*; but, he declining it, the emperor deſired he would at leaſt ſhare with him the fatigues and the glory of that expedition. Accordingly they both ſet out from *Rome* on foot; but *Camillus*, who was not inured to a military life, being tired after five miles march, *Alexander* begged he would purſue his journey on horſeback; which he did for two days, when the emperor, perceiving he could no longer bear even that fatigue, ordered a chariot to be provided for him; which proved ſo great a mortification to *Camillus*, that he begged leave to reſign the empire, and return home; which *Alexander* readily granted, aſſuring him, before they parted, that he might live in ſafety where he pleaſed. *Camillus* retired to his country-ſeat, and there lived unmoleſted during the reign of *Alexander*; but was put to death by ſome of his ſucceſſors, for what crime we are no-where told [g]. The expedition which *Alexander* is ſaid to have undertaken this year, was probably againſt the *Germans*; for it appears from ſome antient inſcriptions, that great advantages were gained over them this year, the ſeventh of the emperor's reign [h]; and *Lampridius* tells us, that the *Germans* were overcome by *Varius Macrinus* governor of *Illyricum* [i]. The ſame year *Furius Celſus* ſignalized himſelf in *Mauritania Tingitana*, and *Junius Palmatus* in *Armenia*, and were both rewarded with the conſular ornaments [k].

Ovinius Camillus, *aſpiring to the empire, how treated by* Alexander.

[e] Dio, lib. lxxx. p. 917, 918. Zos. p. 639. [f] Syncell. p. 357. [g] Vit. Alex. p. 130, 131. Not. Casaub. p. 172. & Salmas. p. 230. [h] Birag. p. 323. [i] Vit. Alex. p. 134. [k] Idem ibid.

The

THE following year *Alexander* entered upon his third conſulſhip, having *Dio Caſſius*, the ſecond time conſul, for his collegue. *Dio* was, in the beginning of this reign, in *Aſia*; whence he paſſed into *Bithynia*, his native country, with a deſign to ſtay ſome time there with his friends and relations; but he was ſoon ſent into *Africa*, to govern that province, with the character of proconſul. Upon his return to *Rome*, he was appointed governor of *Illyricum*, and from thence removed into *Upper Pannonia*, where he revived the antient military diſcipline among the troops, puniſhing the leaſt neglect of duty with the utmoſt ſeverity; inſomuch that the prætorian guards, who dreaded his rigour, upon a report, that he was recalled to command them, no ſooner ſaw him appear in *Rome*, than they began to mutiny, and preſs the emperor to put him to death. But *Alexander*, without hearkening to their unjuſt demand, heaped many honours upon him, often appeared with him in public, and took him this year for his collegue in the conſulſhip: however, fearing the ſoldiers might offer him ſome inſult, if he appeared in *Rome* with the enſigns of the conſular dignity, he adviſed him to retire from the city, and paſs the time of his conſulſhip in the country, which he did accordingly. Soon after, he obtained leave to withdraw into his own country, where he ſpent the remaining part of his life in quiet and retirement [1] (O). This year *Alexander*, who did not

Dio Caſſius hated by the ſoldiery on account of his ſeverity.

1 Dio, l. lxxx. p. 918.

(O) It will not be foreign to our purpoſe to inſert here the account which that writer gives us of the ſtate of the *Roman* legions at this time, and of the provinces where they were quartered. There were in the time of *Auguſtus* twenty-five legions, of which only nineteen were now remaining, the other ſix having been either diſbanded, or incorporated into ſome of thoſe that ſtill remained. On the other hand, *Nero*, *Galba*, *Veſpaſian*, *Domitian*, *Trajan*, *M. Aurelius*, and *Severus*, raiſed thirteen new ones; ſo that the legions at this time were, in all, thirty-two. Of theſe, three were quartered in *Britain*, one in *Upper* and two in *Lower Germany*, one in *Italy*, one in *Spain*, one in *Numidia*, one in *Arabia*, two in *Palæſtine*, one in *Phœnicia*, two in *Syria*, two in *Meſopotamia*, two in *Cappadocia*, two in *Lower* and one in *Upper Mœſia*, one in *Noricum*, and one in *Rhætia* (9). Our author does not inform us where the two remaining legions were quartered, nor how many men each of them contained; but *Lampridius* ſeems to inſinuate, that each legion conſiſted of five thouſand men (1). From this diſtribution of the legions, it appears,

(9) *Dio, l.* lv. *p.* 564.

(1) *Alex. vit. p.* 131.

not

not ſpare his greateſt friends, when manifeſtly convicted of abuſing the confidence he repoſed in them, cauſed *Vetronius Turinus*, one of his chief favourites, to be put to death for a crime of that nature (P). The following year, *L. Virius Agricola*

pears, that the *Romans* at this time looked upon the *Caledonians*, the *Parthians*, or rather *Perſians*, and the nations beyond the *Danube*, as their moſt formidable enemies, and were not ſo apprehenſive of any invaſion on the ſide of *Germany*, as they had been in former times: for now there were but three legions in that country; whereas, in the reigns of *Auguſtus* and *Tiberius*, the banks of the *Rhine* had been guarded by no fewer than eight legions, which were deemed the main ſtrength of the empire (2).

(P) The emperor had a particular eſteem and kindneſs for *Turinus*, and often conſulted him in private, as he was a man of extraordinary abilities, about affairs of the greateſt importance. This honour and deference, which the emperor ſeemed to pay to him, the crafty courtier reſolved to turn to his own advantage: and accordingly gave out, that *Alexander* tranſacted nothing without his advice; that he had gained an abſolute ſway over him; and that it was in his power to raiſe whom he pleaſed to the firſt employments in the empire. By this means he accumulated immenſe wealth in a ſhort time; all who wanted any favour or preferment, recurring to *Turinus*, whoſe intereſt was not to be gained without rich preſents. He often did not ſo much as mention to the emperor the perſons whom he pretended to recommend; but nevertheleſs, when they happened to obtain, by means of others, what they demanded, he aſſumed the whole merit of it to himſelf, and exacted a proportionable acknowlegement, which in thoſe days was called *ſelling ſmoke*. The emperor, who was a man of great penetration, began to ſuſpect his favourite of ſuch practices; and therefore a perſon, in whom he could confide, ſoliciting him one day for a favour, he told him he would grant him his requeſt, provided he privately addreſſed *Turinus*, as if he wanted his recommendation. *Turinus*, glad of this opportunity, promiſed to employ all his intereſt in his behalf; and ſoon after told him, that he had already recommended him to the emperor, who, he was ſure, would grant him the deſired favour the very firſt time he had an opportunity of recommending him anew, which he hoped would be very ſoon. He added, that he deſerved to be rewarded for his trouble; and, the petitioner referring that to his diſcretion, he not only exacted a large ſum for what he pretended to have done, but obliged him to promiſe, in the preſence of witneſſes, a far more conſiderable one, to be paid as ſoon as he obtained his requeſt. The emperor, who was informed of the whole, immediately granted the

(2) *Tacit. annal. l.* iv. *c.* 5.

favour;

Agricola and *Sex. Catius Clementinus* being conſuls, the emperor retired into *Campania*, and there ſpent this and the following year, when *Pompeianus* and *Pelignianus* were conſuls [m].

THE next conſuls were *Lupus* and *Maximus*; during whoſe adminiſtration, *Artaxerxes*, the reſtorer of the *Perſian* monarchy, having reduced all the neighbouring countries, unexpectedly invaded the *Roman* dominions at the head of a mighty army, ravaged *Meſopotamia*, and advanced to the very confines of *Syria*. Hereupon *Alexander*, following the advice of his council, diſpatched embaſſadors with a letter to that conqueror, exhorting him not to engage the two empires in a long and dangerous war, without provocation, and putting him in mind of the victories gained over the eaſtern nations by *Auguſtus*, *Trajan*, *L. Verus*, and *Severus*. But *Artaxerxes*, puffed up with his late ſucceſſes, deſpiſed the remonſtrances of *Alexander*, and purſued his ravages in *Meſopotamia*, laid ſiege to *Niſibis*, and, entering *Cappadocia*, deſtroyed all with fire and ſword. Hereupon the emperor reſolved to march againſt him in perſon; and accordingly, to the great grief both of the ſenate and people, left *Rome* in the ſpring of this year 232. the eleventh of his reign; and, bending his march through *Illyricum*, where he was joined by the troops quartered in that province, arrived at *Antioch* about the beginning of the autumn; whence he ſent a ſecond embaſſy to *Artaxerxes*, hoping that his preſence would add ſome weight to the reaſons he had formerly alleged. But the haughty *Perſian*, deriding the peaceable temper of the *Roman* emperor, choſe four hundred of the talleſt men in his army, and ſent them, well mounted,

Artaxerxes *invades the* Roman *dominions.*

Year of the flood 2580. Of Chriſt 232. Of Rome 980.

Alexander *haſtens to* Antioch.

[m] NORIS, epiſt. conſul. p. 146. BIRAG. p. 313.

favour; which *Turinus* no ſooner knew, than he obliged his client, though he had never once mentioned his name to the emperor, to make good his word, and pay the promiſed ſum, pretending, that, by his means alone, he had obtained what he deſired. Hereupon *Alexander* cauſed a diligent inquiry to be made into his former conduct, when it appeared, that he had received large ſums, not only from thoſe who had obtained any preferment, but from ſuch too as had had law-ſuits, and often from both parties; which ſo provoked the emperor, that he accuſed him to the ſenate, who ſentenced him to death; and the ſentence was put in execution in the following manner: The criminal was, by the emperor's orders, tied to a gibbet, and ſuffocated with the ſmoke of green wood, and wet ſtubble, kindled round him, the public crier in the mean time proclaiming, *He who ſold ſmoke, dies with ſmoke* (3).

(3) *Alex. vit. p.* 124, 125.

and

Haughty embaſſy of the Perſian *monarch.*

and richly appareled and armed, in quality of embaſſadors, to acquaint the *Romans*, and their emperor, that the great monarch *Artaxerxes* ordered them to retire forthwith from *Syria* and *Aſia*, and all the countries between the *Euphrates* and the *Ægæan* ſea, which had formerly belonged to the *Perſians*. *Alexander* heard their meſſage with great temper, and then cauſed the embaſſadors to be ſtripped of their rich armour and apparel, and ſent under a guard into *Phrygia*, where he allotted them houſes, and lands to cultivate [n].

Alexander prepares for war.

AFTER this, he began to prepare for war in good earneſt, ordered the legions quartered in the different provinces of the Eaſt to join him with all poſſible expedition, cauſed a great number of warlike engines to be got ready, and diſpatched officers into all parts, to raiſe new levies. In imitation of *Alexander the Great*, whoſe name he bore, and for whom he had a particular veneration, he armed ſome companies of foot with ſhields covered with gold and ſilver, and formed ſix legions into a body of thirty thouſand men, which he called his *phalanx*. Theſe diſtinguiſhed themſelves, during the war, in a very eminent manner; and were, when it was ended, rewarded for their ſervices with double pay [o] (Q).

AT

[n] HERODIAN. lib. vi. p. 579. [o] Alex. vit. p. 131.

(Q) *Lampridius* tells us, that the emperor being informed ſoon after his arrival at *Antioch*, that ſome of his ſoldiers were gone to *Daphne*, and there bathed with the lewd women of that diſſolute place, he immediately ordered them to be arreſted, and laid in irons. Hereupon the whole legion, to which they belonged, beginning to mutiny, *Alexander* went out to them, and, without betraying the leaſt fear, told them, that, as the antient diſcipline was the main and only ſupport of the empire, he was reſolved to maintain it at all events, and puniſh with the utmoſt ſeverity, nay, with death, thoſe diſorders and debaucheries which had been allowed in the late reign. At theſe words the whole legion began to utter their rage in horrible cries; but *Alexander* with an air of authority, *Silence*, ſaid he, *I command ſilence; keep theſe clamours to terrify the* Perſians, *the* Sarmatians, *and the* Germans: *you have learnt of thoſe who taught you the art of war, that you are to frighten the enemy with that ſavage noiſe, and not your emperor, who, at the expences of his people, maintains, cloathes, and pays you. Forbear, therefore, theſe unſeaſonable clamours, which are only fit for battle, leſt I diſband you all, or inflict upon you a more ſevere puniſhment.* Hereupon the uproar increaſing, and ſome of the boldeſt even menacing him with their ſwords; *Reſerve your menaces*, ſaid he, *for the enemy; them you may frighten, but not me, who deſpiſe your impotent rage: ſhould you murder*

AT length *Alexander* took the field at the head of a numerous army, obſerving in all his marches and motions ſuch order and diſcipline, that his camp ſeemed a well-governed city, his ſoldiers citizens, and his officers ſo many ſenators [p]. He puniſhed with great ſeverity ſuch as offered the leaſt injury to any of the inhabitants of the countries through which he marched (R). But, notwithſtanding his great ſeverity, no emperor was ever more beloved both by the officers and ſoldiers, as no one ever rewarded them with more generoſity, when they complied with their duty; took more care of them when ſick or wounded; or ſupplied them on all occaſions more plentifully with proviſions. He kept conſtantly in his cabinet certain regiſters, in which were marked the names of all the officers and ſoldiers, the provinces where they were quartered, the time of their ſervice, the dates of their commiſſions, the names of the perſons at whoſe recommendation they had been preferred, their exploits, if they had performed any, their good and evil qualities, *&c.* Theſe regiſters he frequently peruſed, and by that means became acquainted with moſt of the officers and ſoldiers of his different armies, often mentioned their

Marches againſt the Perſians.

His care of the military diſcipline, and of the ſoldiery.

[p] Vit. Alex. p. 130.

murder me, the republic will not be at a loſs to find me a ſucceſſor, who will puniſh you according to your deſerts. As the mutiny ſtill continued, he cried out with a loud voice, *I diſband you all; citizens, lay down your arms, and be gone.* With theſe words the whole legion was thunderſtruck; they obeyed; quitted their arms, laid down even their military garments; and retired in ſilence, while the emperor's guards took up their ſtandards, and carried them, together with the arms of the diſbanded legion, to the camp. However, before the emperor ſet out againſt the *Perſians*, he reſtored them, upon the interceſſion of ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, to their former rank, after having puniſhed with death their tribunes, for having ſuffered the ſoldiers under their command to tranſgreſs with impunity the military laws, and for neglecting to ſuppreſs the tumult (4). This legion ſignalized themſelves above the reſt in the *Perſian* war, and ſhewed more concern for the death of *Alexander* than any other (5).

(R) One of his ſoldiers having injured an old woman, he not only diſbanded him, but obliged him to maintain her, as her ſlave, with his labour, ſo long as ſhe lived. Others he puniſhed for very ſmall offences with death, cauſing the public crier to repeat during the execution, *Do as you would be done by.* It was death for any officer, of what rank ſoever, to detain the leaſt part of his ſoldiers pay or allowances.

(4) *Vit. Alex. p.* 133. (5) *Idem, p.* 136.

names,

names, and preferred only perſons of merit [q]. When they were ſick, he viſited them in their tents, even the common ſoldiers, ſupplied them with chariots, and ſuffered them to want nothing that could any-way relieve or comfort them in their ſickneſs. If they were not in a condition to purſue their march, he recommended them to the care of perſons of known integrity and good-nature, whom he rewarded with great generoſity for their trouble, whether the ſoldiers died or recovered [r]. He was always ready to hearken to the complaints of the meaneſt in the army againſt their tribunes, and other officers, puniſhing them, when guilty, according to the quality of their crime, without any favour or diſtinction [s]. He frequently diſtributed large ſums among them, aſcribing chiefly to their poverty the diſorders they committed. They were all ſo well clad and armed, ſays *Lampridius*, and the cavalry ſo well mounted, that nothing gave a more true idea of the grandeur of the *Roman* empire, than the army of *Alexander Severus* [t]. In his marches he cauſed proviſions to be got ready beforehand at the ſeveral places where the army was to encamp; whereas, before his time, each ſoldier uſed to carry with him ſubſiſtence for ſeventeen days. In the enemy's country, where he could not uſe that precaution, he cauſed the neceſſary proviſions to be carried on horſes, mules, and camels; which gained him the affections of the ſoldiery, and at the ſame time rendered his marches ſo quick and expeditious, that he is ſaid in moſt of his wars to have ſurpriſed the enemy [u]. In his garb and dreſs he little varied from the common ſoldiers, and his diet was the ſame with theirs. He conſtantly dined and ſupped in public, with his tent open, and in the ſight of the whole army; and viſited, before he withdrew to repoſe, each quarter in the camp. Thus, partly with a ſeaſonable ſeverity, partly with his affable and obliging behaviour, he re-eſtabliſhed the antient diſcipline among the troops, which had been intirely neglected in the reign of *Heliogabalus*; and gained, by his firmneſs and intrepidity, ſuch an authority over them, as to diſband whole legions; which no emperor had offered to do ſince the time of *Julius Cæſar* [w].

He is both feared and beloved by the ſoldiery.

WITH an army thus diſciplined, the emperor marched early in the ſpring of this year 233. againſt *Artaxerxes*, who, fluſhed with his former ſucceſſes, would hearken to no terms, however reaſonable; but advanced towards the frontiers of the *Roman* dominions at the head of an army conſiſting of an innumerable multitude of foot, and one hundred and thirty

[q] Vit. Alex. p. 120, 121. [r] Idem, p. 130. [s] Idem, p. 119. 121. [t] Idem, p. 132. [u] Idem, p. 134. [w] Idem, p. 117.

thouſand horſe, with eighteen hundred chariots armed with ſithes, and ſeven hundred elephants bearing towers on their backs, filled with archers, after the *Perſian* manner [x]. Of this war *Herodian* gives us the following account: *Alexander*, having divided his army into three bodies, ordered one to enter *Media*, another to march into the country of the *Parthians*, and led himſelf the third, which conſiſted of the flower of the army, at an equal diſtance from the other two. They were all to meet at an appointed place; but *Alexander*, either thro' want of courage, or yielding to the intreaties and tears of his mother, inſtead of purſuing his march, and entering the enemy's country, halted in *Meſopotamia*; ſo that the body which had marched through the country of the *Parthians* were intirely cut off, while they waited the arrival of the emperor at the appointed place, and the other obliged to retire, and repaſs in the depth of winter the mountains of *Armenia*, in which painful march great numbers of them died either with cold or hunger. The body which *Alexander* commanded was greatly diminiſhed by ſickneſs, and the emperor himſelf was ſeized with a dangerous malady, which almoſt brought him to the point of death [y]. Others write, that *Alexander* was betrayed by ſome of his own people, and obliged to ſave himſelf and his army by flight. But moſt hiſtorians aſſure us, that he gained a complete victory over the *Perſians*; and *Lampridius* quotes the very words of *Alexander* to the ſenate on that occaſion (S).

The ſucceſs of his expedition againſt the Parthians.

AFTER

[x] Alex. vit. p. 133. HERODIAN. l. vi. p. 580. [y] HEROD. ibid.

(S) According to him, the emperor entered the enemy's country, without ſo much as acquainting beforehand his officers with the route he intended to take, He was ſoon met by *Artaxerxes*, at the head of the moſt numerous army that had ever been ſeen in thoſe parts; whereupon a battle enſuing, the emperor diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very eminent manner, encouraging the ſoldiers more by his example than by words; expoſed himſelf to the enemy's darts and arrows like a common ſoldier; viſited, during the engagement, both the wings of his army; flew through the ranks; and, in ſhort, diſcharged every duty of a valiant ſoldier, and experienced commander (6). The numerous army of *Artaxerxes* was utterly routed, and that conqueror obliged, notwithſtanding his former victories and conqueſts, to ſave himſelf by a ſhameful flight. The particulars of this engagement we may learn from *Alexander* himſelf, who, on his return

(6) *Vit. Alex. p.* 130, 131.

to

AFTER this victory, *Alexander* returned to *Antioch*, with a deſign to purſue the war with freſh vigour the following year;

to *Rome*, gave the ſenate an account of this memorable expedition in the following ſpeech: "Conſcript fathers, we have "overcome the *Perſians*, and "there is no need of great elo- "quence to acquaint you with "the particulars of the victory. "The enemy came with ſeven "hundred elephants, the greateſt "number ever ſeen together in "the field. Theſe carried tow- "ers upon their backs, filled "with archers and arrows. "Three hundred of the ele- "phants we took, two hundred "we killed upon the ſpot, and "eighteen we have brought hi- "ther with us. They had eigh- "teen hundred chariots armed "with ſithes, of which we "took two hundred. We have "cut in pieces an army of one "hundred and twenty thouſand "horſe, and ten thouſand men "armed cap-à-pé, with whoſe "ſpoils we have enriched our "troops. We took a great "number of priſoners, whom "we have ſold. The country "of *Meſopotamia*, lying between "the *Tigris* and the *Euphrates*, "which my predeceſſor *Helio-* "*gabalus* had neglected, we have "reconquered, and brought "again under ſubjection. We "have put the moſt potent king "*Artaxerxes*, as he is ſtiled, to "flight; the country of *Perſia* "beheld him flying for the firſt "time. In the place where the "*Romans* formerly loſt their "enſigns and ſtandards, the *Per-* "*ſians* have now loſt theirs, "You ſee, conſcript fathers, what "we have atchieved; the ſub- "ject needs no eloquence to "adorn or ſet it off; the army "is returned rich, and loaded "with booty. It is incumbent "upon you to appoint public "thankſgivings for ſo ſignal a "victory, that we may not ſeem "ungrateful to the gods, who "have bleſſed our arms with ſuch "ſucceſs (7)." This ſpeech, *Lampridius* aſſures us, he copied out of the journals of the ſenate, and found it, word for word, in the works of many hiſtorians; and therefore he cannot conceive how *Herodian* could write, that *Alexander* loſt his army by famine, cold, and ſickneſs; which, he ſays, is contradicting all the records, memoirs, and hiſtories, of thoſe times. *Julius Capitolinus* tells us, that *Herodian* hated *Alexander*, and therefore gave an unfaithful and detracting account of his *Perſian* expedition (8). However, he is followed by *Zonaras* (9), and *Cedrenus* (1). But *Aurelius Victor*, *Feſtus*, *Eutropius*, St. *Jerom*, and *Syncellus*, abandon him in this particular, and follow *Lampridius*. All the *Oriental* hiſtorians write, that *Alexander* was utterly defeated, and obliged to purchaſe a peace, by yielding to the *Perſian* all the countries lying between the *Euphrates* and the frontiers of *Palæſtine* (2). But, after all, *Lam-*

(7) *Vit. Alex. p.* 130, 131. (8) *Vit. Maxim. p.* 143. (9) *Zonar. p.* 225.
(1) *Cedren. p.* 256. (2) *Rein. epiſt.* 48. *p.* 438.

year; but, in the mean while, being informed, that the *Germans* had invaded the *Roman* dominions, and at the ſame time that *Artaxerxes* had diſbanded great part of his army for want of proviſions, he reſolved to quit the Eaſt, and return to *Rome*, apprehending greater evils from the *Germans* than from the *Perſians*. Accordingly, having erected ſeveral forts in *Meſopotamia*, and left numerous gariſons to defend them, he ſet out from *Antioch* in the ſpring of the following year, when *Maximus* and *Urbanus* were conſuls; and, arriving ſafe at *Rome*, was there received by perſons of all ranks with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy imaginable. He entered the city in triumph, his chariot being drawn, not by four white horſes, as was uſual, but by four of the elephants which he had taken [z]. When the ceremony was over, he went to the ſenate, where he made the ſpeech we have related above. From the ſenate he repaired to the capitol, and there conſecrated ſome of the *Perſian* ſpoils to *Jupiter Capitolinus*. Then turning to the people, *I have overcome the* Perſians, ſaid he, *and the army is returned loaded with booty. I promiſe you a largeſs, and propoſe to exhibit to-morrow the* Circenſian *ſports.* From the capitol he marched to the palace on foot, followed by his triumphal chariot, and attended by the ſenate, the equeſtrian order, and ſuch crouds of people, all crying, Rome *is ſafe, while* Alexander *is ſafe*, that with much difficulty he reached the palace in four hours. The next day he exhibited the *Circenſian* ſports, gave the promiſed largeſs, and, in honour of his mother, eſtabliſhed a fund for the maintenance of the children of the poor citizens, who were thence called the children of *Mamæa* [a].

Alexander *returns to* Rome, *and triumphs.* Year of the flood 2582. Of Chriſt 234. Of Rome 982.

In the mean time news being brought to *Rome*, that the *Germans*, and other northern nations, had paſſed the *Rhine* and the *Danube* in great numbers, the emperor, to the inexpreſſible grief of the ſenate and people, left the city, and haſtened with his victorious army into *Gaul*, to ſtem this furious torrent (T). In the beginning of the following year, when *Severus* *He leaves* Rome, *to march againſt the* Germans;

[z] Alex. vit. p. 135. Fest. p. 553. [a] Vit. Alex. p. 133, 134.

pridius relates ſo many particulars of this victory, and appeals with ſuch confidence to the journals of the ſenate, and the hiſtorians of thoſe times, that we cannot help preferring his authority to that of the *Oriental* hiſtorians, and of *Herodian* himſelf.

(T) We are told, that a woman, by profeſſion a *Druid*, meeting him on his march, cried out to him in her language, "You may go; but hope not "for victory, nor truſt your "own ſoldiers." The hiſtorian does not inform us, whether *Alex-*

who retire at his approach.

verus and *Quinctianus* were conſuls, *Alexander* advanced with his army to the banks of the *Rhine*; but finding the enemy had repaſſed that river upon the news of his approach, he ordered a bridge to be built over it, with a deſign to attack them in their own country, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would allow him to take the field [b]. *Herodian*, who always paints *Alexander* as a weak and timorous prince, tells us, that he ſent embaſſadors to the *Germans* with propoſals of peace, which he even offered to purchaſe at any rate; and adds, that, during the time of this ſhameful negotiation, he diverted himſelf with driving chariots, and ſuch-like unprincely exerciſes; which provoked the ſoldiers, and occaſioned his ruin [c].

The Gauliſh *legions complain of the ſeverity of* Alexander.

But *Lampridius* clears the emperor from theſe ill-natured aſperſions; and aſcribes the diſcontent of the ſoldiery, that is, of the legions quartered in *Gaul*, to their licentiouſneſs, and to the ſeverity of *Alexander*, which they could not endure, after having been, under *Heliogabalus*, long inured to idleneſs, and all manner of debauchery.

They are encouraged by Maximinus.

AMONG theſe troops was one *Maximinus*, by nation a *Goth*, whom *Alexander*, in regard of his valour, had preferred to the command of a body of *Pannonians*; but he, unmindful of his duty, and of the obligations he owed to the emperor, inſtead of attempting to appeaſe the licentious and diſcontented ſoldiery, fomented underhand the tumult, and, by his ſeditious ſpeeches, inſpired the multitude with contempt for *Alexander*, as one who was governed by a woman, meaning *Mamæa*, and conſequently unfit for carrying on the war with vigour [d]. The emperor was then either at *Mentz* or *Sicilia*, which moſt geographers take to be the preſent village of *Siclingen* in the neighbourhood of *Mentz*, or that of *Ober-Weſel* on the *Rhine*, in the territory of *Treves*, between *Boppart* and *Bingen*. As *Alexander* had but a ſmall body of troops with him, *Maximinus* reſolved to lay hold of that opportunity,

[b] Vit. Alex. p. 137. [c] Herod. l. vi. p. 585, 589. [d] Idem ibid.

Alexander heard and underſtood her; but he aſſures us, that *Alexander* feared neither death, nor the omens which were thought to preſage it; whereof he gives us the following inſtance: A celebrated aſtrologer, by name *Thraſybulus*, the emperor's particular friend, having one day told him, that his fate was to fall by the hand of a barbarian, he was tranſported with joy, not doubting but he ſhould die in the field, which, he ſaid, was a death worthy of an emperor, obſerving to the aſtrologer, that many great men had ended their days by a violent death, and naming, among the reſt, *Alexander the Great*, *Pompey*, *Julius Cæſar*, *Demoſthenes*, and *Cicero* (3).

(3) *Vit. Alex. p.* 135, 136.

and

and to dispatch him, not doubting but the troops under his command, whom he had gained with mighty promises, would, upon the death of that prince, proclaim him emperor. He imparted his design to some of the most bold and resolute among his men, who, animated with the hopes of great preferments, readily engaged to put it in execution, and immediately set out for the place where the emperor then was, which they contrived to reach about an hour after mid-day, when those who attended the emperor were withdrawn, to refresh themselves, according to the *Roman* custom, with a short sleep after dinner. They no sooner appeared, than the few soldiers who were upon guard, betook themselves to flight, having probably been gained over beforehand by *Maximinus*. *Mamæa*, alarmed at the unexpected noise and tumult, ran out, attended by the captains of the guards, to appease it; but the assassins, having first murdered both her and them, entered with their drawn swords the emperor's tent, who, as he was unarmed, and left quite alone, threw his imperial mantle over his face, and received, without uttering a single word, the many blows with which they dispatched him, deriding him the whole time as a child unfit to be at the head of an army, and inveighing against his mother, as one whose only care was to amass riches [e]. Such was the unfortunate and undeserved end of *Alexander Severus*, after he had lived, according to the most probable opinion, twenty-six years, five months, and nineteen days, and reigned thirteen years and nine days. The loss of no prince was ever more regretted by the senate, the people, and the soldiery, than that of *Alexander*, who, by his wise administration, had gained the affections of all ranks of men. The senate immediately decreed, both to him, and to his mother *Mamæa*, divine honours; appointed them altars, priests, and sacrifices; and instituted, in honour of the deceased emperor, an annual feast, which was still kept in the time of *Constantine the Great*, on the first of *October*, *Alexander*'s birth-day [f]. The soldiers were no sooner apprised of his death, than they put to the sword all those who had been any-way accessory to it, except the chief author of it, *Maximinus*, who, by persuading the soldiery, that he had no hand in the murder, escaped, for the present, the deserved punishment.

Alexander is assassinated.

ALEXANDER was, according to the testimony of all the antients, *Herodian* alone excepted, one of the best and wisest princes that ever swayed a sceptre; and, had he lived longer, would have intirely reformed those abuses, which, after his

His character.

[e] Idem, p. 135. VICT. epit. Zos. l. i. p. 639. HEROD. l. vi. p. 587. [f] Alex. vit. p. 136.

death, involved the empire in endleſs calamities. He was ſparing of the public money, liberal of his own, kind and generous to all good men; but an irreconcileable enemy to the wicked, eſpecially to ſuch as were convicted of having plundered the provinces, and oppreſſed the people committed to their care. Theſe he never ſpared, though his friends, favourites, and kinſmen; but ſentenced them to death, and cauſed them to be executed, notwithſtanding their quality, or former ſervices, like common malefactors (U). He uſed to ſay, that it was not a ſufficient puniſhment to deprive corrupt magiſtrates and governors of their places; but that, as the truſt repoſed in them was great, they ought to pay for the breach of it with their lives. He baniſhed one of his ſecretaries for giving to his council, in writing, a falſe account of an affair; and cauſed the ſinews of his fingers to be cut, that he might never write after. One of his ſlaves, convicted of having received a bribe, he cauſed to be crucified on the road which led from the city to the villa, where he frequently reſided, that, by the ſight of the body, which was left on the croſs, his other ſlaves might be deterred from the like practices g. He never pardoned any crime committed againſt the public; but ſuffered no one to be condemned, till his cauſe was thoroughly heard, and his offence evidently proved. He retrenched all the penſions which *Heliogabalus* had ſettled on his freedmen, and on buffoons, ſtage-players, charioteers, gladiators, *&c.* ſaying, that the emperor was but the ſteward of the people, and therefore could not, without the utmoſt injuſtice, thus wantonly ſquander away their revenues upon perſons no-way uſeful to them.

His hatred to thoſe who robbed the public.

g Alex. vit. p. 124.

(U) *Eucolpius* the hiſtorian, one of *Alexander*'s chief favourites, tells us, as quoted by *Lampridius* (4), that he could not even bear the ſight of ſuch public robbers; inſomuch that one *Septimius Arabinus*, who had been tried for that crime, but acquitted by favour of *Heliogabalus*, coming one day with other ſenators to wait upon the emperor, *Alexander*, on ſeeing him, cried out in a violent paſſion, "O ye immortal gods! "is *Arabinus* ſtill alive, and a "ſenator! Does he even preſume "to appear in my preſence! "Surely he takes me to be as "wicked as himſelf!" After this, he cauſed it to be proclaimed by the public crier, that if any one guilty of the ſame crime ever preſumed to appear in his preſence, he ſhould immediately receive his deſerved puniſhment, notwithſtanding the pardon granted him by his predeceſſor (5).

(4) *Alex. vit. p.* 129.

(5) *Idem ibid.*

No

No prince ever paid greater deference to the ſenate than *Alexander.* He was the firſt emperor who allowed the ſenators to ſit when they came to wait upon him. He appointed no governors or magiſtrates, without adviſing with them; and never failed to prefer ſuch as they recommended to him. He admitted none into the ſenate without the concurrence and approbation of all the members of that body, aſking the opinion of each in particular, and examining, with great ſtrictneſs, into the manners and former conduct of the perſon who was to be admitted. If, upon this inquiry, he was found unworthy of a place in the ſenate, ſuch of the ſenators as had recommended him, were themſelves degraded; and ſuch as had given teſtimony of his probity, condemned, as in caſes of perjury, to loſe their eſtates, and baniſhed for ever. He never admitted either freedmen, or their children, to the equeſtrian order, which he uſed to call *the nurſery of the ſenate.* He appointed, that the captains of the guards ſhould no longer be choſen out of the equeſtrian, but only out of the ſenatorial order; that no one ſhould have the power of judging a ſenator, but who was himſelf a ſenator; for the captains of the guards had been long the ordinary judges of the ſenators in caſes of treaſon [h]. Thus, by degrees, the captains became the moſt powerful officers in the ſtate, and their office more conſiderable than even that of the conſuls; which, in the end, ruined the authority of the ſenate.

His deference to the ſenate.

He beſtows the office of captain of the guards only on ſenators.

In the adminiſtration of juſtice *Alexander* never took upon him to decide any law-ſuit, without conſulting his council, which conſiſted of the moſt learned civilians in *Rome*, whom he obliged to give their opinions in writing, after having allowed them time to examine and weigh matters at their leiſure, that they might not pronounce ſentence without due premeditation. Thus were all matters of juſtice determined by perſons of known integrity, and well ſkilled in the laws. In military affairs he conſulted only ſuch perſons as had acquired experience by their long ſervice, and were well acquainted with the ſituation of places, or men verſed in hiſtory, inquiring of them what had at any time been done on the like occaſions by his predeceſſors, or other great captains. He is ſaid never to have given any public office out of favour or friendſhip; but to have employed ſuch only as were both by himſelf, and the ſenate, judged the beſt qualified for the diſcharge of the truſt repoſed in them. He preferred one to the command of the guards, who had retired into the country on purpoſe to avoid that office, ſaying, that with him the declining ſuch honourable employments

Impartial in the adminiſtration of juſtice.

Prefers only perſons of merit.

[h] *Alex. vit. p.* 120.

was the beſt recommendation to them. He would not ſuffer any honourable employments to be ſold, ſaying, *He who buys, muſt ſell in his turn; and it would be unjuſt to puniſh one for ſelling, after he has been ſuffered to buy.* In appointing governors of provinces he obſerved a commendable cuſtom, which was to publiſh their names, and encourage all perſons to declare, either in public or private, whether they had any thing to lay to their charge: *Since* Jews *and* Chriſtians, ſaid he on this occaſion, *uſe ſuch commendable methods in the choice of their prieſts, it is reaſonable we ſhould proceed with the like care in the choice of rectors of provinces, who are entruſted with the lives and fortunes of ſo many perſons.* As he puniſhed, with the utmoſt ſeverity, thoſe who betrayed their truſt, ſo he rewarded, with great generoſity, ſuch as had anſwered the good opinion he entertained of them, and either raiſed them to employments of greater profit, or, if they choſe to retire, preſented them with houſes and lands, ſaying, that, ſince corrupt governors enriched themſelves at the expence of the people, good governors ought to be enriched at the expence of the prince [i].

Alexander an enemy to all pomp and ſhew.

He was an utter enemy to all pomp and ſhew, and extremely modeſt in his apparel, telling thoſe who found fault with him on that account, that a prince ought to be diſtinguiſhed from the reſt, not by his apparel, but by his gallantry, and virtuous actions. The rich preſents ſent him by foreign princes he beſtowed on the temples; but ſold all the jewels, employing the money accruing from them to the relief of the poor citizens. The embaſſadors of an eaſtern prince having preſented the empreſs with two pearls of an extraordinary ſize, *Alexander* ordered them to be ſold; but no one being found rich enough to purchaſe them, he conſecrated them to ſerve as pendants to a ſtatue of *Venus*, that the empreſs might not ſeem, by wearing them, to encourage luxury in others. He kept ſuch a ſmall number of ſlaves and freedmen (whom he cauſed to wear a particular habit, in order to put them in mind of their condition), that, when he gave any public entertainment, he was obliged to uſe thoſe of his friends, nay, and to borrow their plate; for he ſold all the gold, and moſt of the ſilver plate belonging to the palace, to defray the neceſſary charges of the government without burdening the people.

Reduces the taxes.

He reduced the impoſts with which *Heliogabalus* had loaded both *Rome*, and the provinces, to the thirtieth part; and ſuffered ſeveral cities to apply even that towards the repairing of their public buildings. He lent money without intereſt to the poor, wherewithal to purchaſe houſes and lands, allowing them time to pay the

[i] Alex. vit. p. 119, &c.

capital

capital with the product of their lands. He was ſo far from filling the exchequer at the expence of the people, that he could not abide the ſight of thoſe, whoſe province it was to levy the taxes; he uſed to call them *neceſſary evils*, and never ſuffered any of them to continue in his office a full year. He filled, at a vaſt charge, the public granaries, which, upon his acceſſion to the empire, he found almoſt empty; diſtributed weekly great quantities of oil and corn among the poor citizens; and allotted funds for the maintenance and education of their children [k]. He would not ſuffer the money levied upon the public proſtitutes and catamites to be returned into his private coffers, as other emperors had done; but allotted it towards the repairing of the theatre, the circus, and the amphitheatre.

His public works.

He built granaries in all parts of the city, for the uſe of thoſe who had none of their own. Of theſe public and common granaries frequent mention is made by the antients. He cauſed baths to be likewiſe erected in each quarter of the city, and, at his own expence, furniſhed them with wood, and oil for the lamps in the night; whereas before his time they were never opened till the riſing, and were ſhut again at the ſetting, of the ſun. He built a great many fine houſes for ſuch of his friends and miniſters as had ſerved him faithfully, and lived without reproach [l]. He furniſhed the governors of provinces, at their firſt ſetting out, with money, and other things which were thought neceſſary; that is, according to *Lampridius*, with twenty pounds weight of ſilver, eight mules, two horſes, two gowns, an hundred pieces of gold, one cook, one coachman, and one concubine, if the perſon he named was not married [m]. He founded a great many free-ſchools in *Rome*, and took particular care of the children of noble, but decayed families. He embelliſhed *Rome* with an incredible number of ſtately buildings; repaired moſt of the antient ſtructures, leaving upon them the names of their firſt founders; and erected in the great ſquare of *Nerva* ſtatues in honour of moſt of the emperors his predeceſſors, with inſcriptions on columns of braſs, containing ſuccinct accounts of all their memorable actions [n].

Alexander was a great encourager of learning, took much delight in converſing with learned men, and ſpent all the time he could ſpare from public affairs in reading the *Greek* and *Latin* authors, eſpecially *Plato*'s commonwealth, *Tully*'s offices, the works of *Horace*, of *Virgil*, whom he uſed to ſtile the *Plato* of the poets, and of *Serenus Sammonicus*, another poet, whom we have mentioned above [o]. He

[k] Alex. vit. p. 124. 130. [l] Idem, p. 127. [m] Idem, p. 130. [n] Idem, p. 123. [o] See before, p. 339, (D).

His learning.

was himſelf well verſed in all the branches of polite literature, and deſcribed in verſe the exploits of ſome of his predeceſſors P. He applied himſelf chiefly to the ſtudy of judicial aſtrology, which was by his orders publicly taught at *Rome*; and pretended to be thoroughly acquainted with the ſcience of the ſoothſayers and augurs, both as to entrails of ſacrifices, and the flight and chirping of birds q. He often went to hear the poets and orators declaim in the public ſchools; but would not allow them to write any thing in his praiſe. In ſhort, *Alexander*, to end the hiſtory of his reign with the words of *Aurelius Victor*, made it his whole ſtudy to encourage virtue and learning, to reform abuſes, to reſtore the military diſcipline, and to diſcharge, with the greateſt fidelity and diſintereſtedneſs, each duty of an excellent prince. His endeavours were attended with ſuch ſucceſs, that the empire would have ſtill retained its former luſtre, had thoſe who ſucceeded him firmly maintained what he had ſo wiſely eſtabliſhed. Some of his predeceſſors, namely *Trajan*, *Antoninus*, and *M. Aurelius*, performed perhaps greater things; but were older when they came to the empire, than *Alexander* was at the time of his death r. Of the writers who flouriſhed in his reign, the reader will find a ſuccinct account in our note (W).

p Vit. Alex. p. 123. q Idem ibid. r Aur. Vict. in vit. Alex.

(W) *Lampridius*, in his life of *Alexander*, often quotes *Acholius*, *Septimius*, and *Eucolpius*; but ſeems to prefer *Septimius* to the other two (6). They flouriſhed under *Alexander*, and wrote the hiſtory of that prince's reign. *Voſſius* ranks them among the *Latin* hiſtorians, tho' none of their works have reached our times; and *Lampridius* does not inform us, whether they wrote in *Greek* or *Latin* (7). *Acholius* lived in the time of *Alexander*, but died long after; for he was *admiſſionum magiſter*, that is, in the modern phraſe, maſter of the ceremonies, to the emperor *Valerian*, who began his reign in the year 253. eighteen years after the death of *Alexander* (8). He even wrote the life of *Valerian*, and conſequently outlived him; nay, *Voſſius* is of opinion, that he was ſtill alive in the reign of *Aurelian*, who was raiſed to the empire in 270 (9). *Eucolpius* not only lived in the time of *Alexander*, but was highly favoured by that prince (1). A treatiſe on government, aſcribed to *Eucolpius*, was tranſlated out of *Greek* into *Engliſh* above an hundred years ſince; in which the reader will find a particular account of a ſuppoſed conference between the emperor *Alexander* and *Origen*. But, as

(6) *Vit. Alex. p.* 119, 131, 136. (7) *Vide Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. p.* 719. (8) *Aur. Vict. p.* 213. (9) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* ii. *c.* 4. *p.* 182. (1) *Alex. vit. p.* 119.

ſome

ſome circumſtances of that conference are inconſiſtent with what we read in the beſt hiſtorians, we are inclined to aſcribe that piece to ſome modern *Greek* writer, and to look upon the whole as a mere fable (2). *Gargilius Martialis* wrote likewiſe the hiſtory of the reign of *Alexander*, and is ranked by *Vopiſcus* among thoſe hiſtorians who wrote with more exactneſs than elegance (3). *Servius*, and other writers, quote a treatiſe on gardening by one *Gargilius Martialis* (4); but whether this be the hiſtorian, or another author of the ſame name, we cannot take upon us to determine. *Marius Maximus* wrote the hiſtory of the emperors from *Trajan* to *Alexander*, and is often quoted by the *Auguſtine* writers. M. *Valois* takes him to be the ſame perſon with *L. Marius Maximus*, who had been conſul, and was preferred by *Macrinus* to the government of *Rome* in the year 218 (5). *Ammianus Marcellinus* obſerves, that at *Rome*, in the fourth century, when learning was utterly neglected, many, who never looked into any other book, read, with great attention, the ſatires of *Juvenal*, and the hiſtory of *Marius Maximus* (6). *Capitolinus* commends his ſincerity and exactneſs (7); but *Vopiſcus*, whoſe judgment is of great weight with the learned, ſtiles him of all hiſtorians the moſt tedious and long-winded, and finds fault with him for filling his books with fables (8). The life of *Alexander* was likewiſe publiſhed by *Aurelius Philippus*, his father's freedman (9). *Julius Granianus*, who inſtructed *Alexander* in rhetoric, left ſome declamations, which were ſtill extant in the time of *Lampridius* (1). Beſides the celebrated civilians *Ulpianus* and *Paulus*, of whom we have made mention above, *Florentinus*, *Ælius Marcianus*, *Hermogenes* or *Hermogenianus*, *Calliſtrata*, and *Q. Claudius Venuleius Saturninus*, whoſe names are famous in the pandects, were all *Papinian*'s diſciples, and flouriſhed under *Alexander*; as did likewiſe *Herennius Modeſtinus*, who was preceptor to *Maximinus*, the ſon of the emperor of that name, and wrote ſeveral books of juriſprudence, and, among the reſt, one in *Greek*, on the excuſes of guardians. He was honoured with the conſulſhip by *Alexander*; but was ſtill alive in the reign of *Gordian*, which began in 239 (2). In the time of *Alexander*, flouriſhed, as we ſuppoſe, the ſophiſts, who are mentioned by *Phil ſtratus* in the end of his work; for he wrote ſoon after that prince's reign (3). Among theſe was *Aſpaſius*, who attended the emperor into the Eaſt, afterwards taught at *Rome*, and was, in the end, preferred to be one of the emperor's ſecretaries, and charged with the province of drawing up his reſcripts, which he did in a bombaſtic and obſcure ſtile. He was a native of *Ravenna* (4). *Ca-*

(2) *Vide Selden. in Eutych. Ægypt. &c. not. p.* 174, 175. *Londin. ann.* 1642. (3) *Vopiſc. Prob. vit. p.* 234. (4) *Vide Caſaub. not. p.* 168. (5) *Ammian. not. p.* 364. *Spon. p.* 114. (6) *Ammian. l.* xxviii. *p.* 372. (7) *Vit. Alb. p.* 84. (8) *Vide Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* ii. *c.* 3. *p.* 178. (9) *Vit. Alex. p.* 118. (1) *Idem ibid. p.* 115. (2) *Alex. vit. p.* 137. & *Caſaub. not. p.* 178. *Maxim. vit. p.* 148. *Cod. Juſtin. l.* ii. *tit.* 12. *leg.* 11. *p.* 197. (3) *Philoſ. ſoph.* 59. *p.* 622. (4) *Idem, p.* 623.

niſius

nisius published in 1602. the work of an anonymous Christian writer, composed, as the author informs us, in the thirteenth year of *Alexander*'s reign, and the 236th after the birth of our Saviour. But he counts two hundred and six years since our Saviour's death, supposing him to have lived only thirty years. This work is an ill-digested abridgment of geography and chronology, and, in the opinion of the learned, full of anachronisms, and other faults. The transcribers of *Canisius*'s copy have left out the chronological table of the *Roman* emperors, which is twice promised in the preface (5). Father *L'Abbé*, who has published the same author, found in his copy the above-mentioned table, which is far from being exact (6). It ends with the thirteen years and nine days of the reign of *Alexander* (7); whence it is plain, that the author put the last hand to it in the beginning of the reign of *Maximinus*. In father *L'Abbé*'s edition of this work, the author promises a catalogue of the bishops of *Rome*, and the time of their respective episcopacies; but that catalogue is wanting in the manuscript. The author was, perhaps, a native of *Rome*, and a priest; for, in father *L'Abbé*'s edition, he addresses himself to a deacon, whom, he says, he designs to instruct; which, in the primitive church, no ecclesiastic of an inferior rank, and much less a layman, would have taken upon him to do. Of this writer *Vossius* takes no notice.

But the most famous of all the writers, who flourished under *Alexander*, was the celebrated historian *Dio Cassius*, called also *Cassius Cocceius* or *Cocceianus*. He was a native of *Nicæa* in *Bithynia*, and probably related to *Cocceianus Dio*, a citizen of *Prusa* in the same province, in whose behalf *Pliny* the younger wrote to *Trajan* (8). Under *Trajan* flourished another *Dio* of *Prusa*, a famous sophist, commonly known by the name of *Dio Chrysostomus*, who wrote several works, which have reached our times (9). The historian was the son of *Apronianus*, who was governor of *Cilicia* about the year 183. when the two brothers *Quintilii* were put to death by *Commodus*'s order (1). He was likewise for some time governor of *Illyricum* (2). His son was at *Rome* in the reign of *Commodus*, at least towards the latter end of it (3). He was senator in the year 192. the last of the reign of *Commodus*, and named prætor for the ensuing year by *Pertinax*, who had a particular kindness and esteem for him (4). He was appointed consul by the emperor *Severus* (5); attended, after that prince's death, his son *Caracalla* into the East (6); and spoke with him, for the last time, at *Nicomedia*, about the latter end of the year 215 (7). *Macrinus* named him to the government of *Smyrna* and *Pergamus*, which he held under *Heliogaba-*

(5) *Canis. antiq. lect. tom.* ii. *p.* 594. (6) *L'Abbé bibl. nov. tom.* i. *p.* 308. (7) *Idem, p.* 309. (8) *Plin. l.* x. *epist.* 87. *p.* 612. (9) *Suid. p.* 753, & 765. (1) *Dio, l.* lxix. *p.* 788. & *l.* lxxii. *p.* 820. (2) *Idem, l.* xlix. *p.* 413. (3) *Idem, l.* lxxii. *p.* 818. (4) *Idem ibid. p.* 820, 827. & *l.* lxxiii. *p.* 835. (5) *Idem, l.* lxxvi. *p.* 869. (6) *Idem, l.* lxxviii. *p.* 883, 884. (7) *Dio, l.* lxxix. *p.* 909.

lus,

lus, and was ſtill in *Aſia* in the year 221 (8). From *Aſia*, he went into *Bithynia*; whence he was recalled, and appointed governor, firſt of *Africa*, afterwards of *Illyricum*, and laſtly of *Pannonia*; in which governments he acquitted himſelf ſo well, that *Alexander*, upon his return to *Rome*, honoured him with a ſecond conſulſhip in the year 228 (9). When the time of his conſulſhip expired, he obtained leave to return into his own country, where he paſſed the remaining part of his life in retirement. *Dio Caſſius* wrote in eight decades, that is, in eighty books, the *Roman* hiſtory, from the landing of *Æneas* in *Italy*, to the reign of the emperor *Alexander* (1). In the time of *Severus*, he wrote a book on the dreams, and other prodigies, which ſeemed to preſage the riſe of that prince; which being well received by the emperor, *Dio* dreamt the following night, that his genius commanded him to undertake the writing of hiſtory. Accordingly he immediately began that of the reign of *Commodus*; and, being encouraged by *Severus*, and others, to whom he read what he had done, to apply himſelf to the writing of hiſtory, he undertook that of *Rome* (2), and ſpent ten years in collecting the neceſſary materials for ſo great a work, and twelve more in compoſing it (3). He is very minute in his hiſtory of the emperors to the death of *Heliogabalus*; but gives us only a ſummary account of the eight firſt years of *Alexander*, having been, as he himſelf informs us, moſt part of that time abſent from *Italy* (4), and conſequently not ſo well acquainted with what paſſed at *Rome*. He had, it ſeems, begun his hiſtory before the death of *Plautianus*, that is, before the year 204. and ended it ſoon after the year 229. for he takes no notice of *Alexander*'s war with the *Perſians*. His account of the public tranſactions, from the reign of *Commodus* to that of *Alexander*, is very particular and minute; for he then began to write, not what he had learnt of others, but what he had himſelf ſeen and obſerved. He aſſures us, that no one capable of writing an hiſtory was better acquainted, than himſelf, both with the public and private tranſactions; which is not at all incredible in a perſon of his rank. His ſtile, according to *Photius*, is ſublime, and anſwerable to the greatneſs of his ſubject; his terms expreſſive, his phraſe elegant, his periods full, and well-ſounding, and the whole worthy of the beſt hiſtorians of antient *Greece*. He propoſed *Thucydides* for his model, and does not, in the opinion of *Photius*, fall much ſhort of that excellent writer (5). *Voſſius*, however, blames him for decrying the greateſt men of antiquity, namely, *Cicero*, *Brutus*, *Caſſius*, and *Seneca*; but others clear him from that cenſure, and think he acted the part of an unbyaſed hiſtorian, in diſcovering the faults (for no man is without faults) even of thoſe whom he himſelf moſt admired (6). He blames only what in them was blameworthy, and

(8) *Dio*, *p.* 915. (9) *Idem*, *l.* lxxx. *p.* 917. (1) *Suid.* δ. *p.* 753. (2) *Idem*, *l.* lxxii. *p.* 828. *Phot. c.* 71. *p.* 105. (3) *Idem*, *l.* lxxii. *p.* 829. (4) *Idem*, *l.* lxxvi. *p.* 860. (5) *Phot. c.* 71. *p.* 103. (6) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 15. *p.* 238.

commends what to him ſeemed commendable. Others think him too diffuſe in his accounts of dreams, prodigies, and other things of that nature, beneath the dignity of an hiſtorian. He wrote, as we have obſerved above, the *Roman* hiſtory in eighty books; but of that great work only a ſmall part has reached us. For the firſt thirty-four books have been long ſince intirely loſt; and of the thirty-fifth only ſome fragments are remaining: the following books, from the end of the thirty-fifth to the fifty-fourth, are thought to be intire; but the next ſix are, in ſome places, ſtrangely maimed and corrupted. Of the twenty laſt, we have only ſome fragments publiſhed by *Fulvius Urſinus* and M. *Valois*. However, that great loſs has been, in ſome degree, ſupplied by *John Xiphilin*, who was patriarch of *Conſtantinople* in the eleventh century, and epitomized *Dio*'s hiſtory from the thirty-fifth book to the end. This epitome is greatly eſteemed by the learned, and thought to be very exact. The hiſtory of *Zonaras* may likewiſe be called an abridgment of *Dio*'s work; for he copied, as he himſelf owns, moſt of his hiſtory from *Dio*, and followed him with great exactneſs. Theſe abridgments have been of great uſe to us in the compiling of our hiſtory; for in them are to be found the moſt material tranſactions of the *Romans*, from the period where *Tacitus*'s hiſtory ends, to the time of the emperor *Alexander*. From that prince to *Conſtantine*, the hiſtory of the emperors is more perplexed, and leſs certain: for *Herodian* wrote with more elegance than exactneſs; and *Lampridius*, and the other *Auguſtine* writers, ſcarce deſerve the name of hiſtorians. They wrote in the beginning of the fourth century; and *Aurelius Victor* and *Eutropius* only copied them about the cloſe of the ſame century. *Zoſimus*, who wrote at the end of the fifth century, ſhews, by the miſtakes of which he is guilty in the very beginning of his work, that he either made uſe of bad memoirs, or did not underſtand the good ones. *Dio Caſſius*, beſides his *Roman* hiſtory, publiſhed a particular hiſtory of *Trajan*, the life of the philoſopher *Arrian* the diſciple of *Epictetus*, itineraries, the hiſtory of the *Perſians*, and that of the *Getæ* (7). The latter was known to *Jornandes*, who copied from it what he writes of *Telephus*, king of the *Getæ* in the times of *Achilles* and *Ulyſſes* (8).

(7) *Suid. T. p.* 714. (8) *Jornan. de reb. Gothic. c.* 9.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Roman *History, from the Death of* Alexander Severus, *to the Captivity of* Valerian, *when the Empire was usurped by thirty Persons at once, commonly called* The Thirty Tyrants.

THE murder of *Alexander* occasioned a great tumult and confusion in the army; during which the *Pannonian* troops, under the command of *Maximinus*, proclaimed him emperor; and the rest, finding no other appeared to claim or dispute that title, followed their example, and took the usual oaths to *Maximinus*, after he had solemnly declared, that he had been no-way accessary to the death of *Alexander*. The new emperor immediately declared his son *Maximinus Cæsar*, and prince of the *Roman* youth, invested him with the tribunitial and proconsular power, honoured him with the title of *Augustus*, and took him for his partner in the sovereignty. The senate, whom he took care to acquaint, as soon as possible, with his assumption to the empire, not daring to oppose the choice of the soldiery, confirmed it; so that *Maximinus* was, without the least opposition, acknowleged emperor by the senate, the people, and the army [a]. He was, according to *Syncellus* [b], a native of *Thrace*; according to *Herodian*, *Capitolinus*, and *Jornandes*, born in a village on the confines of that province, and the country of the barbarians. His father, by name *Micca*, or *Micca*, was a *Goth*; and his mother *Ababa*, or *Abala*, an *Alan* [c]. He is stiled in the antient inscriptions *C. Julius Verus Maximinus*. He was of a very mean extraction, and, in his early youth, a shepherd, but of a gigantic stature, being eight feet and an half tall, and withal exceeding well shaped, all his limbs answering his stature in symmetry and proportion. Of his strength wonderful things are related by the antients; to wit, that he was often seen to draw a loaded waggon, which two oxen could scarce move, to tear up trees by the roots, to crumble pebbles between his fingers, *&c.* Besides, he was so bold and courageous, that he took delight in exposing himself to the greatest dangers: whence he was called, for his courage and valour, *Achilles*, *Hector*, and *Ajax*; for his strength, *Hercules*, *Antæus*, and *Milo*; but, at the same time, for his savage cruelty, *Busiris*, *Phalaris*, and *Cyclops*.

Maximinus declared emperor, and his son Maximinus.

His extraction and preferments.

His mighty strength.

HE was first known to the emperor *Septimius Severus* on the following occasion: That prince having exhibited, as he

On what occasion

[a] Max. vit. p. 142. [b] SYNC. p. 361. [c] HEROD. l. vi. p. 585. Max. vit. p. 138. JORNAND. regn. c. 22.

passed

first known to the emperor Septimius Severus.

passed through *Thrace*, some military games and exercises in honour of his second son *Geta*, and proposed prizes for the conquerors, *Maximinus*, at that time about twenty years old, begged leave of the emperor, partly in the *Latin*, and partly in the *Thracian* language, to enter the lists, and try his skill with the rest. The emperor, admiring his size, matched him, not with the soldiers, as he was a barbarian, but with some of the strongest slaves in the camp; whom he overcame, sixteen one after the other. Hereupon the emperor ordered him to be listed among the horse. A few days after, as the emperor was visiting the different quarters of the camp on horseback, *Maximinus*, accosting him, began to run by him. The emperor, to try whether he could run as well as he could wrestle, put his horse upon a full gallop, and rid round the camp, *Maximinus* keeping close by him the whole time, till both he and his horse were quite spent. Then turning to him, Thracian, said he, *art thou now disposed to wrestle? I am*, answered *Maximinus*, *as much as you please*. The emperor immediately dismounted, and ordered some of the strongest soldiers, and best wrestlers, in the army, to enter the lists with him; of whom he overcame and threw down seven, as if they had been so many children; which so pleased the emperor, that he presented him with a golden collar, placed him among his guards, and heaped many favours upon him, appointing him extraordinary allowances, the common pay not being sufficient to support him: for he used to eat, according to *Julius Capitolinus*, forty, according to *Ælius Cardus*, a more antient historian, sixty pounds weight of flesh a day; and to drink eight *amphoræ* of wine, that is, six gallons, without ever eating or drinking to excess [d].

Preferred by Caracalla.

He was preferred by *Caracalla* to the post of a centurion; but quitted the army upon that prince's death, being unwilling to serve under *Macrinus*, the chief author of the murder, and retired to his own country. When *Heliogabalus* came to the empire, he offered his service to him; and, being admitted again into the army, he was, by the interest of his friends, raised to the rank of a tribune; but always declined, under some pretence or other, attending the emperor, who had disobliged him with an impure jest, alluding to his mighty strength [e]. He had even absented himself from *Rome*, not being able to bear the sight of that lewd monster; but returned thither when he understood, that *Alexander* was raised to the empire; and was by that prince received with the greatest demonstrations of kindness and esteem, recommended by him to the senate, created senator, and honoured with the command of

He is greatly favoured by Alexander.

[d] Herod. l. vi. p. 585. Max. vit. p. 138, 139. [e] Max. vit. p. 139, 140.

a new-

a new-raiſed legion, which the emperor thought him well qualified to inſtruct in the military exerciſes. In that office he acquitted himſelf ſo well, that *Alexander* preferred him to an higher command, and, at the breaking out of the *German* war, charged him with the care of diſciplining the new-raiſed troops, conſiſting chiefly of *Pannonians* (A).

His cruelty after his acceſſion to the empire.

MAXIMINUS no ſooner ſaw himſelf veſted with the ſovereign power, than he diſmiſſed all thoſe who had been employed by *Alexander* in places of truſt, and appointed creatures of his own in their room, ſelected, for the moſt part, out of the very dregs of the people. He made it his chief ſtudy to gain the affections of the ſoldiery; but, chooſing rather to be feared than loved by the reſt of his ſubjects, he began his reign with unheard-of cruelties. All thoſe who had been intimate with *Alexander*, or ſhewed the leaſt concern for his death, were, by his orders, inhumanly maſſacred; the ſenators whom he had created, degraded; and ſuch officers as he had raiſed, under various pretences, diſcharged, and moſt of them baniſhed. Being aſhamed of the meanneſs of his extraction, he cauſed all thoſe who knew his parents, or any of his family, to be privately murdered, though many of them had relieved him when in a low condition, and, by their intereſt, raiſed him in the army. His cruelty was heightened by the conſpiracy of *Magnus*, a conſular of an illuſtrious family, and great merit. He conſpired with ſeveral of *Alexander*'s old ſoldiers to break down the bridge which that prince had built over the *Rhine*, after *Maximinus* had paſſed it, and abandon him to the enemy. But, the conſpiracy being diſcovered, all thoſe whom *Maximinus* only ſuſpected to have been privy to it, were inhumanly maſſacred, to the number of four thouſand, without being tried, or even examined; which induced many to believe, that the plot was only a contrivance of *Maximinus*, to rid himſelf of thoſe who gave him umbrage [f].

The conſpiracy of Magnus.

[f] Max. vit. p. 142. HERODIAN. l. vii. p. 589.

(A) We are told, that *Alexander* had even ſome thoughts of marrying his ſiſter *Theoclia* to the ſon of *Maximinus*, who, in moſt inſcriptions, is ſtiled *C. Julius Verus Maximinus*. He was a youth of extraordinary beauty, in ſtature almoſt equal to his father, well-ſhaped, brave, courageous, but proud and haughty to ſuch a degree, that, upon his being proclaimed *Auguſtus*, and his father's partner in the empire, he ſuffered his ſoldiers not only to kiſs his hand, but his knees and feet, which his father could never endure. When he was killed with his father in the year 238. he was betrothed to *Julia Fadilla*, the great-niece of *Antoninus Pius* (1).

(1) *Max. vit. p.* 119, *&c.*

A FEW

The Osrhoenians *revolt.*

A FEW days after the conspiracy of *Magnus*, the *Osrhoenians*, who served in the army, and had been always greatly attached to the late emperor, no longer doubting that he had been assassinated by *Maximinus*'s orders, openly revolted, proclaimed *T. Quartinus* emperor, and attired him, much against his will, with the imperial purple, and all the ensigns of sovereignty. But soon after one *Macedo*, who had been the chief author of the revolt, and pretended great friendship for *Quartinus*, murdered him while he was reposing in his tent, and carried his head to *Maximinus*, who, instead of rewarding him according to his expectation, caused him some time after to be executed for rebelling against his prince, and betraying his friend [g]. The *Osrhoenians* returning to their duty after the death of *Quartinus*, the following year, when *Severus* and *Quintianus* were consuls, *Maximinus* entered *Germany* at the head of a mighty army, ravaged the country far and wide, burnt the enemy's habitations, carried off their corn and cattle, and took an incredible number of prisoners. Several battles were fought in the woods and marshes, in each of which the emperor killed many of the enemy with his own hand, discharging every duty of a gallant soldier, and experienced commander. He chose always to fight at the head of his troops, and often grappled with the enemy hand to hand like a common soldier. Having, in one encounter, to encourage his men, rushed sword in hand into the midst of the enemy, he was surrounded on all sides, and had been either killed or taken, notwithstanding his extraordinary strength, in which he placed too much confidence, had not his men, animated by the example of their general, hastened to his rescue. He took care to transmit an account of his victories to the senate; telling them, among other things, that he had laid waste the enemy's country four hundred miles round; destroyed near one hundred and fifty of their villages; taken an incredible number of prisoners; and fought more battles, than any of the antients had ever done [h]. He ordered his exploits to be represented in painting, and hung up in the squares and public places at *Rome*. For these victories the senate decreed both to him and his son the title of *Germanicus*; which is still to be seen on several of his medals [i].

Quartinus *betrayed and murdered.*

Maximinus *gains several victories over the* Germans.

Year of the flood 2584. Of Christ 236. Of Rome 984.

FROM *Germany* he marched into *Illyricum*, and, having passed the winter at *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*, where he entered upon his first consulship, and took *Africanus* for his collegue, early in the spring he led his army into the countries of the *Dacians* and *Sarmatians*, gained several victories over those

[g] HEROD. l. vii. p. 590. Max. vit. p. 142, &c. [h] Idem ibid.
[i] GOLTZ. p. 101, 102. BIRAG. p. 329.

barbarous nations, and obliged them to ſubmit to ſuch terms as he was pleaſed to impoſe upon them. He had nothing leſs in view than to extend the borders of the empire to the northern ocean; which he would have eaſily accompliſhed, ſays *Herodian*[k], had he not been interrupted by a civil war, and great diſturbances at home, occaſioned by his unheard-of cruelty, and inſatiable avarice. He encouraged informers, feigned plots, and condemned, without diſtinction of quality, ſex, or age, all who were accuſed, ſeizing their eſtates, and reducing the richeſt families in *Rome* to beggary. Perſons of the greateſt diſtinction were ſnatched away from their friends and relations, and, upon various groundleſs accuſations, carried into *Pannonia*, to be judged by the emperor, who never failed to condemn them either to death or baniſhment, and to ſeize their eſtates, whether the crimes laid to their charge were proved or no. Not ſatisfied with the wealth of ſo many illuſtrious families, he began to plunder the temples, to ſtrip the public buildings of their ornaments, and to ſeize on the public money in the cities allotted for the maintenance or diverſions of the people. This alarmed the populace, and diſpoſed them to a general revolt, which firſt broke out in *Africa*, about the middle of *May* of the enſuing year, when *Perpetuus* and *Cornelianus* were conſuls, on the following occaſion: Two young men of great diſtinction, being condemned by the emperor's receiver in that province, who oppreſſed the people in a moſt tyrannical manner, to pay a fine, which would have reduced them to beggary, conſpired to ſave their fortunes, by deſtroying him; and accordingly, having gained ſome ſoldiers of the legion quartered there, they fell upon him unexpectedly, and cut in pieces both him, and ſuch of the ſoldiers as attempted to defend him.

Overcomes the Dacians *and* Sarmatians.

His cruelty.

The people in Africa *revolt.*

THIS murder, they well knew, the emperor would never forgive; and therefore, well appriſed, that the only means of eſcaping the puniſhment due to their crime, was to create a new prince, they openly revolted, and, with the concurrence of the people, who could no longer bear the tyrannical government of *Maximinus*, proclaimed *Gordianus*, at that time proconſul of *Africa*, emperor in his room. *Gordianus* was deſcended of an illuſtrious family, poſſeſſed of immenſe wealth, and univerſally beloved both at *Rome*, and in the provinces, many of which he had governed, on account of his extraordinary merit and virtues; but, as he was advanced in years, being at this time eighty and upwards, when the people broke unexpectedly into his houſe, and ſaluted him with the title of *Auguſtus*, he threw himſelf upon the ground, and begged,

Gordian *proclaimed emperor in* Africa.

[k] HERODIAN. l. vii. p. 592.

with many tears, they would ſuffer him to ſpend the poor remains of his life in quiet, and chooſe ſome other more able, an account of his age, to deliver the ſtate from the tyrannical yoke under which it groaned. But the people, and, at their head one *Mauritius*, a perſon of great authority among them, continuing unalterable in their former reſolution, *Gordianus* was, in the end, conſtrained to accept the enſigns and title of emperor; which he had no ſooner done, than, to the inexpreſſible joy of all the *Africans*, he took his ſon, who bore the ſame name, was then his lieutenant, and had been conſul, for his partner in the empire. From *Thyſdrus*, a city of no ſmall note in *Byzacene*, not far from *Adrumetum*, where this happened, *Gordianus* marched to *Carthage*, and made his entry into that city arrayed with the imperial purple, amidſt the loud acclamations of the people, ſaluting him with the title of *Gordianus Africanus*.

He writes to the ſenate:

FROM *Carthage* he wrote to the ſenate and people of *Rome*, acquainting them with what had happened in *Africa*, and aſſuring them, that he had accepted the empire againſt his will, and was ready to reſign it, if they did not think fit to confirm his election. In the decrees which he ſent with his letters, and ordered to be publicly ſet up, with the approbation of the ſenate, he gave leave to all exiles to return home, baniſhed the informers, promiſed large ſums to the people, and to the ſoldiery a greater largeſs than any emperor had ever given. At the ſame time he wrote to all the great men in *Rome*, moſt of whom were his particular friends, encouraging them to exert themſelves on the preſent occaſion, and join him in reſcuing *Rome* from the inſupportable tyranny of *Maximinus*, which was the only motive that had prompted him, in his old age, to ſubmit to ſo heavy a burden as the empire. In his letter to *Junius Syllanus*, then conſul, he charged that magiſtrate to diſpatch, without delay, *Vitalianus*, who commanded the body of the prætorian guards that had been left in *Rome*, and was greatly attached to *Maximinus*, being of a no leſs cruel and ſavage temper than that tyrant. *Syllanus*, upon the receipt of this letter, ſent the quæſtor, attended by ſome reſolute men, with letters to *Vitalianus*, which he pretended to have juſt received from *Maximinus*, injoining them to draw him aſide, and diſpatch him while he was peruſing them; which they did acccordingly, and then gave out, that what they had done was by *Maximinus*'s orders: which was believed; for thus he uſed to treat even his beſt friends.

AFTER this, the conſul *Syllanus* aſſembled at his houſe the prætors, ædiles, and tribunes of the people; and, attended by them, went to the ſenate; and there read, on the twenty-

ſeventh

ſeventh day of *May*, the letters which *Gordianus* had written both to them, and to him. Hereupon the ſenate, in great tranſports of joy, declared, without the leaſt heſitation, the two *Gordians* emperors, the two *Maximins* public enemies; and decreed a great reward to ſuch as ſhould kill either of them. At the ſame time they named to the prætorſhip of the enſuing year a third *Gordian*, grandſon to the elder, tho' then only twelve years old. Theſe proceedings, however, were kept ſecret, till ſuch time as the ſenate had taken the neceſſary meaſures for quaſhing at once the party of the *Maximins* in *Rome*; which was no ſooner done, than they gave out, that they were both killed, and that the two *Gordians* reigned in their room. The edicts of the latter were publicly hung up, and their images carried to the camp, with their letters to the ſoldiery, who, being, after the death of *Vitalianus*, deſtitute of a leader, readily ſubmitted to the *Gordians*. As for the people, tranſported with rage againſt *Maximinus* hardly to be expreſſed, they immediately ran and pulled down all his ſtatues and monuments, uttering dreadful imprecations againſt the bloody tyrant, and his ſon. At the ſame time the ſenate enacted a decree, ſentencing to death all the friends of *Maximinus*, and the miniſters of his cruelty. Hereupon ſuch of them, as had not the good luck to eſcape, were maſſacred without mercy by the enraged multitude, dragged through the ſtreets, and thrown into the common ſewer. Several innocent perſons periſhed with the guilty, many laying hold of that opportunity to diſpatch their private enemies or creditors. *Sabinus*, governor of *Rome*, endeavouring to put a ſtop to theſe diſorders, had his brains daſhed out with a blow from one of the mob, and his body was left for ſome time in the public ſtreet [1].

who acknowlege him emperor, and declare Maximinus *a public enemy.*

The friends of Maximinus *at* Rome *murdered.*

In the mean time it being publicly known, that *Maximinus* was ſtill alive, the ſenate iſſued a ſecond decree againſt him, declaring anew both him and his ſon public enemies; and at the ſame time diſpatched perſons of the greateſt intereſt and authority into all the provinces, with letters to the proconſuls, preſidents, lieutenants, tribunes, *&c.* exhorting them to join in the common cauſe, and exert themſelves in defence of their common liberties, againſt a raging tyrant, and public enemy (B). They likewiſe choſe twenty ſenators, who had all been conſuls,

The ſenate all to a man revolt from Maximinus.

[1] Gordian. vit. p. 153, & ſeq. Max. vit. p. 143, & ſeq. Herod. l. vii. p. 595—598.

(B) The letter, which the ſenate wrote on this occaſion, was conceived in the following terms: "To all proconſuls, preſidents, "lieu-

conſuls, and ſent them into different parts of *Italy*, with orders to guard night and day all the roads, ports, and harbours, that no account of what had paſſed at *Rome* might be tranſmitted to *Maximinus* before the arrival of *Gordian*. The letters of the ſenate were received in moſt cities and provinces with incredible joy, and a dreadful ſlaughter was made of the officers and friends of *Maximinus*. Only a few places continued faithful to him, and either delivered up to the tyrant, or maſſacred, the deputies of the ſenate. At *Rome* perſons of all ranks and ages, even the women and children, crouded to the temples, beſeeching the gods, that they would never ſuffer the bloody tyrant to approach the city [m].

His rage upon the news of the revolt.

MAXIMINUS, who was at this time either in *Thrace* or *Sarmatia*, ſoon received intelligence of what had paſſed at *Rome*, and in *Africa*, notwithſtanding all the precautions of the ſenate; nay, a copy of the decree of the ſenate, declaring him a public enemy, and ſetting a price upon his head, was tranſmitted to him; upon the reading of which he flew into ſuch a paſſion, as can hardly be expreſſed or conceived: more like a wild beaſt than an human creature, ſays the author of his life, he beat his head againſt the wall, threw himſelf upon the ground, tore his royal robes, drew his ſword, and, after having uttered dreadful menaces againſt the ſenate, fell upon thoſe who ſtood next to him, and would have killed his ſon, had he not quickly withdrawn, for having refuſed to quit him, and live at *Rome*; which the father adviſed him to do upon their firſt coming to the empire, and which would, in his opinion, have kept the ſenate and people in awe, and prevented the preſent revolt. In ſhort, ſuch was his fury and rage, that his friends, looking upon him as a man bereaved of his underſtanding, with much difficulty ſnatched his arms from

[m] HEROD. l. vii. p. 599. Max. vit. p. 141.

" lieutenants, commanders, tribunes, free towns, cities, villages, and caſtles, the ſenate and people of *Rome*, whoſe deliverance from the tyranny of the cruel monſter *Maximin* is begun by the *Gordians*, greeting: By the favour of the gods we have for emperor *Gordian*, a perſon of the greateſt merit and virtue. We have proclaimed him emperor, and, for the greater ſecurity of the ſtate, his ſon in conjunction with him. It is incumbent upon you to concur with us in procuring and promoting the public welfare and ſafety; in oppoſing the wicked deſigns of thoſe who threaten us; and in purſuing to death the cruel tyrant *Maximin*, and his friends; for we have declared him and his ſon public enemies (2).

(2) *Vit. Max. p.* 143, 144.

him,

him, and carried him to his room. Being returned to himſelf, he ſpent ſome days in deliberating with his council about the moſt proper meaſures to be purſued at ſuch an important conjuncture. Then aſſembling his army, he acquainted them with the ſtate of affairs, pretending to be under no apprehenſion, and promiſing to diſtribute among them the eſtates of the ſenators, and *African* rebels.

HAVING ended his ſpeech, he gave his ſoldiers a great bounty, and, without loſs of time, began his march towards *Italy*. The troops not ſhewing ſo much ardour and forwardneſs as he expected, he wrote to his ſon, who was marching with a ſeparate body at ſome diſtance, to join him with all poſſible expedition, leſt the army ſhould, in his abſence, attempt upon his life. At the ſame time he diſpatched perſons to *Rome*, to publiſh there in his name a general pardon with reſpect to all paſt injuries, and with them letters to *Sabinus*, not being yet appriſed of his death, in which was incloſed a copy of the decree, declaring him a public enemy; for he ſuppoſed *Sabinus*, who had abſented himſelf that day from the ſenate, to be altogether ignorant of what had paſſed there [n]. While *Maximinus* was marching towards *Italy*, the face of affairs was quite changed in *Africa*: A ſenator, by name *Capelianus*, had been appointed governor of *Mauritania* by *Maximinus*, with a conſiderable body of troops under his command, to make head againſt the *Moors* not ſubject to *Rome*, who infeſted with daily incurſions the *Roman* territories. But *Gordianus*, to whom he had ever been a declared enemy, and whom he had on all occaſions oppoſed, immediately diſcharged him, and named another in his room. *Capelianus*, who was an officer of great valour and experience, inſtead of obeying the orders of the new emperor, aſſembled all his forces, levied ſeveral companies of *Moors*, and, having with incredible diſpatch drawn together a very conſiderable body of well-diſciplined and reſolute men, marched at the head of them ſtrait to *Carthage*. His approach alarmed the city. The inhabitants, however, betook themſelves to their arms, and marched out under the conduct of *Gordianus* the younger to meet the enemy. Hereupon a bloody engagement enſued, in which *Gordianus*'s raw and undiſciplined troops performed wonders; but were in the end put to flight, and moſt of them cut in pieces, either in the battle, or the purſuit. *Gordianus* himſelf was killed in the field, which, together with the loſs of the battle, and the approach of the enemy, reduced the father to ſuch deſpair, that he ſtrang'ed

He marches for Italy.

Capelianus *raiſes forces againſt the* Gordians.

Their death.

[n] Gord. vit. p. 157, 158. HEROD. p. 601. Max. vit. p. 141.

himself with his own girdle [o]. Such was the end of the two *Gordians*, after having reigned, according to the most probable opinion [p], one month and six days (C).

THE

[o] HEROD. l. vii. p. 602, 603. Gord. vit. p. 158. Max. vit. p. 145. [p] Vid. PETAV. doct. temp. p. 337.

(C) They were sprung from two of the most antient and illustrious families in *Rome*. *Gordianus* the father, stiled in most medals and inscriptions *M. Antonius Gordianus*, was the son of *Mæcius Marullus*, descended from the *Gracchi*, and of *Ulpia Gordiana*, of the family of the emperor *Trajan*. His father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, had been consuls; and he himself twice discharged that honourable office, first with the emperor *Caracalla* in 213. and the second time with *Alexander Severus* in 229. His wealth was answerable to his quality; for he possessed, according to *Julius Capitolinus*, more land in the provinces, than any private man in *Rome* (3). The same writer observes, that he was the first private person who had a consular habit of his own, the rest, and even some of the emperors, contenting themselves with the common robes that were lodged in the capitol (4). He was well-shaped, of a comely and majestic aspect, and thought to resemble the emperor *Augustus*. He was highly esteemed by the emperor *Alexander*, who returned public thanks to the senate for preferring so deserving a person to the government of *Africa*, stiling him, in the letter which he wrote on that occasion, a nobleman of great magnanimity, eloquence, justice, moderation, integrity, goodness, *&c.* He was exceeding kind to all his relations, and paid such respect to his wife's father, *Annius Severus*, that he never presumed, before he was prætor, to sit down in his presence, and never failed waiting upon him once a day, even when he was consul. He was very sober in his diet, modest, but proper, in his dress, and regular in all his actions, without ever being guilty of any excess, or discomposed by any passion (5). He was well versed in all the branches of literature, especially in poetry; and wrote in his youth several poems, which were greatly esteemed, and, among the rest, one intituled *Antoniniades*, describing in thirty books the lives and wars, the public and private actions, of *Antoninus Pius*, and *Marcus Aurelius*, or *Antoninus Philosophus*. He wrote likewise in prose the praises of the *Antonini*. His chief entertainment was to read *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Cicero*, *Virgil*, and the other antient authors. No one ever gave greater satisfaction to the people, or discharged the public offices with more generosity, than *Gordianus*. During the year of his ædileship, he exhibited public shews once a month, sometimes five hundred couple of gladiators at a time, and never

(3) *Gord. vit. p.* 151, 152. (4) *Idem, p.* 152. (5) *Idem, p.* 152, 153.

less

THE news of their death threw the whole city into the utmoſt conſternation. However, as they dreaded above all things

leſs than one hundred and fifty. He cauſed an incredible number of wild beaſts to be brought to *Rome*, for the diverſion of the people, from the moſt diſtant parts of the empire. In one day a thouſand bears were hunted and killed, and, in his other ſhews, ſuch numbers of wild beaſts of all kinds, as had never before been ſeen in *Rome*; which gained him the affections of the people, intirely addicted to diverſions of that nature. After his ſecond conſulſhip, he was immediately ſent into *Africa* in quality of proconſul; which office he diſcharged with ſuch juſtice, equity, and moderation, that he was univerſally adored, and more beloved by the people, than any governor had ever been before him, ſome calling him a *Scipio*, ſome a *Cato*, ſome a *Mutius Scævola*, a *Rutilius*, a *Lælius*. He married *Fabia Oreſtilla*, the daughter of *Annius Severus*, and granddaughter of the emperor *M. Aurelius*; and had by her a daughter named *Mæcia Fauſtina*, who was married to *Junius Balbus* a conſular; and a ſon, ſtiled in the antient inſcriptions and medals *M. Antonius Gordianus* (6), with the title of *pontifex*; whereas his father is diſtinguiſhed with that of *pontifex maximus*. The ſon was killed in the year 237. the forty-ſixth of his age (7); and conſequently was born in 191. the twelfth of the reign of *Commodus*. He had an extraordinary memory, and was well verſed in polite literature, having had *Serenus Sammonicus* for his preceptor, who bequeathed to him his famous library, conſiſting of ſixty-two thouſand volumes. He wrote ſeveral pieces both in proſe and verſe, which ſhewed, ſays *Capitolinus* (8), that he had a fine genius, but neglected to cultivate and improve it. He was well ſkilled in the law, and one of *Alexander*'s chief counſellors. He was univerſally beloved on account of his obliging carriage, and extraordinary ſweet temper; but loved his pleaſures, and ſpent moſt of his time in baths, gardens, and groves. He kept conſtantly twenty-two concubines, and is ſaid to have had by each of them three or four children; whence he was called the *Priamus*, and ſatirically the *Priapus*, of his time. *Ælius Cordus* writes, that he could never be prevailed upon to marry, and conſequently had no lawful iſſue. On the other hand, *Dexippus* tells us, that he married, and had by his wife *Gordian*, afterwards emperor (9). But, according to *Herodian*, the emperor was not his, but his ſiſter's ſon. But of him hereafter. *Gordian*, of whom we are now writing, was highly favoured by *Heliogabalus*, as a young man addicted to his pleaſures, and by that prince raiſed to the quæſtorſhip. *Alexander* preferred him, as he was a man of known integrity, and great abilities, to the prætorſhip, and ſoon after honoured him with the conſular dignity. In the reign of *Alexander* or *Maximinus* he was

(6) *Goltz. p.* 102. (7) *Vit. Gord. p.* 158. (8) *Idem, p.* 160. (9) *Idem ibid.*

things the cruel effects of *Maximinus*'s reſentment, and expected to find no mercy at the hands of ſo barbarous a tyrant, they reſolved not to ſubmit to him, but to defend themſelves to the laſt. The ſenate therefore, aſſembling in the temple of *Concord*, choſe two new emperors, *M. Clodius Pupienus Maximus*, and *Decimus Cœlius Balbinus*. The former was a perſon of low birth, but extraordinary merit. His father was, according to ſome, a cartwright; according to others, a lockſmith; but the ſon raiſed himſelf, chiefly by his courage and valour, to the firſt employments in the empire. He ſerved firſt in quality of a private ſoldier; but was ſoon preferred, as he diſtinguiſhed himſelf on all occaſions, to the poſt of a centurion, then to that of a tribune, and not long after to the command of ſeveral legions, in which he acquitted himſelf ſo well, that he was admitted into the ſenate, created prætor, honoured with the conſulſhip, and ſucceſſively appointed governor of *Bithynia*, *Greece*, and *Narbonne Gaul*. From *Gaul* he was ſent to command the troops in *Illyricum*, where he gained great advantages over the *Sarmatians*, and the forces in *Germany*, where he was attended with equal ſucceſs againſt the *Germans*. Upon his return from *Germany*, he was made governor of *Rome*, in which place he acquitted himſelf with ſuch prudence, integrity, and diſcretion, that he was both eſteemed and beloved by perſons of every rank and condition. He appeared always grave and ſerious, and ſhewed no great complaiſance to any one; but was juſt, merciful, and never guilty of the leaſt action that ſavoured of inhumanity, but, on the contrary, always ready to forgive. He addicted himſelf to no party, was ſteady and inflexible in his reſolutions, and, without truſting to others, examined every thing himſelf with great care and attention. In ſhort, the ſenate entertained ſuch an high opinion of his extraordinary merit and virtues, that, in declaring him emperor, they ſolemnly proteſted, that, in the whole empire, they knew no perſon better qualified than he for ſuſtaining the name and dignity of a prince [q] (D).

Pupienus *and* Balbinus *proclaimed emperors. The riſe and preferments of* Pupienus.

[q] Max. & Balb. vit. p. 166, 167.

ſent into *Africa*, in quality of lieutenant to his father, who took him for his partner in the empire, and, upon his death, put an end to his own life in the manner we have related above.

(D) He is commonly called *Pupienus* by the *Latin* hiſtorians, and by the *Greek* writers *Maximus*; which has ſtrangely perplexed *Capitolinus*, who, after a long deſcant, concludes, that they were two names of one and the ſame perſon: this trouble he might have ſaved himſelf, by only looking upon one of that prince's coins.

BALBINUS was deſcended of an illuſtrious family, and pretended to derive his pedigree from *Cornelius Balbus Theophanes*, a celebrated hiſtorian, and a man of the firſt rank in the iſland of *Leſbos*, who was made free of *Rome* by *Pompey the Great*. The preſent emperor had been twice conſul, and had governed without blame ſeveral provinces; to wit, *Aſia*, *Africa*, *Bithynia*, *Galatia*, *Pontus*, *Thrace*, and *Gaul*. He had likewiſe commanded armies; but, being ſomewhat timorous, he was thought better qualified for civil than military affairs. He poſſeſſed immenſe wealth, lived with great ſplendor, was addicted to pleaſures, but at the ſame time univerſally beloved on account of his integrity (for he injured no man but himſelf), his humanity, ſweet temper, and obliging behaviour. He was an excellent orator, no mean poet, and had an uncommon talent in making extemporary verſes [r].

The extraction and employments of Balbinus.

MAXIMUS and *Balbinus*, being, with the unanimous conſent of the ſenate, raiſed to the ſovereignty, and veſted with the tribunitial and proconſular power, went, at the breaking up of the aſſembly, to the capitol. But, while they were offering there the uſual ſacrifices, the populace roſe, and, armed with ſtones and clubs, declared that they would not obey the new emperors; and demanded, with great clamour, a prince of the *Gordian* family. *Maximus* and *Balbinus*, backed by ſome young knights, attempted to open themſelves a way through the croud, ſword in hand; but were in the end, in ſpite of all their efforts, obliged to ſend for young *Gordian*, then only twelve years old, who was received by the populace with loud ſhouts of joy, and carried to the capitol; where the ſenate, to appeaſe the multitude, declared him *Cæſar*, arrayed him with the habit peculiar to that dignity, and in that attire ſhewed him to the people, who thereupon diſperſed, and, retiring quietly to their houſes, ſuffered the new emperors to take poſſeſſion of the palace [s], where they began to diſcharge the functions of the ſovereignty with deifying the two *Gordians*. When that ceremony was over, they appointed *Sabinus* governor of *Rome*, and *Pinarius Valens*, uncle by the father to *Maximus*, commander of the prætorian guards; and then, without loſs of time, began to levy what forces they could, and make the neceſſary preparations for taking the field againſt *Maximinus*, who, upon the news of their election, quickened his march, breathing nothing but ruin and deſtruction.

The people mutiny.

Young Gordian declared Cæſar.

As moſt of the provinces had eſpouſed the party of the ſenate, troops were ſent from all parts to reinforce the army

[r] Max. & Balb. vit. p. 168, & ſeq. HERODIAN. l. vii. p. 604.
[s] Max. & Balb. vit. p. 145.

of

of *Maximus*, who, being charged with the conduct of the war, as the more able commander, ſet out from *Rome* ſoon after his election, leaving the prætorian guards, and part of the new-raiſed forces, to defend the city, and awe the populace. After his departure, the ſenate diſpatched the moſt conſiderable men of their body into the different parts of *Italy*, with orders to fortify all the cities, and ſupply the inhabitants with arms; to remove all manner of proviſions into the fortified towns, and either to reap or deſtroy the corn in the fields; to mow the graſs, and lay waſte the whole country, through which *Maximinus* was to march with his numerous army. At the ſame time, they ſent circular letters into all the provinces, declaring ſuch as ſhould lend him the leaſt affiſtance, traitors, rebels, and public enemies. *Maximus* had ſcarce left the city, when dreadful diſturbances aroſe there, occaſioned by the temerity of two ſenators, *Gallicanus* and *Mæcenas*, who, ſeeing two ſoldiers of the prætorian guards enter the hall, where the ſenate was aſſembled, quitting their places, ruſhed upon them unexpectedly, and diſpatched them with their daggers; for, in thoſe diſtracted times, moſt ſenators wore daggers under their robes. Hereupon the other ſoldiers of that corps, who were waiting at the door mixed with the populace, betook themſelves to flight; but were purſued by *Gallicanus*, who encouraged the mob to fall upon them as ſpies and partiſans of the tyrant *Maximinus*. Some of them were wounded, but the reſt ſhut themſelves up in their camp, where they were attacked the ſame day by *Gallicanus* at the head of the multitude (whom he had ſupplied with arms), and of all the gladiators he could draw together. The guards ſuſtained the attack with their uſual reſolution, repulſed the aſſailants, and, falling upon them in their retreat, cut great numbers of them in pieces. This ſlaughter ſerved only to inſpire the multitude with new rage; and the ſenate, eſpouſing their quarrel, ordered the new-levied forces, which *Maximus* had left to maintain peace and tranquillity in the city, to march againſt the prætorian guards; which they did accordingly, and attacked the camp with great fury; but were, after repeated aſſaults, in which great numbers of them periſhed, obliged to give over the attempt, and retire. The incenſed multitude, finding all their efforts thus baffled, bethought themſelves at laſt of cutting the conduits that conveyed water into the camp; which reduced the ſoldiery to ſuch deſpair, that, throwing the gates of the camp open, they ruſhed unexpectedly upon the multitude, ſword in hand, and drove them, after a long diſpute, in which much blood was ſhed on both ſides, into the city, where the combat began anew, the people diſcharging from the tops of their houſes

Maximus marches againſt Maximinus.

Dreadful diſturbances in Rome.

A battle between the prætorian guards, and the people.

ſhowers

ſhowers of ſtones and tiles upon the ſoldiery, who, in revenge, ſet fire to their ſhops and ſtorehouſes; which conſumed the greateſt part of the city, an incredible quantity of valuable effects, and many perſons of all ranks [t] (E).

THE next year, when *Annius Pius*, or, as others call him, *Ulpius*, and *Pontianus*, were conſuls, *Maximinus* early in the Maximinus *purſues his march into* Italy. ſpring purſued his march towards *Italy*, having with him, we may ſay, all the forces of the empire. Being arrived at the foot of the *Alps*, that part *Italy* from *Illyricum*, he found the city of *Hemona* or *Æmona* abandoned by its inhabitants; which inſpired him with hopes of certain victory; for he thence concluded, that no place or city would dare to withſtand him (F). *Maximinus*, leaving *Æmona*, paſſed the mountains without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition; which heightened his joy and confidence. But his men, who expected to be refreſhed, after paſſing the mountains, with plenty of all manner of proviſions in *Italy*, finding the country laid waſte far and wide, and themſelves deſtitute even of neceſſaries, began to mutiny. *Maximinus* puniſhed the ringleaders of the tumult with great ſeverity, which only ſerved to exaſperate the reſt. However, he purſued his march; and, being informed that the city of *Aquileia* had ſhut its gates againſt a party, which he had ſent to take poſſeſſion of the place, he marched thither in perſon with all his forces, not doubting but the inhabitants would ſubmit upon the approach of ſo formidable an army. But *Criſpinus* and *Menophilus*, two conſulars of great

His ſoldiers begin to mutiny.

Maximinus *ſummons the city of* Aquileia *to ſurrender.*

[t] HEROD. l. vii. p. 607, 608.

(E) *Herodian* does not inform us how the tumult ended; but *Capitolinus* writes, that the temples were profaned, the private houſes pillaged, the ſtreets covered with dead bodies, *&c.* that the emperor *Balbinus*, attempting to appeaſe the tumult, and part the combatants, was dangerouſly wounded on the head; but at length, having ſent for young *Gordian*, and ſhewed him to the people in his purple robes, the fury of both parties aſſwaged at once, hoſtilities ceaſed, the people retired to their houſes, and the ſoldiers to the camp. So great was the eſteem, reſpect, and veneration, both of the people and ſoldiery, for one ſprung from the *Gordians*, who had loſt their lives in the defence of the people of *Rome* (1).

(F) *Herodian* calls *Æmona* the firſt city of *Italy*; but he ought rather to have ſtiled it the laſt of *Pannonia*; for in that province it is placed by all the antient and modern geographers. *Sanſon* ſuppoſes it to have ſtood where the preſent city of *Laubach* ſtands, the capital of *Carniola*; others place it in the neighbourhood of *Igg*, in the ſame country.

(1) *Vit. Max. & Balb. p.* 168, 169.

reſo-

reſolution and intrepidity, to whom the ſenate had committed the defence of the city, anſwered the tribune ſent by *Maximinus* to ſummon them to ſurrender, that they were determined to hold out to the laſt, and rather forfeit their lives, than betray their truſt, or yield to ſuch a cruel, bloody, and faithleſs tyrant. At the ſame time, to animate the inhabitants, who began to waver, they gave out, that *Apollo*, the tutelar god of the place, had aſſured them of victory; which diſpelled all fear, ſo that every one began to prepare for a vigorous defence.

The inhabitants ſuſtain a ſiege with great reſolution.

In the mean while, *Maximinus*, having ſpent ſome time in paſſing the river *Sontius*, now *Iſonzo*, about ſixteen miles from *Aquileia*, approached the city; and, having cauſed all the vines, and neighbouring groves, which were a great ornament to the place, to be cut down, he began to batter the walls with an incredible number of warlike engines, and to haraſs the beſieged with repeated aſſaults; which they ſuſtained with ſuch reſolution and intrepidity, as can hardly be expreſſed. Even the women and children appeared on the ramparts, and bore their ſhare in the common danger; the women eſpecially ſignalized their zeal, by yielding their hair to be employed in making ſtrings for the bows, and other warlike machines. The ſenate, out of gratitude, after the death of *Maximinus*, cauſed a magnificent temple to be erected, which they conſecrated to *Venus calva*, or *Venus the bald:* on a medal of *Quintia Criſpilla*, wife to the emperor *Maximus*, is to be ſeen a temple with that legend, and the figure of a bald woman [u]. The ſoldiers of *Maximinus*, in the beginning of the ſiege, ſhewed great ardour; which, however, began to abate, when they found the inhabitants firmly determined to undergo all labours and hardſhips, rather than ſubmit. *Maximinus*, highly provoked at their backwardneſs, and, beſides, enraged at the bitter reproaches uttered by the inhabitants againſt him and his ſon, as often as they approached the walls, cauſed ſeveral of his officers to be publicly executed, aſcribing the coolneſs of the ſoldiers to want of courage in them. This exaſperated the ſoldiers, already inclined to mutiny for want of proviſions, of which, and even of water, there was great ſcarcity in the camp. Beſides, a report was ſpread, that the whole empire was arming againſt *Maximinus*, and ready to fall upon thoſe who ſupported him in his tyranny. Hereupon the *Albanians*, that is, the ſoldiers belonging to the camp in the neighbourhood of *Alba*, took a ſudden reſolution to diſpatch the author of ſo many calamities; and, without farther

The ſoldiers of Maximinus *muti-*

[u] Vide DE MENESTRIER medailles des emper. & imperator. p. 145. à Dijon, 1642.

delibe-

deliberation, went ſtrait at noon-day to the tent of *Maximinus*, diſpatched both him and his ſon with many wounds, cut off their heads, and ſent them to *Rome*, and threw their bodies into the river. With them were killed *Anolinus*, their captain of the guards, and all their chief miniſters and friends [w]. Such was the end of the reign, or rather of the tyranny, of the two *Maximins*, after it had laſted three years, and a few days, the father being then in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the ſon in the twenty-firſt. The *Pannonians*, *Thracians*, and ſome other troops, heard the news of their death with regret; but did not attempt to revenge it. Thus the whole army preſented themſelves unarmed before the gates of *Aquileia*, acquainted the beſieged with the death of *Maximinus*, and deſired to be admitted into the city. It was not thought adviſeable to open the gates to them; but, after they had adored the images of *Maximus*, *Balbinus*, and *Gordian*, placed for that purpoſe on the ramparts, a great quantity of proviſions was ſent to their camp; for they were almoſt famiſhed: and the next day they all took the uſual oaths to *Maximus* and *Balbinus* [x].

ny, and murder him and his ſon.

Year of the flood 2586. Of Chriſt 238. Of Rome 986.

An expreſs was immediately diſpatched to *Rome* with theſe joyful tidings, who, paſſing through *Ravenna*, found the emperor *Maximus* there buſy in aſſembling his forces, in order to march againſt the tyrant. But, when he underſtood, that both the *Maximins* were killed, that their army had ſubmitted, and ſworn fidelity to him and his collegue, tranſported with joy, and laying aſide all military preparations, he repaired to the temples to return thanks to the gods for ſuch ſignal and unexpected ſucceſs. In the mean time the expreſs purſuing his journey, and often changing horſes, reached *Rome* the fourth day, diſtant from *Aquileia* about two hundred and eighty miles; which no one, ſays our hiſtorian, had ever done before. Upon his arrival, he found *Balbinus* and *Gordian* aſſiſting with the people at the public ſports in the theatre, where he delivered his letters to the two princes; which he had no ſooner done, than the whole multitude cried out with one voice, Maximinus *is killed*; and, riſing up, left the theatre, and crouded to the temples, whither *Balbinus* and *Gordian* followed. The ſenate immediately aſſembled; and, after decreeing ſeveral honours to the three princes, appointed ſacrifices to be offered in all the temples, and a day of public and ſolemn thankſgiving for their happy delivery. *Balbinus*, who uſed to tremble at the very name of *Maximinus*, offered an hecatomb; which was never done, but upon

His death occaſions great joy at Rome.

[w] Herod. l. viii. p. 614. [x] Herod. l. viii. p. 626, 627. Max. vit. p. 146.

ſome

ſome very extraordinary occaſion; and cauſed the ſame ſacrifice to be offered in all the cities of the empire [y]. Thoſe who brought the heads of the two *Maximins*, arrived at *Rome* ſoon after the courier; for they made what haſte they could. They were met every-where by crouds of the people, and received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy. They entered *Rome* with the heads ſtuck upon two lances, that every one might ſee them; and no ſight was ever more pleaſing. They repaired again to the temples, offered new ſacrifices, and ſeemed no leſs tranſported with joy, than if they had been delivered from imminent death or captivity [z]. The two heads were abandoned to the rage of the populace, and, after many inſults, burnt in the field of *Mars*. The names of the *Maximins* were, by a decree of the ſenate, eraſed out of all inſcriptions, their ſtatues overturned, and their bodies ordered to be left unburied. The emperor *Maximus* haſtened from *Ravenna* to *Aquileia*, where he was received with loud acclamations, and acknowleged emperor by the army of *Maximinus*; among whom he diſtributed large ſums, and then ſent them back to their reſpective quarters, retaining with him only the prætorian guards, and a ſmall body of *Germans*, in whom he chiefly confided. During his ſtay at *Aquileia*, the ſenate, to do him honour, ſent a deputation to him, conſiſting of twenty of their body, who had been all conſuls, prætors, or quæſtors.

Maximus *returns to* Rome.

WITH them he ſet out from *Aquileia*; and, arriving at *Rome* with a numerous and ſplendid retinue, was there received at the gates by *Balbinus*, *Gordian*, the ſenate in a body, and all the people, and conducted in triumph to the palace [a]. The two emperors governed with great prudence and moderation, enacted excellent laws, adminiſtred juſtice with the utmoſt impartiality, maintained the military diſcipline with due rigour, paid great reſpect and deference to the ſenate, and conducted themſelves in all things with ſuch wiſdom, equity, and moderation, that they were in a manner adored both by the ſenate and people [b]. But the happineſs and tranquillity, which they enjoyed under theſe excellent princes, were ſhort-lived. The *Carpi*, a people beyond the *Danube*, paſſing that river, ravaged the province of *Mæſia*; the *Goths*, provoked perhaps by the death of *Maximinus*, invaded the *Roman* territories on the ſide of *Scythia*; and the *Perſians*, who had continued quiet ſince the year 233. when *Alexander* made war upon them, threatened the Eaſtern pro-

The wiſe adminiſtration of the two emperors.

The Carpi, Goths, *and* Perſians, *threaten the* Romans *with war.*

[y] Max. vit. p. 169, &c. [z] Idem ibid. HEROD. p. 617.
[a] HEROD. l. viii. p. 620. Max. & Balb. vit. p. 170. [b] Max. & Balb. vit. p. 167. 171.

vinces.

vinces. It was therefore agreed among the princes, that *Maximus* ſhould march againſt the *Perſians*, *Balbinus* againſt the *Goths* and the *Carpi*, and *Gordian* remain in the mean time at *Rome*.

The prætorian guards mutiny.

BUT, while great preparations were making for the intended expeditions, the prætorian guards, diſſatisfied to ſee princes, who had been created by the ſenate, ſo much applauded, and provoked at the bitter invectives which were daily uttered againſt *Maximinus*, and reflected no ſmall diſhonour upon them, who had raiſed him to theempire, began to mutiny, and complain with one another, that the right of naming the emperors, which had hitherto proved ſo advantageous to them, was ſnatched out of their hands, and transferred to the ſenate. Beſides, they grew jealous of the *Germans*, whom *Maximus* had brought to *Rome* with him, with a deſign, as they imagined, to diſcharge the prætorian guards, as *Septimius Severus* had formerly done, and to take the *Germans* in their room. Being thus prejudiced againſt the two emperors, they reſolved to diſpatch them, and reſume their pretended authority, by ſetting up another in their room. Having taken this reſolution, they only waited for an opportunity of putting it in execution, which ſoon offered; for, the *Capitoline* games being celebrated a few days after, and moſt of the emperor's guards and domeſtics reſorting thither, the diſcontented and mutinous ſoldiery marched ſtrait to the palace, where the two princes were left almoſt alone. *Maximus*, informed of their arrival before they had entered the palace, was for calling the *Germans* to his aſſiſtance; but was therein oppoſed by *Balbinus*.

Jealouſies between the emperors.

FOR theſe two princes were not, for all their great qualities, free from private jealouſies. *Balbinus* was piqued at the extraordinary honours which the ſenate had heaped upon his collegue, as if the death of *Maximinus*, and bleſſings thence accruing, had been chiefly owing to him; and, beſides, looked upon him as one greatly inferior to himſelf in birth and nobility. On the other hand, *Maximus*, knowing himſelf to be by far the better ſoldier, and abler commander, tacitly claimed on that ſcore the chief authority. Theſe mutual jealouſies, tho' prudently concealed, and rather gueſſed at by others, than ſeen, bred ſome miſunderſtanding between them, and occaſioned in the end the ruin of both. For *Balbinus*, not giving credit to what he was told of the deſigns of the prætorian guards, but rather ſuſpecting, that his collegue intended to employ the *Germans* againſt him, would not ſuffer *Maximus*, to whom they were greatly attached, to ſend for them. This occaſioned a warm diſpute, and gave time to the prætorian guards to break into the palace, and diſperſe ſuch of the emperor's friends and domeſtics as offered to oppoſe them. When

they came to the apartment where the two princes were, they ruſhed upon them with a fury hardly to be expreſſed, tore in pieces their imperial robes, dragged them out of the palace, with a deſign to carry them to their camp, wounded and inſulted them in a moſt outrageous manner. But, while they were hurrying them through the city to the camp, being informed, that the *Germans* had taken arms, and were advancing to reſcue the princes out of their hands, they killed them both; and, leaving their bodies in the ſtreet, retired to the camp, carrying with them young *Gordian*, whom they proclaimed emperor, giving out, to appeaſe the populace, that they had killed thoſe whom the people had at firſt rejected, and ſet up in their room the perſon whom they had demanded. The *Germans*, informed that the emperors were killed, retired, without committing any hoſtilities, to their quarters without the city. Thus *Gordian* remained in peaceable poſſeſſion of the empire [c]. *Maximus* and *Balbinus* had reigned about one year and two months.

They are both killed.

Gordian *proclaimed emperor.*

Of the deſcent and birth of *Gordian* we have ſpoken above. He was, according to *Herodian*, the ſon of *Junius Balbus*, by the ſiſter of *Gordian* the younger, from whom he borrowed the name of *M. Antonius Gordianus*, as he is ſtiled in all the antient inſcriptions [d]. He was about thirteen years old, when he came to the empire; and conſequently muſt have been born in the year 225. the fourth of *Alexander*'s reign. He was a youth of a gay temper, comely aſpect, and exceeding ſweet diſpoſition; which gained him the love of all who approached him. *Capitolinus* tells us, that he was beloved by perſons of all ranks more than any prince had ever been before him. The ſenate uſed to ſtile him their ſon, the ſoldiers their child, and the people their darling. He was addicted to ſtudy and learning, and well inſtructed in moſt branches of polite literature. He had all the neceſſary qualifications for forming an excellent prince; but, as he wanted experience, and ſuch a mother to direct and adviſe him as *Mamæa*, in the beginning of his reign he fell into the hands of one *Maurus*, and ſome other crafty freedmen and eunuchs, who, playing booty, and abuſing the confidence he repoſed in them, perſuaded him to do many things which he ever after regretted. They ſoon drove all good men from the court, raiſed to the firſt employments perſons altogether unworthy of them, plundered the exchequer, and did all the miſchief which wicked and avaricious miniſters are capable of doing [e]. In the beginning of the year, the

His excellent qualifications.

Is deceived and impoſed upon by his miniſters.

[c] Herod. p. 621. Max. Balb. vit. p. 170. [d] Herod. l. vii. p. 605. Occo, Goltz. Onuph. &c. [e] Herod. l. viii. p. 621. Gord. vit. p. 160—164.

young prince entered upon his firſt conſulſhip, to which he had been named in the reign of *Maximus* and *Balbinus*, and took for his collegue *Aviola*. This year he entertained the people with magnificent ſports, in order to make them forget their paſt heats and animoſities.

Sabinianus *revolts; but is defeated.*

THE following year, when *Sabinus* was conſul the ſecond time with *Venuſtus*, *Sabinianus* revolted in *Africa*, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor; but the governor of *Mauritania* reduced the rebels to ſuch ſtreights, that they delivered up *Sabinianus* to him, acknowleged their fault, and ſubmitted. All the partiſans of *Sabinianus* were pardoned; but, what was his fate, we are no-where told. The next year, the emperor took upon him his ſecond conſulſhip, having *Pompeianus Civica* for his collegue. The young prince married this year *Furia Sabina Tranquillina*, the daughter of *Miſitheus*, who was immediately honoured with the title of *Auguſta*; but, whether he had any children by her, hiſtory does not inform us. The emperor choſe *Miſitheus* for his father-in-law, purely on account of his great wiſdom, integrity, and learning; and appointed him captain of the guards, that he might have a perſon of his extraordinary talents with whom to adviſe, not daring to truſt to his own judgment. *Miſitheus* had no ſooner taken poſſeſſion of that important employment, than he acquainted the emperor with the miſdemeanour of *Maurus*, and baſe practices of the other freedmen and eunuchs, who were thereupon all diſcharged, and baniſhed the court. From a letter of *Miſitheus* to the emperor, quoted by *Capitolinus*, it appears, that the young prince had been ſtrangely miſled, and groſly impoſed upon, by that infamous crew (G); and from the emperor's anſwer to it, that he was ſenſible

Miſitheus, *captain of the guards, and father-in law to the emperor.*

[f] Gord. vit. p. 161. Zos. l. i. p. 640.

(G) This letter was conceived in the following terms: "It is "with the greateſt pleaſure I "congratulate you upon the al-"teration of times. Every "thing was formerly bought and "ſold by the eunuchs, and ſuch "as pretended to be your friends, "but were in reality your great-"eſt enemies. I am glad that "this blot is removed from your "reign; the more, becauſe you "are glad of it yourſelf; which "will convince the world, that "the diſorders hitherto complained of ought not to be imputed to you. All poſts in the army have been diſpoſed of to perſons no-way qualified for them; others have been denied the rewards due to their ſervices; innocent perſons have been condemned, and ſuch as were guilty ſaved; the public revenues miſapplied, the exchequer plundered, &c. But theſe, and many other diſorders, will no longer be imputed to you, but to thoſe who entered into cabals to deceive you,

ſenſible of his former miſconduct, and deſirous to correct his faults, to know the truth, and to employ only ſuch perſons as would ſpeak it without flattery or diſguiſe (H). He reſpected *Miſitheus* as his father, gave him that title, ordered him to call him his ſon, and returned thanks to the ſenate for diſtinguiſhing his father-in-law with the titles of *father of princes*, and *guardian of the republic* [g]; titles which he well deſerved, being one of the few miniſters who are ſaid to have had nothing in view but the glory of their prince, and the welfare of the ſtate [h]. This year happened a dreadful earthquake, which overturned a great many cities, and deſtroyed an infinite number of people [i].

[g] Gord. vit. p. 161. p. 162.

[h] Idem, p. 163.

[i] Idem,

" you, to remove from the court
" all perſons of virtue, honour,
" and integrity, and to intro-
" duce in their room men as
" wicked as themſelves, that they
" might make you a property to
" their evil deſigns. But now
" your eyes are opened, you
" have begun to reform the
" ſtate, and many diſorders have
" been already redreſſed. I rec-
" kon it my greateſt happineſs
" to be father-in-law to ſo good
" a prince; a prince, who, with-
" out truſting to others, exa-
" mines into every thing him-
" ſelf, and has baniſhed from his
" court thoſe, who, conſulting
" not his honour, but their own
" intereſt, led him aſtray (2)."

(U) The emperor returned to his father-in-law the following anſwer: " If the immortal gods
" had not protected the *Roman*
" empire, I had been deluded,
" and, together with the empire,
" utterly ruined by ſlaves and
" eunuchs. I am now fully con-
" vinced, that *Felix* ought not
" to have been truſted with the
" command of the guards, nor
" *Serapammo* with that of the
" fourth legion. But, not to
" mention all my errors, I own,
" that I have done many things
" amiſs; and now return thanks
" to the gods for having by your
" means diſcovered many things
" to me, which have been hi-
" therto maliciouſly concealed
" from me. *Maurus* entering
" into a confederacy with *Gau-*
" *dianus*, *Reverendus*, and *Mon-*
" *tanus*, who confirmed what-
" ever he ſaid, impoſed upon me;
" ſo that, whatever they ap-
" proved or condemned, I ac-
" cepted or rejected, relying in-
" tirely upon their integrity.
" Unhappy therefore is that
" prince, who has not ſuch about
" him, as will tell him the truth
" without diſguiſe. For, as he
" cannot immediately know
" what paſſes among his people,
" he muſt underſtand it by the
" relation of others, and take
" his meaſures according to their
" information (3)."

(2) *Gord. vit. p. 164.* (3) *Idem ibid.*

THE

THE following year, when *C. Vettius Aufidius Atticus* and *C. Aſinius Prætextatus* were conſuls, *Rome* was alarmed with news from the Eaſt, where the *Perſians*, under the conduct of *Sapor*, ſon and ſucceſſor to *Artaxerxes* the reſtorer of the *Perſian* monarchy, had entered the *Roman* dominions at the head of a mighty army; reduced all *Meſopotamia*, with the cities of *Niſibis* and *Carrhæ*; and, entering *Syria*, committed moſt dreadful ravages in that province, putting all to fire and ſword. *Capitolinus* writes, that he had made himſelf maſter of *Antioch* itſelf, and threatened to over-run the other provinces, moſt of the *Romans*, who defended them, having, through fear, liſted themſelves in his army. *Gordian* reſolved to march in perſon againſt ſo formidable an enemy; and accordingly, having cauſed the temple of *Janus* to be opened, according to the antient cuſtom, which had been long omitted, and perhaps was never after practiſed, he ſet out from *Rome* this year 242. the fourth of his reign, with a numerous and well-diſciplined army; and, taking his route through *Mæſia*, defeated in that province the *Goths* and *Sarmatians*, who diſputed his paſſage; and obliged them to abandon their conqueſts, and return to their reſpective countries [k]. However, he was overcome in a tumultuary engagement by the *Alani*, in the celebrated plains of *Philippi* in *Macedon*, or, as others will have it, of *Philippopolis* in *Thrace* [l]. But the barbarians neglected, it ſeems, to improve their victory, and withdrew; for *Gordian* purſued his march unmoleſted through *Thrace*, and, paſſing the *Helleſpont*, arrived ſafe in *Aſia*. To this paſſage perhaps alludes the ſhip which is to be ſeen on ſome of his medals bearing no date [m].

FROM the *Helleſpont* he marched through *Aſia* into *Syria*, where he gained ſignal advantages over the enemy, of which hiſtorians give us but a confuſed account. However, they all agree, that he overcame the *Perſians* in ſeveral battles; that he recovered the cities of *Niſibis* and *Carrhæ*, and obliged the mighty *Sapor*, with his powerful and numerous army, to abandon the *Roman* dominions, and retire with ſhame and diſgrace into his own country, whither he purſued him as far as *Cteſiphon* [n]. Theſe ſucceſſes were chiefly owing to the wiſe counſels and directions of the brave *Miſitheus*, as the emperor himſelf, with great modeſty, acknowleged in a letter which he wrote to the ſenate upon his arrival at *Niſibis* in *Meſopotamia*. In that letter he firſt acquaints the ſenate with the advantages he had gained over the barbarians in *Macedon* and *Thrace*; then, coming to his victories over the *Perſians*,

He is defeated by Gordian, *and obliged to retire.*

Year of the flood 2590. Of Chriſt 242. Of Rome 990.

[k] Gord. vit. p. 163. [l] Idem, p. 165. [m] BIRAG. P. 339. [n] Gord. vit. p. 162. AUR. VICT. EUTROP.

he tells them, that he had delivered the *Antiochians* from the *Persian* yoke, recovered *Carrhæ*, and other cities, and was arrived at *Nisibis*, whence he designed to proceed to *Ctesiphon*, provided the gods, adds he, continue their protection to us, and preserve *Misitheus* my father, and captain of the guards, by whose wise conduct we have atchieved these, and hope to atchieve still greater things. It is incumbent upon you, conscript fathers, to appoint public processions, to recommend us to the gods, and to return thanks to *Misitheus*. Upon the receipt of this letter, the senate decreed a triumph to the emperor, and a triumphal chariot to *Misitheus*, with a pompous inscription, stiling him the *father of princes*, *captain of the guards*, and *the guardian of the republic* [o]. This inscription, which was placed on the basis of his triumphal statue, is still to be seen at *Rome* almost intire.

Gordian *is decreed a triumph, and* Misitheus *a triumphal statue.*

Misitheus *dies.*

But the happiness which the whole empire enjoyed under the government of *Gordian*, and the wise administration of *Misitheus*, was short-lived. The latter died the following year, in the consulship of *Arrianus* and *Papus*, and by his last will left the *Roman* people his heirs. We are told, that, *Misitheus* being ill of a flux, the physicians prescribed him a remedy to stop it, which, by the contrivance of *Julius Philippus* (of whom hereafter), was exchanged, and another administred in its room, which, as it had a quite contrary effect, put an end to his life. Upon his death, *Philip* was appointed captain of the guards, and commander in chief, under the emperor, of all the forces in the East; for of him *Gordian* did not entertain the least suspicion [p]. The following year, when *Peregrinus* and *Æmilianus* were consuls, the emperor entered the *Persian* dominions, in order to pursue the war, which he had so successfully begun. *Plotinus*, the celebrated philosopher, listed himself in his army, hoping by that means to have an opportunity of conferring with the *Persian* and *Indian* philosophers [q]. The philosopher was then in the thirty-ninth year of his age, which, according to the chronology of *Porphyrius*, the author of his life, answers the present year, the 243d of the Christian æra, and sixth of *Gordian*'s reign.

Julius Philippus *captain of the guards in his room.*

Philip no sooner saw himself raised to the important post of captain of the guards, than he began to aspire to the sovereignty itself. As the soldiers were greatly attached to the young prince, in order to lessen their affection to him, he sometimes led them into places where no provisions could be found; at other times sent in his name the vessels, which attended the army, loaded with corn, another way; hoping

[o] Gord. vit. p. 160. [p] Idem, p. 162. Zos. l. i. p. 641.
[q] Porphyr. vit. Plot. p. 2.

that

that the troops, diſtreſſed for want of neceſſaries, would, notwithſtanding their attachment to *Gordian*, begin to mutiny; which they did accordingly, the moſt turbulent among them, whom *Philip* had gained, whiſpering about in the mean time, that *Gordian*, a youth only nineteen years old, was not fit to command ſuch powerful forces; that they wanted ſuch a general as *Philip*, whom long experience had taught how to govern an empire, how to command an army [r]. *Gordian*, however, advanced againſt *Sapor*, and, meeting him in *Meſopotamia*, gave him a total overthrow on the banks of the *Aboras*, or *Aburas*, and obliged him to take ſhelter in the heart of his own dominions [s].

He induces the ſoldiers to mutiny.

BUT, while the young conqueror was purſuing the advantages of his victory, *Philip*, who had already gained the chief officers of the army, led the troops through barren and deſert countries, where, through failure of proviſions, which they aſcribed to want of experience in *Gordian*, they openly mutinied, and demanded, that *Philip* might reign in conjunction with *Gordian*, as his guardian and governor. The virtuous young emperor, unwilling to ſhed *Roman* blood, granted them their requeſt, and took *Philip* for his partner in the empire, who, ſeeing himſelf upon the level with his ſovereign, ſoon began to uſurp an authority over him, and to diſpoſe of all employments, as if he had been ſole emperor. This *Gordian* could not bear, and therefore attempted to depoſe him; but, *Philip*'s party prevailing, he was himſelf depoſed, and in the end murdered by the uſurper (H). His death happened, according to the moſt probable opinion, founded on the authority of the code [t], about the beginning of *March*, after he had lived nineteen years, and reigned five years and eight months. He was killed on the fartheſt borders of *Perſia*, in the place

Gordian depoſed, and ſlain.

Year of the flood 2592. Of Chriſt 244. Of Rome 992.

[r] Gord. vit. p. 163. Zos. l. i. p 641. [s] AMMIAN. l. xxiii. [t] Cod. Juſt. l. ix. tit. 2. leg. 7. p. 813, &c.

(H) *Capitolinus* writes, that *Gordian*, finding himſelf reduced to a private life, offered to ſerve under *Philip* as captain of the guards, and even condeſcended to beg his life; at which demand, *Philip* began to relent; but afterwards, conſidering how dear the young prince was to the ſenate and people of *Rome*, and not doubting but they would uſe their utmoſt efforts to reinſtate him in the ſovereignty, he commanded him to be ſlain (4). Other writers take no notice of theſe particulars, which, if true, betray great meanneſs, and want of courage, in *Gordian*; but only tell us, that *Philip* cauſed him to be murdered, and reigned in his room.

(4) *Gord. vit. p.* 163——165.

where his tomb was ſtill to be ſeen in the year 363. beyond the *Euphrates* and the *Aboras*, between the cities of *Cercuſa*, which ſtood near the conflux of thoſe two rivers, and that of *Dura*, which ſtands very near the latter, and is about twenty miles diſtance from the former river. The place was called *Zantha* or *Zaïthe* [u]. There the ſoldiers erected to the memory of the deceaſed emperor a ſtately tomb, with the following epitaph in the *Greek*, *Latin*, *Perſian*, *Hebrew*, and *Egyptian* tongues, that it might be read by all nations; *To the deified* Gordian, *who conquered the* Perſians, Goths, *and* Sarmatians, *ſuppreſſed the civil diſcords*, *ſubdued the* Grmans, *but could not overcome the* Philips. The laſt words allude, according to *Capitolinus*, to his having been overcome by the *Alani* in the plains of *Philippi*, and his being killed by *Philip* [w]. But we can hardly perſuade ourſelves, that this epitaph was put up during the life and reign of the emperor *Philip* (I). All thoſe, who had imbrued their hands in the blood of this excellent prince, periſhed ſoon after [x]. *Capitolinus* writes, that they diſpatched themſelves with the ſame ſwords which they had employed againſt him [y] (K).

His tomb and epitaph.

PHILIP

[u] AMMIAN. l. xxiii. p. 244—246. Zos. l. iii. p. 716. NORIS, epiſt. p. 287. [w] Gord. vit. p. 165. [x] AMMIAN. ibid. p. 246. [y] Gord. vit. p. 165.

(I) The ſame writer adds, that *Licinius*, who pretended to derive his pedigree from *Philip*, cauſed this epitaph to be taken down. *Victor* the younger writes, that the body of *Gordian* was interred in that tomb; but *Eutropius* and *Feſtus* aſſure us, that it was conveyed to *Rome*, where the deceaſed prince was with the uſual ceremonies ranked among the gods. The ſenate granted this extraordinary privilege to the *Gordian* family, that they might for ever be exempted from taking upon them, unleſs it were by their own choice, guardianſhips, embaſſies, or any other public duty whatever (5).

(K) The writers who flouriſhed under *Gordian* were, *Cenſorinus*, who wrote, or rather finiſhed, his famous book, intituled *de die natali*, in the firſt year of that prince's reign, the ſecond of the 254th *Olympiad*, the 991ſt of *Rome*, when the *Capitoline* games were celebrated the thirty-ninth time (6). All theſe particulars give great light to chronology. He wrote the above-mentioned book, deſigning it as a preſent to one of his friends, by name *Q. Cerellius*, againſt his birth-day. Thence he takes occaſion to treat of the birth of man, and to make many learned obſervations on days, months, and years. This work was known to, and greatly eſteemed by, *Apollinaris Sidonius*,

(5) *Gord. vit. p.* 164. *c.* 21. *p.* 155, 156.

(6) *Cenſor. de die natal. c.* 8. *p.* 131, 132. &

and

PHILIP was by birth an *Arabian*, being born in *Boſtra*, a city of *Arabia Petræa*. He was of a very mean deſcent; for his *Birth and extraction of* Philip.

and *Caſſiodorus*, of whom the latter quotes a book, written by *Cenſorinus*, on accents; but of that work only ſome fragments have reached our times, quoted by *Priſcian*, who ſtiles *Cenſorinus* a very learned grammarian (7). He is, by the beſt critics, looked upon as the moſt exact writer of his time (8). *Cenſorinus* himſelf quotes, as a work of his own, a book intituled *indigitamentorum*, in which he took particular notice of all the gods, who, in the opinion of the pagans, contributed to the life of man (9). *Herodian* wrote, in eight books, the hiſtory of the emperors, from the death of *M. Aurelius* to that of *Maximus* and *Balbinus*. He aſſures us, that he wrote nothing but what he himſelf had ſeen; ſo that he muſt have died very old; for his work comprehends the ſpace of ſixty-eight or ſeventy years (1). All we know of his life is, that he was at *Rome* in the latter end of the reign of *Commodus* (2), and had ſeveral employments under the ſucceeding emperors (3). As for his hiſtory, *Photius* commends his ſtile as noble and ſublime, and at the ſame time clear, and free from all affectation (4). *Capitolinus*, who in many places only tranſlates and copies him, beſtows great encomiums upon his writings; but at the ſame time cenſures him, and with a great deal of reaſon, as too favourable to *Maximinus*, and highly prejudiced againſt *Alexander* (5). *Voſſius*, and others, approve of this cenſure (6); whence, in our hiſtory of the reigns of theſe two princes, we have preferred the authority of *Capitolinus* to his. He omits the dates, and many other things, which would have cleared up great difficulties in hiſtory and chronology; and ſeems to have been quite unacquainted with geography, as appears from the account he gives us of the route which he ſuppoſes the emperor *Alexander*'s forces to have taken, when that prince marched againſt the *Perſians*. Under *Gordian* likewiſe flouriſhed *Arrian*, a *Greek* hiſtorian, quoted by *Capitolinus* in his hiſtory of the reigns of *Maximinus* and *Gordian* (7), and *Ælius Julius Cordus*, often quoted by the *Auguſtine* hiſtorians (8). He wrote the lives of the emperors, from *Trajan* to the two *Gordians*; but filled his hiſtory, according to *Capitolinus*, with many impertinent and trifling accounts, telling his readers how many ſuits of cloaths each emperor had, what number of courtiers and domeſtics, *&c* (9). *Voſſius* places him among the *Latin* hiſtorians, with *Ælius Sabinus*, who wrote the life of *Maxi-*

(7) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* ii. *c.* 3. (8) *Append. ad Cyprian. diſſert. c.* 9. (9) *Cenſor. c.* 3. *p.* 17. (1) *Herod. l.* i. *p.* 465. & *l.* ii. *p.* 514. (2) *Idem, l.* i. *p.* 484. (3) *Idem ibid. p.* 465. (4) *Phot. c.* 99. *p.* 276. (5) *Maximin. vit. p.* 143. *Alex. vit. p.* 134. (6) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *p.* 239. (7) *Voſſ. ibid. l.* iv. *p.* 17. *Maximin. vit. p.* 150. (8) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* ii. *c.* 3. *p.* 179. *Macrin. vit. p.* 93. (9) *Gord. vit. p.* 152. 160.

his father is said to have been a famous captain of robbers in that country [z]. In the antient inscriptions he is stiled *M. Julius Philippus*, and his wife *Marcia Otacilla Severa*. He had a son, named likewise *Philip*, born in the year 237. and consequently seven years old when his father came to the empire. The emperor himself was at that time, according to the chronicle of *Alexandria* [a], about forty; but *Aurelius Victor* supposes him to have been much older (L). He no sooner saw himself

[z] Gord. vit. p. 163. Zonar. p. 229. Vict. epit. [a] Chron. Alexand. p. 630.

minus, *Vulcanius Terentianus*, author of the lives of the three *Gordians*, in whose times they lived, and *Curius Fortunatianus*, who wrote the history of the reign of the two *Maximins* (1). Some pretend, that the history of *Fortunatianus* is still extant, and lodged in the emperor's library; nay, that it was formerly printed in *Italy*. To this *Fortunatianus*, *Vossius* ascribes the three books on rhetoric, which have reached our times, under the name of *Curius Fortunatianus Consultus*, and are deservedly esteemed by the learned (2). In the reign of the emperor *Constantine* were still extant some books of epigrams by *Fabilius* a *Greek* grammarian, and one of the preceptors of *Maximinus* the younger, and various poems written by *Toxotius*, a senator of the family of *Antoninus Pius*. He married *Junia Fadilla*, formerly betrothed to young *Maximinus*, and died soon after he had discharged the office of prætor (3).

(L) Whether or no *Philip* was the first Christian emperor, has been the subject of great disputes among the learned. The affirmative seems to us by far the most probable, being maintained by the following writers; to wit, *Jerom*, *Chrysostom*, *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, *Zonaras*, *Nicephorus*, *Cedrenus*, *Rufinus*, the chronicle of *Alexandria*, *Syncellus*, *Orosius*, *Jornandes*, the anonymous writer published by *Valesius*, with *Ammianus Marcellinus*, the learned cardinal *Bona*, *Abulfaragius*, *Vincentius Lirinensis*, and *Huetius*. The arguments which some modern critics have alleged in favour of the opposite opinion, are not of weight enough with us to bear down the authority of so many eminent writers; nay, most of them have but little or no force in themselves; and only prove, that *Philip* was guilty of several actions highly discountenanced by the Christian religion; such as his murdering his sovereign; his stiling him a god; his assisting at the public shews, which were always attended with idolatrous ceremonies, and his being deified after his death. But in all times there have been Christians whose lives were a disgrace to their profession; and in that number some rank the present emperor, though there are not wanting writers of

(1) *Vossius hist. Lat. l. ii. c. 3. Max. vit. p. 150. Gord. vit. p. 160.* (2) *Vossius ibid.* (3) *Maximin. vit. p. 148.*

no

himſelf veſted with the ſovereign power, than he declared his ſon *Cæſar*, and took him, though but ſeven years old, for his partner in the empire. He then wrote to the ſenate, acquainting them with the death of *Gordian*, which he falſly aſcribed to a natural diſtemper, and with his own election [b] (M). *Philip*, deſirous to return to *Rome*, immediately concluded a peace with the *Perſians*, and led back his army into *Syria* (N). He arrived at *Antioch* before *Eaſter*, which, according to *Euſebius* [c], was celebrated this year on the fourteenth of *April*; and from thence ſet out for *Rome*, where he was received with the uſual demonſtrations of joy by the ſenate and people; whoſe affections, though they at firſt ſeemed averſe to him, he ſoon gained by his mild adminiſtration, and obliging behaviour [d]. He appointed his brother *Priſcus* commander in chief of the troops in *Syria*, and *Seve-*

He takes his ſon for his partner in the empire.

He concludes a peace with the Perſians.

He gains the affections of the people at Rome.

[b] Gord. vit. p. 164. [c] Euseb. l. vi. c. 34. [d] Aur. Vict. Zos. l. i. p. 646.

no ſmall account, who, 'bating the murder of *Gordian*, for which, they ſay, he atoned by ſubmitting to a public penance, think he did nothing inconſiſtent with the principles of the religion which he profeſſed: and truly we are no-where told, that he demanded of the ſenate the apotheoſis of *Gordian*. He uſed indeed, as we read in *Capitolinus*, to honour that prince, when he mentioned his name, with the title of *divus*, *the deified* Gordian; but that title was given even by *Conſtantine* after his converſion, and by other Chriſtian emperors, to the princes who had reigned before them, as appears from their reſcripts. *Philip* is ſaid by *Victor* the younger to have been preſent at the public ſhews that were exhibited on occaſion of the thouſandth year of *Rome*; but, that he aſſiſted at the religious, or rather idolatrous, ceremonies which uſually preceded the ſports, we find no-where recorded. His being deified after his death was no crime in him, but a kind of compliment paid by the ſenate to moſt emperors: the ſame honour was conferred upon *Mamæa* the mother of *Alexander*; and yet no one pretends to infer from thence, that ſhe was not a Chriſtian.

(M) Some authors write, that the ſenate, believing, or pretending to believe him, confirmed without heſitation the choice of the ſoldiery; while others affirm, that the ſenate did not acknowlege *Philip*, till *M. Marcius* and *L. Aurelius Severus Hoſtilianus*, two ſenators of great diſtinction, whom they ſucceſſively created emperors, were ſnatched away by ſudden deaths (4).

(N) *Zonaras* writes, that he yielded to *Sapor Meſopotamia* and *Armenia*; but ſoon after broke the treaty, and recovered, to the great ſatisfaction of the *Romans*, both countries (5).

(4) *Zonar. p.* 229. *Onuph. p.* 260. *Cedren. p.* 257. (5) *Zonar. ibid.*

rianus,

rianus, his father-in-law, of the forces in *Mœsia* and *Macedon*, persons but ill qualified for those important posts [e] (O).

THE following year the emperor entered upon his first consulship, having *Titianus* for his collegue; and soon after, leaving the city, marched against the *Carpi*, who, passing the *Danube*, had invaded *Mœsia*, and laid waste great part of that province. The emperor defeated them in two battles, and obliged them to repass the *Danube*, and sue for peace; which he readily granted, and returned to *Rome* [f]. The next year, when *Præsens* and *Albinus* were consuls, nothing happened at *Rome*, or in the provinces, which historians have thought worth transmitting to posterity, except the burning by accidental fire the theatre of *Pompey*, and another stately building called *Centum Columnæ*, or the *Hundred Pillars*. In the beginning of the following year the emperor entered upon his second consulship, having his son for his collegue, whom he honoured with the title of *Augustus*, and vested with the tribunitial power [g]. Both princes retained the fasces all this and the following year, to celebrate with the greater pomp and magnificence the thousandth year of *Rome*, begun on the twenty-first of *April* of the year 247. of the Christian æra, and fifth of *Philip*'s reign, according to the computation of *Varro*, which was then followed by most historians and chronologers. Extraordinary rejoicings were made at *Rome*, shews of all kinds exhibited for ten days together, and an incredible number of wild beasts, reserved by *Gordian* for his triumph over the *Persians*, killed, and distributed among the people [h] (P). This year the emperor published an edict, forbidding, under the severest penalties, all manner of unnatural lust, and those infamous practices which had long prevailed in *Rome*, being countenanced by the wicked, and tolerated by the good

Defeats the Carpi.

The thousandth year of Rome.

Unnatural lust suppressed at Rome.

[e] Zos. l. i. p. 642, 643. [f] Idem, p. 641. [g] ONUPH. p. 260. GOLTZ. p. 107. [h] PAGI, p. 247. SPANH. l. iii. p. 147.

(O) As the works of *Trebellius Pollio*, and others, who wrote the lives of *Philip* and his successors to *Valerian*, have not reached our times, we cannot help borrowing many things of *Zosimus*; but we think it incumbent upon us to acquaint our readers, that he was a professed and implacable enemy to the Christian religion, and therefore omits no opportunity of blackening the character of *Philip*, and extolling his successor *Decius*, by whom the church was most cruelly persecuted.

(P) *Orosius* writes, that the pious emperor turned this extraordinary solemnity to the honour of Christ and his church. We wish he had informed us in what manner.

(6) *Oros. l.* vii. *c.* 10.

princes,

princes [i]. The following year, when *M. Æmilianus* was the second time conſul with *Julius Aquilinus*, the eaſtern provinces, no longer able to pay the taxes with which they were loaded, nor bear with the haughty conduct of *Priſcus* their governor (we follow *Zoſimus*, for want of a better guide), openly revolted, and proclaimed one *Papianus*, or *Jotopianus*, emperor; but he was ſoon killed, and, with his death, put an end to the diſturbances on that ſide [k]. At the ſame time the provinces of *Mœſia* and *Pannonia* revolted, continues *Zoſimus*, and ſet up one *P. Carvilius Marinus*, who was but a centurion. Hereupon *Philip*, in great conſternation, beſought the ſenate either to enable him to quaſh the rebellion, or to depoſe him, if they were diſſatisfied with his conduct. This unexpected ſpeech ſurpriſed the ſenate; but *Decius*, while the other ſenators continued ſilent, addreſſing the emperor, told him, that he had no reaſon to fear *Marinus*, whoſe preſumption, as he was unequal to any great undertaking, would ſoon prove his ruin.

Several rebellions.

WHAT *Decius* had foretold, happened a few days after, when *Marinus* was killed by thoſe very perſons who had raiſed him to the empire. Hereupon *Philip*, recalling his father-in-law *Severianus*, obliged *Decius*, much againſt his will, to accept of the government of *Mœſia* and *Pannonia* in his room. He no ſooner appeared there, than the ſoldiers proclaimed him emperor, and forced him to accept the ſovereignty, by threatening to put him to death, if he declined it. Fear therefore getting the better of his fidelity, he ſuffered himſelf to be arrayed with the imperial purple, and the ſoldiers to ſwear allegiance to him [l]. *Zonaras* tells us, that he immediately wrote to *Philip*, aſſuring him, that he deſigned to reſign the ſovereignty as ſoon as he reached *Rome* [m]. But *Philip*, without relying upon ſuch promiſes, marched with all poſſible expedition againſt the uſurper, hoping to ſurpriſe him. His ſon he left at *Rome*, with a detachment of the prætorian guards, to keep the city in awe. *Decius*, having timely notice of his march and approach, received him with his troops in battle-array. Hereupon an action enſued, in which great numbers of *Philip*'s men were cut in pieces, and the reſt obliged to retire to *Verona*, where he himſelf was killed by the army [n], whether by his own, or by that of *Decius*; we are not told. The news of his death no ſooner reached *Rome*, than the prætorian guards diſpatched his ſon, who was then in their camp. Such was the end of the emperor *Philip*, after he had reigned five

Decius *declared emperor by the troops in* Illyricum.

Philip *overcome, and killed.*

Year of the flood 2597. Of Chriſt 249. Of Rome 997.

[i] Alex. vit. p. 121. AUR. VICT. [k] Zos. l. i. p. 642. [l] Idem ibid. & p. 643. [m] ZONAR. p. 229. [n] Zos. l. i. p. 643. AUR. VICT. ZONAR. p. 229.

five years, and ſome months; for he was proclaimed emperor on the fourteenth of *March* of the year 244. and killed after the ſeventeenth of *June* of the year 249. as appears from the dates of his laws [o]. Both he and his ſon were, according to *Eutropius*, ranked among the gods; which ſhews, that his adminiſtration was not diſpleaſing to the ſenate, though he had ſucceeded *Gordian*, a prince ſo much and ſo univerſally beloved (Q). Of the authors who flouriſhed under him, we ſhall ſpeak in our note (R).

UPON

[o] Cod. Juſt. l. ix. tit. 32. leg. 6. p. 489. & l. viii. tit. 56. leg. 1. p. 804, &c.

(Q) *Euſebius*, and *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria*, who was raiſed to that ſee in his reign, tell us, that, under him, the Chriſtian religion was publicly preached; that it flouriſhed and increaſed more than it had done under any other prince (7): *And no wonder*, adds the former writer, without explaining himſelf any farther; but meaning, as to us ſeems plain from the context, that he profeſſed it himſelf (8). *Gregory* of *Nyſſa* writes, that, in the reign of *Philip*, all the inhabitants of the city and territory of *Neocæſarea* in *Pontus* being converted to Chriſtianity, the idols were every-where overturned, with their altars and temples, and churches erected in their room to the honour of the true GOD (9). Of *Philip* the ſon authors obſerve, that he was of ſuch a grave, or rather melancholy temper, that no one could, by any contrivance, ever make him laugh or ſmile; and add, that, his father one day breaking out into a loud laughter, he could not help turning away his face, and expreſſing his diſpleaſure with [a] more grave and reſerved look than uſual (1). Both he and his mother *Marcia Otacilia Severa* profeſſed, according to St. *Jerom* (2), and the chronicle of *Alexandria* (3), the Chriſtian religion; nay, *Petrus de Natalibus* reckons the two *Philips* among the martyrs of the church (4), upon the authority of *Oroſius*, who writes, that *Decius* put them to death, either becauſe they were Chriſtians, or that he might, when they were removed, perſecute the Chriſtian religion (5). But the authority of *Oroſius*, who lived many ages after, is of no great weight with us, unleſs confirmed by that of more antient writers. *Euſebius* ſays, that *Decius* perſecuted the church out of hatred to *Philip* (6); but we cannot from thence conclude, that he put *Philip* to death on account of his religion.

(R) Under *Philip* flouriſhed *Nicagoras*, a celebrated ſophiſt of *Athens*. He was the ſon of one *Mneſeus* an orator, and wrote the lives of illuſtrious men (7). *Phi-*

(7) *Euſeb. l.* vi. *c.* 36. *p.* 232. (8) *Idem, c.* 41. *p.* 238. (9) *Greg. Nyſſ. vit. Greg. Thaumat. tom.* iii. *p.* 563. (1) *Vict. epit.* (2) *Hier. chron.* (3) *Chron. Alexand. p.* 630. (4) *Pet. de Natal. catal. ſanct. c.* 92. *p.* 218. (5) *Oroſ. l.* vii. *c.* 21. (6) *Euſeb. l.* vi. *c.* 39. (7) *Suid. p.* 223.

UPON the death of *Philip* and his ſon, *Decius* was acknowleged emperor, firſt by the ſoldiery, and ſoon after by the ſenate and people, who wanted both ſtrength and courage to diſpute the election of the new prince. He was a native of *Bubalia*, or *Budalia*, a borough in the territory of *Sirmium* in *Lower Pannonia*, and, according to the chronicle of *Alexandria* [p], raiſed to the empire in the fifty-ſeventh, but, according to *Victor* the younger, only in the forty-ſeventh, year of his age. He had by his wife *Herennia Etruſcilla* four ſons, to wit, *Decius*, *Hoſtilianus*, *Etruſcus*, and *Trajan*. The

The birth and deſcent of Decius.

[p] Chron. Alexand. p. 632.

loſtratus reckons him and *Apſinas* among the great men of his time, with whom he was intimately acquainted (8). *Minutianus* the ſon of *Neagoras* publiſhed a book of rhetoric, on which *Porphyrius* wrote comments (9), and a ſmall treatiſe on ſyllogiſms, which has reached our times (1). *Apſinas* flouriſhed at the ſame time, and is greatly commended by *Philoſtratus*, on account of his exactneſs in writing, and extraordinary memory (2). He was a native of *Phœnicia*; but ſpent great part of his life at *Athens*; and is thence by *Suidas* called an *Athenian* (3). *Onaſimus*, the *Athenian* ſophiſt, whom we muſt diſtinguiſh from another of the ſame name and profeſſion, born in *Cyprus* or *Sparta*, was the ſon of *Apſinas*, and father to another *Apſinas*, who ſeems to have flouriſhed under *Conſtantine* (4). *Suidas* mentions a third ſophiſt of this name, who flouriſhed under *Maximian*; but was a native of *Gadara* on the confines of *Paleſtine* and *Syria*, and attained to the rank and title of conſular (5). *Major*, an *Arabian* ſophiſt, flouriſhed likewiſe under *Philip*, and publiſhed 13 books of rhetoric (6), none of which have reached us. *Syncellus* mentions one *Theopompus* a philoſopher, who became very famous at *Chæronea* in *Bœotia* (7); but of him no notice is taken either by *Suidas*, or any other writer. *Aſinius Quadratus* wrote the *Roman* hiſtory in the *Ionic* dialect, from the foundation of the city to the reign of *Alexander*, ſays *Suidas* (8); but he muſt have brought it down to the fifth year of *Philip*'s reign, which was the thouſandth of *Rome*; for his book was intituled χιλιὰς, or *the thouſand years* (9). This work is quoted by *Stephanus* the geographer, by the *Auguſtine* writers, by *Zoſimus*, and by *Xiphilin*; but has been long ſince loſt. He likewiſe wrote the hiſtory of the *Parthians*, often quoted by the antients, and that of *Germany*. Of the former, *Stephanus* cites the ninth book; and *Agathias*, ſpeaking of the latter, tells us, that he was a native of *Italy*, and wrote with great exactneſs (1).

(8) *Philoſ. ſph.* 59, *p.* 629. (9) *Suid. p.* 573. (1) *Porphyr. vit. c.* 6. *p.* 51. *Jonſ. l.* iii. *c.* 14. (2) *Philoſ. p.* 623. (3) *Suid. p.* 523. (4) *Idem ibid.* (5) *Idem ibid.* (6) *Euſeb. præp. evang. l.* x. *c.* 3. *p.* 464. (7) *Syncel. p.* 362. (8) *Suid. p.* 1484. (9) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 16. *p.* 239. (1) *Agath. l.* i. *p.* 17.

name

name of *Meſſius* was common to them all; whence we may conclude, that it was the name of the family. The emperor is ſtiled, in the antient inſcriptions, *Caius Meſſius Quintus Trajanus Decius.* He was, according to *Zoſimus* his panegyriſt, deſcended of an illuſtrious family, and endowed with every good quality [q]. *Victor* the younger ſtiles him *the beſt of princes*, and *Vopiſcus* equals him to the moſt renowned commanders of antiquity [r]. He was no ſooner veſted with the ſovereignty, than he declared his eldeſt ſon *Cæſar*, and *prince of the youth.* The ſame title he ſoon after beſtowed upon his three other ſons [s].

His character.

His cruel perſecution of the church.

In the very beginning of his reign he raiſed the moſt dreadful and bloody perſecution that had ever oppreſſed the church, prompted thereunto by his zeal for the declining cauſe of paganiſm, which he ſaw fatally undermined by the wonderful progreſs of Chriſtianity. Concluding therefore, that the one could not be ſupported but by the utter ruin of the other, he enacted moſt cruel edicts againſt all who profeſſed the Chriſtian religion (S). This perſecution, however, did not rage, at leaſt with its firſt violence, above a year, as appears from the epiſtles of St. *Cyprian* [t], the emperor and magiſtrates being, by the invaſion of ſeveral barbarous nations, diverted from

[q] Zos. l. i. p. 641. [r] Aur. Vict. p. 223. [s] Goltz, p. 109. Onuph. p. 261. Occo, p. 454. [t] Cyp. epiſt. 36, &c.

(S) Purſuant to thoſe edicts, the Chriſtians were in all places driven from their habitations, ſtripped of their eſtates, dragged to execution like public malefactors, and racked with the moſt exquiſite torments cruelty itſelf could invent. The laws of nature and humanity were trodden under-foot; friend betrayed his friend, brother his brother, and children their parents; every one thinking it meritorious to diſcover a Chriſtian, and procure his death. It is eaſier, ſays *Nicephorus*, ſpeaking of this perſecution, to count the ſand on the ſeaſhore, than the martyrs who ſuffered under *Decius.* The tyrant vented his rage chiefly upon the biſhops, of whom many were ſeized, inhumanly racked and executed; and, among the reſt, *Fabian* biſhop of *Rome*, *Babylas* biſhop of *Antioch*, and *Alexander* biſhop of *Jeruſalem.* Great numbers of Chriſtians betook themſelves to barren mountains, rocks, and deſerts, chooſing rather to live amongſt wild beaſts, than men who had diveſted themſelves of reaſon and humanity. Among theſe was the celebrated hermit *Paul*, who, withdrawing into the deſerts of *Egypt*, led there a ſolitary life for the ſpace of ninety years at leaſt, and became the father and founder of the order of anchorets (2).

(2) *Hier. vit. Paul. p. 237. Euſeb. l. iii. c. 39. Lact. perſec. c. 4. Greg. Nyſſ. vit. Thaum. p. 567. Cyp. diſ. xi. c. 53. Optat. l. iii. p. 71. Hilar. in Conſ. p. 113. Cyp. epiſt. 52.*

ſearch-

ſearching after the Chriſtians; for, about the end of the firſt year of *Decius*'s reign, when he was conſul for the ſecond time with *Vicius Gratus*, the *Scythians*, that is, the *Goths*, having paſſed the *Danube*, under the conduct of their king *Cniva*, inveſted with ſeventy thouſand men the city of *Euſterium* in *Lower Mœſia*; but, meeting there with a vigorous oppoſition from *Gallus*, who was afterwards emperor, they raiſed the ſiege of *Euſterium*, and ſat down before *Nicopolis*, another city in the ſame province.

Young Decius gains great advantages over the Goths;

AGAINST them *Decius* diſpatched his eldeſt ſon, at the head of a numerous and well-diſciplined army; who, falling upon them unexpectedly, cut thirty thouſand of them in pieces, and obliged the reſt to retire beyond mount *Hæmus*, which parted *Mœſia* from *Thrace*. However, they ſoon recruited their army, and, entering *Thrace*, laid ſiege to *Philippopolis* on the *Hebrus*. Young *Decius* haſtened to the relief of the place; but, while his troops were refreſhing themſelves, after a long march, in the neighbourhood of *Beræa*, a city of the ſame province, *Cniva*, coming unawares upon them, cut the whole army in pieces, and obliged the young prince to ſave himſelf by flight into *Mœſia*. *Cniva* then returned before *Philippopolis*; and, having made himſelf maſter of the place, put the inhabitants, to the number of one hundred thouſand ſouls, ſays *Ammianus* [u], without diſtinction of ſex or age, to the ſword, ravaged *Thrace*, and laid waſte great part of *Macedon* [w], where *L. Priſcus*, probably brother to the late emperor, commanded at that time; but he, inſtead of oppoſing, joined the enemy, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor. Hereupon *Decius*, who had ſtaid at *Rome* to conſecrate the walls of the city, which he had ordered to be built, or rather repaired, immediately ſet out for *Pannonia*; where, in the beginning of the following year, he took upon him his third conſulſhip, and honoured with that dignity his eldeſt ſon, ſtiled, in the inſcriptions of this year, *Q. Herennius Decius Cæſar*; whence it is manifeſt, that the emperor had not yet conferred upon him the title of *Auguſtus* [x]. *Decius* overcame the *Goths*, ſays *Zoſimus*, in ſeveral engagements, obliged them to quit the booty they had taken, and drove them out of the *Roman* dominions [y]. What that author writes is confirmed by ſeveral medals, mentioning his conqueſts in *Dacia*, and victories over the *Carpi*, who had probably joined the *Goths* [z]. *Priſcus* was declared by the ſenate a public enemy, and ſlain; but where, or in what manner, hiſtory does not inform us.

but his army is in the end intirely cut off.

The Goths are overcome by the emperor.

[u] AMMIAN. l. xxxi. p. 446. [w] Zos. l. i. p. 644. JORNAND. de reb. Goth. c. 18. p. 637. [x] SPANH. p. 234.
[y] Zos. p. 643. [z] Occo, p. 450.

The office of cenſor re-eſtabliſhed.

FROM *Thrace* the emperor wrote to the ſenate, acquainting them, that he deſigned to re-eſtabliſh the office of cenſor, an antient magiſtracy of great authority, and leaving to them the choice of a perſon fit for the diſcharge of ſo great a truſt (T).

Valerian *choſen cenſor.*

The ſenate, upon the receipt of the emperor's letter, aſſembled in the temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*; and there, inſtead of waiting till their votes were aſked, cried out with one voice, as ſoon as the letter was read, *Let* Valerian *be cenſor*; *let him cenſure and correct the faults of others, who has no faults of his own.* Of *Valerian*, who was raiſed to the empire two years after, we ſhall ſpeak in a more proper place. He was then in *Thrace* with *Decius*; who, upon his receiving the decree of the ſenate, cauſed it to be publicly read; exhorted *Valerian* not to decline an office, to which he had been named by the republic with ſuch extraordinary marks of eſteem and diſtinction; and explained to him the nature and importance of his new employment, with the authority and power annexed to it, which, he ſaid, extended over all perſons civil and military, of what rank and condition ſoever, except the governor of *Rome*, the conſuls for the time being, the pontif ſtiled *rex ſacrorum*, and the ſuperior of the *Veſtal* virgins, ſo long as, mindful of her vow, ſhe preſerved herſelf undefiled. *Valerian*, ſays the author of his life, earneſtly beſought the emperor not to lay a burden upon him, to which he was in every reſpect unequal [a]; but does not tell us whether he was in the end prevailed upon to ſubmit to it.

Decius *gains new advantages over the* Goths.

SOON after, the emperor marched againſt the *Goths*, overcame them, and reduced them to ſuch ſtreights, that they offered to ſet at liberty all the priſoners they had taken, and relinquiſh their booty, provided he would ſuffer them to retire unmoleſted. But the emperor, bent upon cutting off at once the whole nation, and delivering *Rome* from ſo troubleſome an enemy, without hearkening to their propoſals, ſent *Trebonianus Gallus*, with a ſtrong detachment, to cut off their retreat; and, purſuing them cloſe with the reſt of the army,

[a] Valer. vit. p. 173, 174.

(T) This employment, famous in the times of the republic, had been aboliſhed by the emperors, who diſcharged the functions annexed to it, without aſſuming the title; for ſince *Domitian*'s time the title of *cenſor* had been quite laid aſide, and neglected by moſt of the princes who reigned before him (3). The laſt private perſons, who diſcharged that office, were *Paulus Æmilius Lepidus*, and *L. Munatius Plancus*, in the tenth year of *Auguſtus*'s reign.

(3) *Dio*, *l.* liii. *p.* 598.

came

came up with them before they reached the *Danube*, and engaged them a second time. The *Goths*, knowing that all lay at ſtake, fought like men in deſpair. Young *Decius* ſignalized himſelf on this occaſion in a very eminent manner, and is ſaid to have killed many of the enemy with his own hand; but, being in the end mortally wounded with an arrow, he fell from his horſe in the ſight of the whole army. The emperor, ſeeing him fall, cried out to his ſoldiers, without betraying the leaſt concern, *We have loſt but one man; let not, fellow-ſoldiers, ſo ſmall a loſs diſcourage you.* Having uttered theſe words, he ruſhed into the midſt of the enemy; but, inſtead of revenging the death of his ſon, he was himſelf ſurrounded on all ſides, overpowered, and killed (U).

Young Decius *is killed, and likewiſe the emperor.*

THE *Goths*, after the death of *Decius*, purſued their victory, and made a dreadful havock of the diſheartened army. Such of the *Romans* as eſcaped the general ſlaughter, fled to the legions commanded by *Gallus*; who, by pretending a great concern for the unfortunate end of *Decius*, and the defeat of his army, and feigning to march againſt the barbarians, gained

The Roman *army cut in pieces.*

(U) Thus *Zoſimus* (4) and *Jornandes* (5). But *Aurelius Victor* and *Zonaras* tell us, that *Gallus*, who kept a private correſpondence with the *Goths*, adviſed them to encamp behind a moraſs, in which the emperor, while he attempted to paſs it, purſuant to the treacherous counſel of the ſame *Gallus*, periſhed with his ſon, and the greateſt number of the army, partly ſuffocated in the mud, and partly deſtroyed by the ſhowers of arrows, which the barbarians diſcharged upon them, while they could neither advance nor retire (6). The ſame writers add, that the bodies of the two princes could never be found. *Euſebius* (7), and the chronicle of *Alexandria* (8), only ſay, that the two *Decii* were killed by the treachery of one of their own officers. *Lactantius* writes, that *Decius*, having engaged the *Carpi*, was by them ſurrounded, cut in pieces with great part of his army, and left unburied a prey to the ravens and wild beaſts. Thus, concludes that writer, an enemy to GOD, and a perſecutor of his church, deſerved to periſh (9). St. *Jerom* likewiſe (1), St. *Cyprian* (2), and *Conſtantine the Great* (3), aſcribe the unhappy end of *Decius* to divine vengeance. With him periſhed, according to *Euſebius*, three of his ſons, to wit, *Decius*, *Etruſcus*, and *Trajan* (4). He had reigned two years, and ſome months (5); and was, after his death, ranked among the gods with the uſual ceremonies.

(4) *Zoſ. l.* i. *p.* 643. (5) *Jornand. de reb. Goth. c.* 18. *p.* 637. (6) *Zonar. p.* 231. *Aur. Vict. in Dec.* (7) *Euſeb. chron. p.* 236. (8) *Chron. Alexand. p.* 251. (9) *Lactant. perſecut. c.* 4. *p.* 4, 5. (1) *Hier. in Zach.* xiv. *p.* 285. (2) *Cypr. epiſt. de lapſ. p.* 238. (3) *Conſtant. orat. apud eum. Euſeb. oper. c.* 24. *p.* 600. (4) *Euſeb. l.* vii. *c.* 1. *p.* 250. (5) *Goltz. p.* 108.

Gallus *proclaimed emperor.*

Year of the flood 2599. Of Chriſt 251. Of Rome 999.

the hearts of the ſoldiery, and was by them, with loud ſhouts of joy, proclaimed emperor. He immediately declared his ſon *Voluſianus Cæſar*; married him to *Herennia Etruſcilla*, the daughter of the deceaſed prince; and, to remove all ſuſpicion of his being any-way acceſſory to the misfortunes which had befallen him and his army, he adopted *Hoſtilianus*, his only ſurviving ſon; conferred upon him the title of *Auguſtus*; veſted him with the tribunitial power; and named him conſul for the enſuing year [b]. *Caius Vibius Trebonianus Gallus*, as he is ſtiled in the antient inſcriptions, was, according to *Victor* the younger, a native of the iſland of *Meninx* on the coaſt of *Africa*, called afterwards *Garba*, and at preſent *Gerbi* and *Zarbi*. Of his family no mention is made by the writers who have reached us; and all we know of his employments is, that he commanded the troops on the frontiers of *Mœſia* in 250. and in the preſent year 251. He was, according to the chronicle of *Alexandria*, fifty-ſeven, but, according to *Victor* the younger, only forty-five, when raiſed to the empire. *Hoſtilia Severa*, honoured on ſome medals with the title of *Auguſta* [c], is ſuppoſed to have been his wife. His ſon is ſtiled in ſome inſcriptions *C. Vibius Voluſianus*, and, in others, *Annius Gallus Trebonianus* [d]. His election was no ſooner confirmed by the ſenate, than, inſtead of revenging the death of *Decius*, and the overthrow of his army, he concluded a diſhonourable peace with the *Goths*; ſuffered them to retire unmoleſted with all their booty and priſoners, among whom were many *Romans* of great diſtinction; and even engaged to pay them yearly a conſiderable ſum, provided they continued quiet in their own country [e]. After this ignominious peace, he returned to *Rome*; and, in the beginning of the following year, entered upon his firſt conſulſhip, having his ſon for his collegue. He began his reign with reviving all the edicts which had been publiſhed by his predeceſſor againſt the Chriſtians, and which he cauſed to be put in execution with the utmoſt rigour. At the ſame time a dreadful plague, breaking out in *Ethiopia* on the confines of *Egypt*, ſpread in a ſhort time over all the provinces of the empire, and ſwept away incredible numbers of people, eſpecially at *Rome*, where it raged with great violence (W). The ſame year was remarkable

He concludes a diſhonourable peace with the Goths.

He perſecutes the Chriſtians.

[b] Zos. lib. i. p. 644. Goltz. p. 111. Zonar. p. 644.
[c] Goltz. p. 110. Occo, p. 457. [d] Goltz. ibid. Spon. hiſt. de Genev. p. 371. [e] Jornand. de reb. Goth. c. 19. p. 638. Zos. p. 644.

(W) Some authors write, that *Hoſtilianus* the ſon of *Decius*, it carried off, among the reſt, ſoon after he had been honoured with

able for a general drought, a great famine, and wars kindled in moſt parts of the empire. *M. Aufidius Perpenna Licinianus* took upon him the title of *Auguſtus*; but this revolt was ſoon quaſhed [f]; in what manner, we are no-where told. The *Goths*, the *Borani*, the *Carpi*, the *Burgundi*, or *Burgundiones*, a people dwelling on the banks of the *Danube*, broke into *Mœſia* and *Pannonia*; the *Scythians* over-ran *Aſia*; and the *Perſians*, entering *Syria*, laid waſte that province, and even made themſelves maſters of *Antioch* [g]. *Æmilianus*, who commanded in *Mœſia*, overcame the barbarians in a pitched battle, and obliged them to quit the *Roman* dominions.

ELATED with this ſucceſs, and deſpiſing *Gallus*, who was wallowing in pleaſures at *Rome*, while his generals were expoſing their lives in defence of the empire, he cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor, and was ſaluted by the troops under his command, whoſe affections he had gained, with the titles of *Auguſtus*, and *Father of his country*. This rouſed *Gallus* from his lethargy, who immediately ordered *Valerian* to march with the *Gauliſh* and *German* legions againſt this new rival. But *Æmilianus*, without giving him time to aſſemble his troops, ſet forward to *Italy*, and, by long marches, arrived in a ſhort time at *Interamna*, now *Terni*, about thirty-two miles from *Rome*. There he was met by *Gallus*, and his ſon, at the head of a conſiderable army; but the troops of the latter, deſpiſing their leaders, ſlew them in the ſight of *Æmilianus*'s army, and proclaimed him emperor. Such was the end of the emperor *Gallus*, after he had reigned a year, and ſix months [h]. Mention is made on ſome medals of the apotheoſis of *Voluſianus* [i]; whence we may conclude, that *Gallus* was likewiſe deified. No ſooner were the news of their death brought to *Rome*, than the ſenate confirmed the election of the ſoldiery, and honoured the new prince with the uſual titles. *Æmilius Æmilianus*, as *Aurelius Victor* calls him, or *C. Julius Æmilianus*, as he is ſtiled on the antient coins, was by nation a *Moor*, and of a very mean deſcent. He had ſerved from his youth in the *Roman* armies, and raiſed himſelf to the firſt employments in the ſtate; for he had been

Æmilianus proclaimed emperor in Mœſia.

Gallus is killed by his own men.

Æmilianus proclaimed emperor at Rome.

[f] VICT. epit. Occo, p. 454. [g] Zos. p. 644. ZONAR. p. 232. [h] Zos. p. 645. ZONAR. p. 242. SYNCEL. p. 376. [i] BIRAG. p. 362. [k] Idem, p. 364.

with the title of *Auguſtus* (6); but *Zoſimus* aſſures us, that *Gallus* cauſed him to be put to death, and then gave out, that he was dead of the plague (7).

(6) *Vict. epit.* (7) *Zoſ. p.* 644.

conſul before he came to the empire[k]. In the letter which he wrote to the ſenate after the death of *Gallus*, he promiſed to drive the *Goths* out of *Thrace*, and the *Perſians* out of *Meſopotamia* and *Armenia*, to comport himſelf in every thing as the lieutenant of the republic, and to leave the exerciſe of the ſovereign power to the ſenate[l] (X). The troops, which *Valerian* was leading to the aſſiſtance of *Gallus*, hearing in *Rhætia* that he was dead, refuſed to ſubmit to the new prince, and proclaimed their own general emperor; who, thereupon, quickening his march, paſſed the mountains, and entered *Italy* at the head of a very numerous and well-diſciplined army.

He is killed by his own men, and Valerian *proclaimed emperor in his room.*

Year of the flood 2601. Of Chriſt 253. Of Rome 1001.

ÆMILIANUS's army no ſooner underſtood, that *Valerian*, of whom they entertained a mighty opinion, had been proclaimed emperor by the troops under his command, than they fell upon their own leader, and diſpatched him, to avoid, ſays *Zonaras*, a civil war, and the ſhedding of the blood of their fellow-citizens[m]. *Æmilianus* was killed at *Spoletum*, now *Spoleti*, or at a bridge in that neighbourhood; which *Victor* the younger pretends to have been thence called *The bloody bridge*. He died in the forty-ſixth year of his age, after a ſhort reign of three, or, at moſt, of four months[n] (Y). ÆMI-

[k] BIRAG. p. 364. [l] ZONAR. p. 233. [m] Idem ibid.
[n] HIER. chron. EUTROP. AUR. VICT.

(X) *Aurelius Victor* writes, that he governed with great moderation; wherein he diſagrees with *Zonaras*, who tells us, that he acted more like a ſoldier than a prince, and did many things highly unbecoming an emperor (8).

(Y) *Euſebius* does not even rank him among the emperors (9); and is therein followed by the chronicle of *Alexandria*, and that of *Nicephorus*, in which *Valerian* is placed immediately after *Gallus*. *Aurelius Victor* writes, that *Æmilianus* died a natural death (1). In his reign *C. Virius Paulinus* was governor of *Rome*, and *comes domeſticorum* (2). This is the firſt time we find the latter employment, which, in the fourth century, became very famous, mentioned in hiſtory. *Pancirollus* takes the words *domeſtici* and *protectores* to be ſynonymous terms. The province of the latter was to guard the prince's perſon, and, under the Chriſtian emperors, to carry the great ſtandard, with the croſs. They were ſuperior in rank to the prætorian guards, and diſtinguiſhed with particular badges peculiar to them. This corps conſiſted of three thouſand five hundred men before *Juſtinian*'s time, who is ſaid to have increaſed them to the number of five thouſand five hundred. They were divided into ſeveral bands of horſe and foot, called *ſcholæ*,

(8) *Zonar. p.* 233. *Vict. in Æmil.* (9) *Euſeb. l.* vii. *c.* 10. *p.* 255. (2) *Onuph. in faſt. p.* 262. (1) *Aur.*

and

ÆMILIANUS being killed, according to the moſt probable opinion, in the month of *Auguſt* of the year 253. the ſenate, with great joy, confirmed the election of *Valerian*, and conferred upon his ſon *Gallienus* the title of *Cæſar*. *Valerian* was deſcended from one of the moſt illuſtrious families in *Rome*, had commanded armies, and diſcharged, with great reputation, the chief employments of the empire, both civil and military. He was adored by perſons of all ranks, on account of his integrity, prudence, modeſty, and extraordinary accompliſhments; for he was well verſed in all the branches of learning, and had ever lived free from the vices, which generally prevailed in thoſe diſſolute times; a friend to virtue, an enemy to all wickedneſs and tyranny, a great admirer of the cuſtoms of the primitive *Romans*, and no-way inferior to thoſe among them, who were extolled for their love of virtue, and averſion from vice; inſomuch that if every perſon in the empire had been allowed the liberty of naming to the ſovereignty whom he pleaſed, no one, ſays the hiſtorian, would have thought of chooſing any but *Valerian* [o]. Thus he was univerſally judged worthy of the empire before he attained it; but was afterwards found no-way equal to ſuch a mighty charge; whence moſt writers aſcribe to his want of activity, prudence, and reſolution, the many calamities which befel the empire in his and his ſon's reign [p]. Before his acceſſion to the empire, he was prince of the ſenate, which gave him a right to vote before all the conſulars. Afterwards he commanded the third legion, and was, by degrees, raiſed to the firſt poſts in the army. He attended *Decius* in his wars with the *Goths*, and was, while he continued with him in *Thrace*, named by the ſenate to the cenſorſhip, in the manner we have related above (Z). He began his reign with great applauſe, and behaved himſelf ſo as to gain the affections both of the ſenate and people, paying the utmoſt reſpect to the former,

His deſcent, employments, and character.

[o] Valer. vit. p. 173. [p] VICT. epit. EUTROP. ZOS. l. i. p. 640.

and commanded by ſome perſon of great diſtinction, ſtiled *comes domeſticorum* (3). From ſeveral inſcriptions of this time, we learn, that the word *comes* was already a title of dignity; ſo that the title of *comes*, or *count*, does not, as ſome imagine, owe its original intirely to *Conſtantine*.

(Z) In the antient inſcriptions he is ſtiled *P. Licinius Valerianus*; to theſe names *Victor* the younger adds that of *Colobius*; and *Onuphrius* quotes an inſcription, in which he is named *P. Aurelius*

(3) *Pancir. in not. imp. Rom. c.* 89.

former, and easing the latter of the heavy taxes, with which they had been loaded by his predecessors. He enacted many excellent laws, and, by that means, suppressed most of the disorders, which, in those unhappy times, prevailed, not only at *Rome*, but all over the empire. Authors observe, that he employed only men of merit; and that most of those whom he preferred to the command of his armies, were afterwards raised to the empire [q]. In the beginning of the following year 254. he entered upon his second consulship, having his son *Gallienus* for his collegue. *Zosimus* writes, that this very year, the first of his reign, he took *Gallienus* for his partner in the empire, being prompted thereunto by the danger to which the empire, invaded on all sides by the barbarians, was then exposed [r]; for the *Germans* and the *Franks* committed great devastations in that part of *Gaul* which bordered on the *Rhine*; the *Goths* and the *Carpi* invaded the provinces of *Mœsia*, *Thrace*, and *Macedon*; and the *Persians*, passing the *Euphrates*, over-ran *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and *Cappadocia*. *Aurelian*, at that time tribune of a legion quartered in *Mentz*, fell upon the *Franks* while they were ravaging the neighbouring country, killed seven hundred of them, took three hundred prisoners, whom he sold for slaves, and obliged the rest to quit their booty, and retire [s] (A).

The empire invaded on all sides by the barbarians.

THE

[q] Aur. vit. p. 211. TREBEL. POLLIO. hist. trigint. tyrann. c. 9. p. 189. Prob. vit. p. 234. [r] Zos. l. i. p. 646. [s] Vit. Aur. p. 211.

Licinius Valerius Valerianus (4). He married two wives, and had by the first, whose name is not mentioned in history, *Gallienus*, who succeeded him in the empire. By his second wife, named by some writers *Mariniana* (5), he had *Valerian*, who was twice consul, to wit, in 258. and 263. and honoured, either by his father, or by his brother *Gallienus*, with the title of *Cæsar* (6). He had other sons; for *Gallienus* is said to have married his brother's sons, and to have stiled himself *the brother of many princes* (7).

(A) The country of the *Franks*, now for the first time mentioned in history, was bounded on the north by the ocean; on the west by the ocean and the river *Rhone*; and on the south by the *Weser*: according to which description, they possessed the modern countries of *Westphalia*, *Hesse*, and some adjacent states (8). They were a motley multitude, consisting of various *German* nations dwelling beyond the *Rhine*; who, uniting in defence of their common liberty, took thence the name of *Franks*, the word *frank* signifying in their lauguage, as it still does in ours, *free* (9). A-

(4) *Onuph. in fast. p.* 262. (5) *Birag. p.* 361. (6) *Val. vit. p.* 175. *Goltz. p.* 114. (7) *Idem ibid.* (8) *Adrian. Vales. rer. Francicar.* *Buch. p.* 209. (9) *Buch. ibid.*

mong

THE following year, *Valerian* being conſul the third time, and *Gallienus* the ſecond, a great victory was gained in *Germany* by the latter, who thereupon aſſumed the title of *Germanicus Maximus*, as appears from ſeveral medals of this year [t]; but what nation he overcame, whether the *Franks*, or the *Alemanni*, who inhabited the countries lying between the *Rhine*, the *Maine*, and the *Danube*, hiſtory does not inform us. The next conſuls were *Maximus* and *Glabrio*, during whoſe adminiſtration *Gallienus*, with a body only of ten thouſand men, defeated, if *Zonaras* is to be credited, three hundred thouſand *Alemanni* in the neighbourhood of *Milan*; overcame the *Heruli*, a *Gothic* nation; and with great ſucceſs made war upon the *Franks* [u]. We wiſh that writer had given us a more diſtinct account of theſe mighty exploits. In *Gaul*, *Poſthumius*, a commander of great proweſs and experience, gained great advantages over ſeveral *German* nations, who had invaded that province [w]. The following year, *Valerian* being conſul the fourth time, and *Gallienus* the third, a violent perſecution broke out againſt the Chriſtians, *Macrianus*, a celebrated magician of *Egypt*, having ſeduced the emperor, who had been hitherto a great patron of the Chriſtian religion, by perſuading him, that the affairs of the empire would never proſper, till the pagan rites were reſtored, and the religion of the Chriſtians, ſo odious to the gods, utterly aboliſhed. This perſecution, commonly reckoned the eighth, laſted three years; that is, from the preſent year 257. to the year 260. when *Valerian* was taken priſoner by the *Perſians*.

The Germans *defeated by* Gallienus.

The Chriſtians perſecuted.

THE ſame year *Aurelian* being ſent to ſucceed *Ulpius Crinitus* in the command of the troops in *Illyricum* and *Thrace*, drove the *Goths* out of thoſe provinces, took an incredible number of them priſoners, and, purſuing them beyond the *Danube*, laid waſte their country, and returned to *Mœſia* loaded with booty [x]. At the ſame time *Probus*, paſſing the *Danube*, made war with great ſucceſs upon the *Sarmatians* and *Quadi*, and reſcued out of the hands of the latter *Valerius Flaccus*, a youth of a noble deſcent, and nearly related to

The Goths *defeated by* Aurelian, *and the* Sarmatians *by* Probus.

[t] BIRAG. p. 367, & 371. [u] ZONAR. vit. Gallien. p. 235. [w] TREBEL. POL. in vit. trigint. tyrann. p. 184. [x] Aurel. vit. p. 213.

among them we find the following nations mentioned; to wit, the *Actuarii*, *Chamavi*, *Bructeri*, *Salii*, *Friſii*, *Chauci*, *Amſivarii*, and *Catti* (1). The *Franks* are ſometimes called *Sicambri*, becauſe they inhabited the country formerly poſſeſſed by that nation, which was intirely cut off by *Auguſtus*, as we have related in its proper place.

(1) *Adrian. Valeſ. not. Gall. p.* 201. *& Buch. p.* 210.

the emperor, who rewarded *Probus* with a civic crown; which, in the times of the republic, was given to ſuch as had ſaved the life of a citizen[y]. Abont the latter end of this year the emperor, leaving *Rome*, ſet out for the Eaſt, to make head againſt the *Perſians*, who had invaded *Meſopotamia* and *Syria*, and committed dreadful ravages in thoſe provinces. He reached *Byzantium* in the beginning of the following year, when *Memmius Tuſcus* and *Baſſus* were conſuls; and there held a council, at which aſſiſted all the chief officers of the empire, to deliberate about the meaſures to be taken with reſpect to the *Perſian* war; for *Sapor* king of *Perſia* had already ſeized all *Armenia*; made himſelf maſter of *Niſibis* and *Charrhæ* in *Meſopotamia*; and thence advancing into *Syria* at the head of a mighty army, had ravaged that province, and taken *Antioch* itſelf. His guide in this expedition was one *Cyriades*, deſcended of an illuſtrious family, but abandoned from his youth to all manner of wickedneſs; inſomuch that, not able to bear the reproaches and wholſome admonitions of his father, he fled from home, and retired into *Perſia*, carrying thither with him a great quantity of gold and ſilver, which he had purloined. There he entered into the ſervice of the *Perſian* king, ſtirred him up to make war upon the *Romans*, and ſerved him as a guide, being well acquainted with the countries, in his marches through *Meſopotamia*, *Armenia*, and *Syria*. *Sapor*, after he had taken and plundered *Antioch*, returned into *Perſia*, to diſcharge his army of the immenſe booty, with which they were incumbred; and left *Cyriades* governor of the conquered countries, who thereupon aſſumed the title of *Cæſar*, and ſoon after that of *Auguſtus*, and was acknowleged as emperor by moſt of the eaſtern provinces[z].

The Perſians *overrun ſeveral provinces.*

The Scythians *commit great devaſtations in* Aſia.

At the ſame time the *Borani*, a *Scythian* nation, croſſing the *Euxine* ſea, ſurpriſed and plundered the cities of *Pytus* in *Boſporus*, and *Trapezus* in *Pontus*; and thence advancing to the neighbourhood of *Byzantium*, croſſed over into *Aſia*, and ſurpriſed the cities of *Chalcedon*, *Nicæa*, *Apamea*, *Pruſa*, and ſeveral other places, which they plundered; and then returned with an immenſe booty into their own country, before *Valerian* could come up with them[a]. The following year, when *Secularis* and *Baſſus* were conſuls, *Valerian* marched from *Cappadocia*, whither he had purſued the *Scythians*, into *Syria*, recovered *Antioch*, and thence advanced into *Meſopotamia*, where he met *Sapor*, attacked him, but, by the treachery of *Macrianus*, who perſuaded him to engage in a diſadvantageous poſt, loſt the flower of his troops in the action, and was himſelf taken pri-

[y] Prob. vit. p. 234, 235. [z] Vit. trigint. tyran. p. 185.
[a] Zos. l. i. p. 648.

foner.

ſoner [b]. Thus *Zonaras*, *Aurelius Victor*, *Eutropius*, and *Agathias*; but *Zoſimus* writes, that *Valerian* having, after the battle in which he was defeated, been prevailed upon to confer in perſon with *Sapor*, was by that treacherous prince ſeized, and carried into *Perſia*. Be that as it will, all authors agree, that he was taken priſoner, carried in triumph by *Sapor* into *Perſia*, and there inſulted in a moſt outrageous manner by that haughty conqueror; who, after having ſhewn him loaded with chains in all the chief cities of his empire, treated him with greater indignities than the meaneſt ſlave, making him his foot-ſtool whenever he mounted on horſeback [c]. He was taken the in year 260. the 70th of his age, and ſixth of his reign, and was ſtill alive in the year 263. nay, the chronicle of *Alexandria* tells us, that he did not die till the year 269. After his death, his body was flayed by *Sapor*'s orders, and preſerved in ſalt; and his ſkin dreſſed, dyed red, and expoſed in a temple; where, to the eternal ignominy of the *Roman* name, it was ſhewn to all foreign princes and embaſſadors, as a laſting monument of the power of the *Perſian* monarch. *Agathias* writes, that *Valerian* was flayed alive [d]; but is therein contradicted by all the antient hiſtorians (B).

Valerian defeated by the Perſians, and taken priſoner.

Year of the flood 2608. Of Chriſt 260. Of Rome 1008.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Roman *Hiſtory, from the Captivity of* Valerian *to the Reſignation of* Dioclesian.

THE news of the defeat of the *Roman* army by the *Perſians*, and the captivity of *Valerian*, no ſooner reached the barbarous nations at war with *Rome*, than they flew to arms; and, pouring on all ſides incredible multitudes into the *Roman* territories, threatened the empire, and *Rome* itſelf, with utter deſtruction. The *Goths* and *Scythians* ravaged

The empire invaded on all ſides by the barbarians.

[b] Zonar. p. 234. Vict. epit. Eutrop. feſt. Agath. l. iv. p. 153. [c] Euseb. orat. Conſt. c. 24. Lact. perſecut. c. 5. Oros. l. vii. c. 22. Vit. Valer. p. 175. [d] Agath. l. iv. p. 233.

(B) We are told, that nothing grieved the unhappy *Valerian* in his deplorable condition ſo much, as to ſee himſelf intirely neglected by his ſon *Gallienus*, who was ſo far from preſſing the *Perſian* king to ſet him at liberty, or offering to ranſom him, that, on the contrary, he expreſſed no ſmall joy when news was brought him of his captivity. though moſt foreign princes, nay, even thoſe who had aſſiſted *Sapor* in his wars againſt the *Romans*, did all that lay in their power to prevail upon him to grant the *Roman* emperor his liberty; but the haughty *Perſian* was too much elated with his ſucceſs, to be terrified with the menaces of his enemies, or to hearken to the intreaties of his friends.

anew *Pontus* and *Asia*, committing every-where dreadful devastations: the *Germans*, that is, the *Alemanni*, and the *Franks*, having over-run *Rhætia*, entered *Italy* itself, and advanced as far as *Ravenna*, putting all to fire and sword: the *Quadi* and *Sarmatians* seized on great part of *Dacia* and *Pannonia*; and other barbarous nations, invading *Spain*, made themselves masters of *Tarraco*, and other important places in that province [a]. *Gallienus*, who was then in *Gaul*, hearing that the *Alemanni* and *Franks* had entered *Italy*, and were advancing towards *Rome*, flew to the defence of the capital, and obliged the enemy to retire. Whether they were overcome in battle, as some authors write, or marched back upon the news of his approach, as we read in others, is uncertain. The barbarians, who had invaded *Dacia* and *Pannonia*, were driven back by *Regillianus*, who commanded there, and who is said to have gained several victories over them in one day [b].

Ingenuus causes himself to be proclaimed emperor.

While *Regillianus* was employed against the barbarians, whom he had pursued into *Mœsia*, *Ingenuus* caused himself to be proclaimed emperor in *Pannonia*, and was acknowleged by the inhabitants both of that province, and of *Mœsia*; for he was a man of great valour and experience in war, and universally beloved both by the people and soldiery. *Gallienus* no sooner heard of his revolt, than he marched from the neighbourhood of *Ravenna*, where he then was, into *Illyricum*, engaged *Ingenuus*, and put him to flight (A). The troops, who had formerly served under *Ingenuus*, and the inhabitants.

[a] Zos. l. i. p. 650.

[b] Trig. tyrann. vit. p. 188.

(A) Some authors write, that *Ingenuus* was killed after the battle by his own soldiers, while others tell us, that he put an end to his own life, to avoid, by that means, falling into the hands of so cruel an enemy as *Gallienus*; who used his victory with a barbarity hardly to be equaled, commanding his soldiers to put all the inhabitants of *Mœsia* they could meet with to the sword, whether they had taken up arms in favour of the usurper, or no; as appears from the following letter, which he wrote to *Verianus Celer*, one of his officers: "I shall not be satisfied with "your putting to death only "such as have borne arms a-"gainst me, and might have "fallen in the field: you must "in every city destroy all the "males, old and young: spare "none who have wished ill to "me, none who have spoken ill "of me, the son of *Valerian*, "the father and brother of "princes. *Ingenuus* emperor! "Tear, kill, cut in pieces with-"out mercy: you understand "me; do then as you know I "would do, who have written to "you with my own hand (1)." Pursuant to these cruel orders, a most dreadful havock was made of that unhappy people, and in several cities not one male child left alive.

(1) *Trig. tyrann. vit. c.* 8.

habitants of *Mæsia*, who had escaped the general slaughter, provoked by these cruelties, proclaimed *Q. Nonius Regillianus* emperor. He was a *Dacian* by nation, descended, as was said, from the celebrated king *Decebalus*, whom *Trajan* had conquered; and had, by several gallant actions, gained great reputation in the *Roman* armies (B). After he was proclaimed emperor, he gained very considerable advantages over the *Sarmatians*; but was soon murdered by his own soldiers, and the people of *Illyricum*, who had raised him to the empire; but, not long after his assumption, began to dread the effects of *Gallienus*'s cruelty. The *Roxolani*, who served under him, revolted the first; and their example was soon followed by the rest of the army, and the people of *Illyricum* [c]. *Aurelius Victor* writes, that he was overcome in battle by *Gallienus*.

Regillianus *emperor.*

He is murdered by his own men.

The same year *M. Cassius Labienus Posthumius* revolted in *Gaul*. He was meanly born, but endowed with extraordinary parts, and reckoned one of the best commanders in the whole empire. *Valerian*, when he set out for the East, committed to his care both his son *Gallienus*, and the troops that were left in the western provinces, declaring, that he loved and esteemed *Posthumius* above all the officers of his army. When he appointed him governor of *Gaul*, and commander of the troops on the *Rhine*, he wrote, on that occasion, a letter to the inhabitants of *Gaul*, in which he expressed his esteem for *Posthumius* in the following terms: "You "will, I hope, be convinced that I have a particular regard "for you, since I have set over you such a man as *Posthu-* "*mius*. He is one whom I esteem above the rest, and think "the most worthy of all to represent the prince. If I am "deceived in the opinion I entertain of him, I will not pre- "tend to know any man [d]." When *Gallienus*, upon the

Posthumius *revolts in* Gaul.

[c] Trig. tyrann. vit, c. 9. p. 189.

[d] Idem, c. 2. p. 185.

(B) *Claudius*, who was afterwards emperor, wrote the following letter to him, congratulating him upon the victory he had gained over the *Quadi* and *Sarmatians* in *Mæsia*: "Happy is the re- "public in having at this time "such a commander as you; "happy *Gallienus*, though no "one dares speak truth to him, "nor blame or commend men "according to their deserts. *Bo-* "*nitus* and *Celsus*, two of the "prince's lifeguardmen, have "given me an account of your "gallant behaviour in the neigh- "bourhood of *Scupi*, where you "gained several victories over "the barbarians in one day. In "antient times you would have "been thought worthy of a tri- "umph; but at present I would "have you to conquer with "more caution, mindful of a "certain person, to whom your "victories may give umbrage, "*&c.*"

news

news of his father's captivity, and the invaſion of the *Franks* and *Alemanni*, ſet out for *Italy*, he left his eldeſt ſon *Saloninus*, named alſo *Valerian*, then an infant, at *Cologne*, under the tuition, ſome ſay, of *Poſthumius*, and others, of *Sylvanus*, ordering all things to be tranſacted in his name. Soon after the emperor's departure, *Poſthumius* having defeated ſome *German* nations, who had invaded *Gaul*, *Sylvanus* obliged him to ſend all the booty to him, and the young prince; which provoked the ſoldiery to ſuch a degree, that they revolted, and proclaimed *Poſthumius* emperor; who, marching without loſs of time to *Cologne*, beſieged the place, and reduced the inhabitants to ſuch ſtreights, that they were forced to deliver up to him both *Sylvanus* and *Saloninus*, whom he cauſed to be immediately put to death (C). He reigned ſeven years, during which time he drove all the *Germans* out of *Gaul*, and even built ſeveral forts in their country, reſtored peace and tranquillity to that afflicted province, and governed with ſuch equity and moderation, that he was univerſally adored, and honoured with the titles of *The reſtorer of Gaul*, *The defender of the empire*; for, had he not repulſed the *Germans*, they would, in thoſe diſtracted times, have over-run, with great eaſe, the whole empire [e]. On ſeveral of his medals mention is made of his victories over the *Germans*, that is, according to *Adrianus Valeſius* [f], over the *Franks*; and on ſome he is ſtiled *Germanicus Maximus* [g]. He had by his wife *Junia Donata*, perhaps the daughter of *Junius Donatus*, who was governor of *Rome* in the year 257. and this year conſul, at leaſt one ſon, ſtiled on the antient coins *C. Junius Coſſius Poſthumius*. The emperor *Valerian* appointed him tribune of a band or company of *Vocontii*, that is, of *Dauphinois*. His father afterwards created him *Cæſar*, took him for his partner in the empire, and honoured him with the title of *Auguſtus* [h]. He was thought to have equaled in eloquence *Quintilian*, whom he ſtudied to imitate; whence his declamations were inſerted among thoſe of that excellent writer [i]; and the nineteen declamations, which paſs under the name

The ſon of Gallienus *murdered.*

Poſthumius *delivers* Gaul *from the* Germans.

[e] Trig. tyrann. vit. c. 2. p. 185. Birag. p. 393. [f] Val. rer. Franc. l. i. p. 6. [g] Birag. p. 394. Goltz. p. 116. [h] Trig. tyran. vit. ibid. [i] Idem ibid. p. 186.

(C) Thus *Zoſimus* (2): but *Trebellius Pollio* aſcribes the revolt, and the death of the young prince, to the *Gauls*, who, hating *Gallienus*, and not able to brook the government of a child, ſtirred up the ſoldiers to murder him, and proclaim *Poſthumius* emperor (3), who was with great joy acknowleged, not only in *Gaul*, but in *Spain* and *Britain* (4).

(2) *Zoſ. p.* 651. (3) *Trig. tyrann. vit. c. 2. p.* 185. (4) *Claud. vit. p.* 204. *Span. l.* ix. *p.* 845.

of

of *Quintilian*, but ſeem not altogether worthy of him, are by ſome modern critics aſcribed to young *Poſthumius* [k]. *Gallienus*, tho' greatly concerned for the death of his ſon, whom he immediately cauſed to be ranked among the gods [l], did not march in perſon againſt the uſurper till ſome years after.

The Perſians over-run and plunder all the Eaſtern provinces.

DURING theſe diſturbances in the Weſt, *Sapor* king of *Perſia*, elated with his late ſucceſs, over-ran moſt of the Eaſtern provinces, laid waſte *Meſopotamia*, and, entering *Syria*, took *Antioch* the third, or, at leaſt, the ſecond time, and leveled with the ground all the public buildings of that ſtately metropolis. From *Syria* he led his army into *Cilicia*; took and plundered the city of *Tarſus*, the capital of that province; and, advancing from thence into *Cappadocia*, made himſelf maſter of *Cæſarea*, and cut all the inhabitants, to the number of four hundred thouſand, in pieces, for having oppoſed him under the conduct of one *Demoſthenes*, a man of great reſolution and intrepidity, who, after the city was taken, opened himſelf a way, ſword in hand, through the midſt of the enemy, and made his eſcape [m]. Thus the *Perſian* over-ran all the provinces of the Eaſt, committing every-where moſt dreadful ravages (D).

Baliſta *cuts many of them in pieces.*

IN the mean time, the *Roman* troops, who had diſperſed upon the captivity of *Valerian*, rallying, choſe for their leader *Calliſtus*, or rather *Baliſta*, who had been captain of the guards to *Valerian*, and was a man of great addreſs, intrepidity, and experience in war. He, without loſs of time, tranſported his forces in boats into *Cilicia*, and obliged the *Perſians* to raiſe the ſiege of *Pompeiopolis*, a maritim city of that province, when it was upon the point of ſubmitting. From *Cilicia* he flew with great celerity into *Lycaonia*, and there made a dreadful havock of the *Perſians*, whom he found buſied in plundering the open places, and no-ways upon their guard. He took from them all their booty and captives, made a great many priſoners, and, among the reſt, the wives of *Sapor*. From *Lycaonia* he retired with his booty and captives, before the *Perſians* could draw together their diſperſed forces; and, embarking his army on the veſſels and boats he had

[k] Vide Voss. rhet. c. 15. p. 192. [l] BIRAG. p. 382.
[m] ZONAR. p. 234.

(D) *Agathias* tells us, that he filled up deep valleys with dead bodies, and took pride in paſſing over them on horſeback from one hill to another (5). To the captives, whom he was pleaſed to ſpare, he allowed only what food was barely ſufficient to keep them alive, and ordered them to be driven once a day in herds to water like ſo many cattle (6).

(5) *Agath. l.* iv. *p.* 134. (6) *Zonar. p.* 234.

aſſem-

aſſembled, landed ſome of his men at *Sebaſte*, and others at *Corycus*, two cities on the coaſt of *Cilicia*, and in both places ſurpriſed and cut in pieces above three thouſand *Perſians* [n].

Odenatus *of* Palmyra.

Baliſta was well ſeconded in his attempts by *Odenatus*, whoſe name is famous in the hiſtory of theſe times, on account of the many victories he gained over the *Perſians*, and his ſaving the *Roman* empire in the Eaſt. All authors agree, that he was a native of *Palmyra*, a city of *Phœnicia*, about one day's journey from the *Euphrates*; but ſome writers call him a citizen and decurio, while others ſtile him prince of that place. *Procopius* gives him the title of prince of the *Saracens*, who dwelt in the neighbourhood of the *Euphrates*, and were allies of the *Romans* [o] (E). As *Palmyra* was at this time a *Roman* colony [p], *Odenatus* was prince, not of that city, but probably of the *Saracens*, who dwelt in that neighbourhood. As he had been accuſtomed, from his infancy, to the manly exerciſes of hunting, he bore with great chearfulneſs and alacrity the toils of a military life [q]. Of his wife *Zenobia* we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter.

How treated by Sapor.

ODENATUS was ſcarce known till the captivity of *Valerian*, when, dreading the power of the *Perſian* monarch, as he lived in amity with the *Romans*, he wrote to him a moſt reſpectful and ſubmiſſive letter, proteſting, that he had never borne arms againſt the *Perſians*; and at the ſame time ſent him ſeveral camels loaded with rich preſents. But *Sapor*, highly provoked at the arrogance of ſuch an inſignificant perſon, as he expreſſed himſelf, in preſuming to write to him, tore his letter, ordered his preſents to be thrown into the river, and, with a threatening voice, told his embaſſadors, that he would teach their maſter the reſpect a man of his mean condition owed to his lord and ſovereign; that he would exterminate and utterly deſtroy him, his whole family and country; adding, that if he came and threw himſelf proſtrate at his feet, with his hands tied behind his back, he might perhaps, by that ſubmiſſion, atone in ſome degree for his temerity and preſumption. *Odenatus*, reſenting, as it became a man of his ſpirit, this vile treatment, ſwore he would purſue the *Perſians* to the laſt with fire and ſword, and either bring down the pride of their mighty monarch, or periſh in the attempt [r]. With this view, he immediately declared for the

[n] ZONAR. p. 382. SYNCELL. p. 235. [o] PROCOP. p. 97. [p] NORIS. de epoch. Syromaced. p. 103. [q] Trig. tyrann. c. 14. p. 192. [r] PETR. PATR. in excerpt. de legat. p. 29.

(E) *Zoſimus* tells us, that his family had been long before diſtinguiſhed with particular marks of honour by the *Roman* emperors, and that he had troops of his own (7).

(7) *Zoſ. p.* 651.

Romans;

Romans; and, joining *Baliſta* with all his forces, bore a great, if not the chief, ſhare in the above-mentioned exploits; for to him *Trebellius Pollio* aſcribes the taking of *Sapor*'s wives [s]. The *Perſian*, greatly concerned for that loſs, and apprehending it might be attended with others ſtill greater (for *Odenatus* and *Baliſta* purſued him cloſe), reſolved to retire; and accordingly bent his march towards the *Euphrates*. But, as he was marching through the province of *Euphrateſiana*, at a ſmall diſtance from *Palmyra*, *Odenatus*, falling upon his rear, made a dreadful havock of them, and obliged the reſt to repaſs the *Euphrates* with great hurry and confuſion. Many periſhed in the river; and *Sapor* was glad to compound with the *Roman* gariſon in *Edeſſa*, which city he had never been able to reduce, for the liberty of returning into his own country, by yielding to them all the *Syrian* money he had amaſſed in the plunder of ſo many cities [t]. *Zonaras* writes, that *Odenatus* found among the *Perſian* captives, and likewiſe among the dead, many women attired and armed like men [u].

He ſides with the Romans, *and gains great advantages over the* Perſians.

AFTER theſe victories, *Odenatus* aſſumed the title of king of *Palmyra*, which he likewiſe gave to his eldeſt ſon *Herod*, as he did that of queen to his wife *Zenobia*. *Gallienus*, to reward his eminent ſervices, appointed him commander in chief of all the *Roman* forces in the Eaſt; which truſt he diſcharged with great fidelity, and was attended with better ſucceſs than any of the *Roman* generals. For the following year, 261. when *Gallienus* was conſul the fourth time with *Petronius Voluſianus*, *Odenatus*, not ſatisfied with having driven *Sapor* out of the *Roman* dominions, entered *Meſopotamia*, and there recovered the cities of *Niſibis* and *Charræ*. From *Meſopotamia* he advanced into the very heart of the *Perſian* dominions, being extremely deſirous of crowning his other exploits with the deliverance of *Valerian*. *Sapor* met him at the head of a mighty army; whereupon an engagement enſuing, the *Perſians* were utterly defeated, and *Sapor*, with his children, obliged to ſhelter themſelves within the walls of *Cteſiphon*, the metropolis of the *Perſian* dominions. Thither *Odenatus* purſued them, and laid cloſe ſiege to the place, after having deſtroyed with fire and ſword the neighbouring country to a great diſtance. The *Perſian* lords, alarmed at the danger that threatened their prince and nation, armed all their vaſſals, and flew from the moſt diſtant parts of the kingdom to *Cteſiphon*. Many battles were fought under the walls of that metropolis, which ſerved only to increaſe the number of *Odenatus*'s victories; many *Perſians* of great diſtinction were

Odenatus *aſſumes the title of king of* Palmyra.

Defeats Sapor, *and beſieges* Cteſiphon

[s] Trig. tyr. c. 14. p. 192. [t] PETR. PATR. in excerpt. de legat. p. 25. [u] ZONAR. p. 235.

taken priſoners, and ſent by the conqueror to *Gallienus*: *Sapor* on one ſide, and the brave *Odenatus* on the other, exerted their utmoſt efforts, the latter to deliver *Valerian*, and the former to avoid the like doom, which now threatened him [w]. But here *Trebellius Pollio*, after having raiſed our expectation, drops at once both *Odenatus*, and the ſiege of *Cteſiphon*; and, giving himſelf no farther trouble about either, leaves us quite in the dark, as to the iſſue of ſo glorious and important an undertaking. The reader may thence judge of his abilities in the capacity of an hiſtorian. All we know for certain is, that *Sapor* was not taken, nor *Valerian* reſcued from his cruel bondage. Some writers ſeem to inſinuate, that the revolt of *Macrianus*, which, according to moſt hiſtorians, happened this year, obliged *Odenatus* to raiſe the ſiege of *Cteſiphon*.

The riſe of Macrianus.

MACRIANUS was of a mean deſcent; but had, by his courage and experience in war, raiſed himſelf from the low ſtation of a common ſoldier to the higheſt poſts in the army. He was exceeding rich, and had married a lady of great diſtinction, by whom he had two ſons, *Macrianus* and *Quietus*, who had been raiſed to the rank of tribunes by *Valerian*, and were eſteemed two of the beſt officers of the whole army [x]. The father is ſtiled, by *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria*, the chief of the *Egyptian* magicians [y]; whence we conclude him to have been by nation an *Egyptian*, and greatly addicted to the ſtudy of magic. As the abominable myſteries of that art were abhorred, and deſervedly cenſured, by the Chriſtians, *Macrianus* thence became their implacable enemy, and inſpired *Valerian*, with whom he bore great ſway, with an irreconcileable hatred to them; which occaſioned the eighth perſecution, as we have hinted above [z]. Some authors write, that, abuſing the confidence *Valerian* repoſed in him, he betrayed that prince to the *Perſians* [a]; but others clear him from that imputation. Be that as it will, about a year after the captivity of the unhappy emperor, he revolted from his ſon; and,

He is proclaimed emperor.

having gained over *Baliſta*, was by his means acknowleged emperor by moſt of the troops, who had ſerved under *Valerian*, but deſpiſed *Gallienus*. He immediately took his two ſons for his partners in the empire, and appointed *Baliſta* his captain of the guards (F).

Year of the flood 2609. Of Chriſt 261. Of Rome 1009.

MACRI-

[w] Vit. Gall. p. 179. Zos. p. 651. [x] Gall. vit. p. 175. Trig. tyrann. c. 13. [y] EUSEB. l. vii. c. 10. [z] Idem ibid. [a] Trig. tyrann. p. 174.

(F) *Trebellius Pollio*, of all writers the leaſt exact, to ſay no more, does not inform us in what country *Macrianus* was created emperor, nor where, or how long, he reigned; and, as to the other hiſto-

MACRIANUS no ſooner ſaw himſelf inveſted with the ſovereignty, than he marched with all the forces he could aſſemble into the Eaſt, ſays *Pollio*, that is, as we conjecture, from *Egypt* into *Syria*. He engaged ſeveral times, and defeated the *Perſians*; but looked upon *P. Valerius Valens* as a far more formidable enemy. *Valens* had been ſent by *Gallienus* into *Achaia*, or *Greece*, with the title of proconſul; but, hearing there, that *Macrianus* had been proclaimed emperor, he aſſumed the ſame title. Hereupon *Macrianus* immediately detached *Piſo*, with a competent force, to ſuppreſs this new uſurper. But *Piſo*, finding him upon his guard, and ready to receive him, retired into *Theſſaly*, and there aſſumed the title of emperor, with the ſurname of *Theſſalicus*, as appears from his medals [b]. But he did not long enjoy that empty and ſeducing title, being ſoon after murdered by ſome ſoldiers ſent by *Valens* for that purpoſe. *Valens* himſelf was ſlain a few days after by his own men; and his death, as well as that of his rival, was known at *Rome* before the twenty-fifth of *June* [c]. *Piſo*, who was deſcended from one of the moſt antient and illuſtrious families of *Rome*, was univerſally la-

Valens *proclaimed emperor in* Achaia, *and* Piſo *in* Theſſaly; *but they are both killed.*

[b] BIRAG. p. 388. [c] Trig. tyrann. p. 194, 195.

hiſtorians, *Zonaras* is the only one among them that takes any notice at all of him. That writer tells us, that the inhabitants of *Aſia* received him with extraordinary marks of joy (8). *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria* gives us room to think, that he was acknowleged in *Egypt*; and that his and his ſon's reign ended before the ninth year of *Gallienus*, that is, before the *Auguſt* of the year 262 (9). During his uſurpation happened, in all likelihood, at *Alexandria*, the diſturbances deſcribed by that writer, who was biſhop of the place. Fury and diſcord, ſays he, raged there to ſuch a degree, that it was more eaſy to paſs from the Eaſt to the remoteſt provinces of the Weſt, than from one place of *Alexandria* to another: the inhabitants had no intercourſe but by letters, which, with great difficulty, were conveyed from one friend to another: it was more dangerous to croſs the ſtreet, than the moſt tempeſtuous ſeas, the moſt dry and inhoſpitable deſerts: the port reſembled the ſhore of the *Red-ſea* ſtrewn with the carcaſes of the drowned *Egyptians*; the ſea was dyed with blood, and the *Nile* choaked up with dead bodies (1). The war was attended with a general famine, and the famine by a dreadful plague, which daily ſwept off great numbers of people, inſomuch that there were then in *Alexandria* fewer inhabitants from the age of fourteen to that of eighty, than there uſed to be from forty to ſeventy (2). Of ſuch perſons a regiſter, it ſeems, was kept; and a certain quantity of corn diſtributed among them.

(8) *Zonar. p.* 236. (9) *Euſeb. l.* vii. *c.* 23. (1) *Idem ibid. c.* 21.
(2) *Idem ibid.*

mented there on account of the merits of his anceſtors, as well as his own. He had been highly eſteemed by the emperors, nay, by *Valens* himſelf, who, upon hearing the news of his death, *What account*, ſaid he, *ſhall I give to the gods, the infernal judges, of the death of* Piſo? *The* Roman *empire has not a perſon equal to* Piſo. Upon the news of his death, it was moved in the ſenate, that divine honours might be decreed to him, as to a lawful prince; nay, ſome writers tell us, that he was actually ranked among the gods with this remarkable elogium, *That there never was a better man, nor a man of more firmneſs and conſtancy.* However that be, he was decreed a ſtatue with a triumphal chariot: the ſtatue was ſtill to be ſeen in the time of *Conſtantine*; but the chariot had been taken down, to make room for the famous baths of *Dioclesian*, and was never after ſet up again [d].

The character of Piſo.

Aureolus *made emperor in* Illyricum.

ABOUT the ſame time that *Macrianus* uſurped the empire in the Eaſt, *Manius Acilius Aureolus* was forced by the army, which he commanded in *Illyricum*, to take upon him the ſovereignty; for the ſoldiers every-where abhorred *Gallienus*, and would only obey emperors ſet up by themſelves. *Aureolus* from *Illyricum* marched into *Italy*, and made himſelf maſter of *Milan* [e]. *Gallienus*, after various unſucceſsful attempts to ſuppreſs him, was in the end obliged to come to an accommodation with him, and accept of his aſſiſtance againſt *Poſthumius*, as we ſhall relate hereafter. He was, according to *Zonaras*, a native of *Dacia*, of a mean deſcent, and in his youth a ſhepherd; but, liſting himſelf afterwards in the army, he was ſoon raiſed from the rank of a common ſoldier to the command of a body of horſe. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very eminent manner under *Gallienus*, in the battle againſt *Ingenuus*; for ſome authors aſcribe to him the whole glory of that victory [f]. This year, 261. the *Scythians* breaking anew into *Bithynia*, laid waſte the whole country a ſecond time, leveled with the ground ſeveral cities, plundered *Nicomedia*, and returned unmoleſted into their own country with a great booty, and many captives [g]. At the ſame time, that no part of the empire might be exempt from ſome ſignal calamity, the iſland of *Sicily*, leſs expoſed than other countries to the ravages of the barbarians, was miſerably haraſſed by a band of robbers, who, roving up and down, committed dreadful devaſtations, and kindled a kind of ſervile war, which was not ſuppreſſed without much difficulty and bloodſhed [h].

Bithynia *plundered by the* Scythians.

THE following year, *Gallienus* being conſul the fifth time with *Fauſtianus*, the empire was in many places afflicted by

[d] Trig. tyr. vit. c. 20. p. 194. [e] Idem, c. 10. p. 189.
Vict. epit. [f] Zonar. p. 235. [g] Gall. vit. p. 177.
[h] Idem ibid.

other calamities, beſides the wars and commotions we have mentioned. The ſun was overcaſt with thick clouds, and a great darkneſs continued for ſeveral days together, attended with a violent earthquake, and dreadful claps of thunder, not in the air, but in the bowels of the earth, which opened in many places, and ſwallowed up great numbers of people, with their habitations. The ſea, ſwelling beyond meaſure, broke in upon the continent, and drowned whole cities. The plague raged with great violence in *Greece*, *Egypt*, and eſpecially at *Rome*, where it ſwept off, for ſome time, five thouſand perſons a day. The books of the *Sibyls* were conſulted, public proceſſions ordained, ſacrifices offered to *Jupiter the author of health*, &c. but all to no purpoſe; nay, to their other calamities were added the incurſions of the *Goths* in great ſwarms into *Greece*, and of the *Scythians* into *Aſia*. The former, having made themſelves maſters of *Thrace*, over-ran all *Macedon*, and laid ſiege to *Theſſalonica*, the capital of that province, which threw all *Greece* into the utmoſt conſternation: troops were diſpatched to guard the ſtreights of *Thermopylæ*, ſo famous in hiſtory; the *Athenians* rebuilt their walls, which had lain in ruins ever ſince the time of *Sylla*; the inhabitants of *Peloponneſus* ſhut up the iſthmus from ſea to ſea; new levies were made; the troops quartered in that province drawn together, *&c.* But, in the mean time, *Macrianus* arriving in *Greece* on his march into *Italy*, fell upon the barbarians while they were attempting to enter *Achaia*, put them to flight, and obliged them to retire into their own country, whither they carried, however, great part of their booty [i]. At the ſame time the *Scythians*, that is, another party of *Goths*, croſſing the *Helleſpont* under the conduct of one *Raſpa*, committed dreadful ravages in *Aſia*, burnt ſeveral cities there, and plundered the celebrated temple of *Diana* at *Epheſus*, ſo much reſpected by the pagans, and ſo famous for its rich ornaments, and immenſe wealth [k]. Thus was the deſtruction of the moſt illuſtrious monuments of paganiſm begun by the *Goths*, who were themſelves pagans; and we ſhall ſee them in the two following centuries complete what they now begin. In this irruption they ruined the city of *Chalcedon*; deſtroyed the poor remains of antient *Troy*, and the famous *Ilium*; and, repaſſing the *Helleſpont*, laid waſte all *Thrace*, and returned to their own country with an immenſe booty [l].

The empire afflicted with a plague, famine, earthquakes, &c.

New irruptions of the Scythians,

who plunder the temple of Diana *at* Epheſus.

In the mean time *Macrianus*, having ſettled the affairs of *Syria*, left there his younger ſon *Quietus*, with *Baliſta*, to guard that province againſt the *Perſians*; and ſet out for

[i] Gall. vit. p. 177. [k] Idem, p. 177, 178. Jornand. rer. Goth. c. 20. [l] Jornand. ibid.

Italy, with his eldeſt ſon *Macrianus*, at the head of forty-five thouſand men, to try his fortune againſt *Aureolus* in *Illyricum*, and *Gallienus* at *Rome*. He was met by the forces of the former, either in *Illyricum*, or on the borders of *Thrace*; whereupon a battle enſued, in which *Macrianus* and his ſon being killed, their whole army ſubmitted to *Aureolus*, and were incorporated in his troops [m]. The news of their defeat and death were no ſooner heard in the Eaſt, than moſt cities there revolted from *Quietus*, who thereupon ſhut himſelf up with *Baliſta* in the city of *Emeſa*, whither *Aureolus*, to complete his victory, ſent ruffians to diſpatch him. But, before their arrival, *Odenatus* had beſieged the place; which ſo terrified the inhabitants, and the gariſon, that they killed *Quietus*, threw his head over the walls, and then ſubmitted to *Odenatus*. *Macrianus* and his children being thus cut off, *Gallienus* was acknowleged anew in *Egypt* and *Syria*; for *Odenatus*, tho' maſter of almoſt all the Eaſtern provinces, acted, or at leaſt pretended to act, in his name [n]. He had no ſooner withdrawn his troops from before *Emeſa*, than *Baliſta*, whom he had ſpared on account of his adviſing the inhabitants to murder *Quietus*, aſſumed the title of emperor, and put ſuch numbers of the citizens of *Emeſa* to the ſword, no doubt for refuſing to acknowlege him, that the unhappy city was almoſt turned into a deſert [o]. We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of him hereafter; for he ſeems to have reigned at *Emeſa* three years.

Macrianus *and his eldeſt ſon defeated and killed by* Aureolus.

Baliſta *aſſumes the title of emperor,*

Year of the flood 2700. Of Chriſt 262. Of Rome 1010.

ABOUT the ſame time *Æmilianus*, ſtiled on the antient medals *Tiberius Ceſtius Alexander Æmilianus* [p], commander of the legions in *Egypt*, took upon him the title of emperor, hoping, by thus openly revolting from *Gallienus*, who was no leſs abhorred in *Egypt*, than in the other provinces, to appeaſe the populace of *Alexandria*, who had riſen upon a very trifling occaſion, and inveſted the houſe where *Æmilianus* lodged, threatening him with preſent death. He no ſooner proclaimed himſelf emperor, in oppoſition to *Gallienus*, than the rage of the incenſed multitude aſſwaged, and the whole city of *Alexandria*, with loud acclamations, acknowleged him for their ſovereign. He immediately ſeized all the corn in the public granaries, and, by that means, occaſioned a famine in ſeveral provinces. He viſited in perſon the moſt diſtant parts of *Egypt*, redreſſed many grievances, repulſed with great vigour the neighbouring barbarians (which procured him the name of *Alexander*), and was preparing for an expedition

and likewiſe Æmilianus.

[m] ZONAR. p. 236. Trig. tyran. c. 10. Gall. vit. p. 176.
[n] Gall. vit. p. 179. Trig. tyran. c. 14. [o] Gall. vit. p. 176.
[p] GOLTZ. p. 115.

into

into *India*, when the troops ſent againſt him by *Gallienus* arrived in *Egypt* [q], as we ſhall relate hereafter. This year *Gallienus*, agreeing with *Aureolus*, marched into *Gaul* with him and *Claudius*, who ſucceeded him in the empire, to make war upon *Poſthumius*, who had reigned three years undiſturbed. As *Poſthumius* was greatly beloved, and vigorouſly ſupported by the *Gauls*, the war laſted ſome years. *Gallienus* was defeated in the firſt general engagement of this year, and *Poſthumius* in the ſecond, after having loſt the flower of his troops. But *Aureolus*, who was ſent to purſue him, having ſuffered him to eſcape, when he might have eaſily taken him, he levied new forces, and began the war with freſh vigour [r].

Gallienus *makes war upon* Poſthumius *in* Gaul.

GALLIENUS, however, quitting *Gaul* the following year, when *Albinus* and *Dexter* were conſuls, returned to *Rome*, and from thence haſtened into the Eaſt, where he wreaked his rage on the city of *Byzantium*; but, upon what provocation, *Trebellius Pollio*, who deſcribes the miſerable condition to which that place was reduced, has not thought proper to acquaint us. All we know is, that *Gallienus*, as ſoon as he appeared before it, loſt all hopes of ever being able to maſter it; but, being nevertheleſs admitted, the day after his arrival, within the gates, upon terms, without any regard to the agreement, he cauſed the gariſon, and all the inhabitants, to be put to the ſword. Not one perſon, ſays *Trebellius Pollio*, was left alive in the place [s] (G). From *Byzantium Gallienus* returned to *Rome*, where he celebrated the tenth year of his reign with extraordinary pomp, and a kind of triumph, in which were led mock-captives, dreſſed like *Goths*, *Sarmatians*, *Franks*, and *Perſians*. During this ſhew, ſome perſons of humour, mixing with thoſe who perſonated the *Perſians*, viewed with great attention their faces, examined their dreſs, and ſeemed to betray great ſurprize. Being in the end aſked, what they wanted, *We are looking*, ſaid they, *for the emperor's father*; which ſo incenſed *Gallienus*, that he commanded them immediately to be burnt alive [t].

The Byzantines *ſlaughtered by* Gallienus.

THIS year a new tyrant ſtarted up, by name *P. Sempronius Saturninus*. He was a man of great parts, and renowned for his victories over the barbarians. Hiſtory does not inform

Saturninus *aſſumes the title of em-*

[q] Trig. tyr. c. 21.
[r] Gall. vit. p. 178. ZON. p. 236.
[s] Gall. vit. p. 178, 179.
[t] Ibid. p. 179.

(G) *Vorburgius* aſcribes this ſlaughter to the ſoldiers of *Gallienus*; and pretends, that the emperor left *Gaul*, and haſtened into the Eaſt, on purpoſe to revenge the ſlaughter of the *Byzantines*, and puniſh the cruelty of the ſoldiers (3).

(3) *Vorb. hiſt. Rom. Germanic. p.* 539.

peror, and is murdered by his soldiers.

us where, or how long, he reigned; but only tells us, that he performed great things while he was emperor, and was, on account of his ſeverity, put to death by the ſame ſoldiers, who had raiſed him to the empire. When he was firſt proclaimed emperor by the troops under his command, he told them, that they *had loſt a good captain, and made a bad prince* [u].

Year of the flood 2701. Of Chriſt 263. Of Rome 1011.

Towards the end of the year, *Theodotus*, a native of *Egypt*, diſpatched by *Gallienus* againſt *Æmilianus*, who reigned in that country, overcame him in a pitched battle, took him priſoner, and ſent him to *Rome*; where he was, by the emperor's order, ſtrangled in priſon, according to the antient cuſtom of putting captive princes to death. The emperor, to reward *Theodotus*, deſigned to make *Egypt* a proconſular province, and honour him with that proconſulſhip; but was diverted from it by the prieſts alleging a prediction, which had prevailed even in *Cicero*'s time; to wit, that *Egypt* would recover its antient liberty, when the faſces appeared there [w].

Æmilianus defeated, taken, and ſtrangled.

Bruchium beſieged and taken.

The faſces were carried, as is well known, before the conſuls. At this time happened, as we conjecture, the ſiege of *Bruchium*, deſcribed by *Euſebius*; *Æmilianus* himſelf, or his partiſans, having probably taken ſhelter there after the battle (H). This year the *Scythians* made a new irruption into *Aſia*; but were, with great ſlaughter, driven back into their own country by the *Roman* forces quartered in that province [x].

Gallienus declares Odenatus his partner in the empire.

THE next conſuls were *Gallienus* the ſixth time, and *Saturninus*. This year *Gallienus*, by the advice of his brother *Valerian*, and his kinſman *Lucillus*, to reward the brave *Odenatus* for the many victories he had gained over the *Perſians*, took him for his partner in the empire, honoured him with the titles of *Cæſar*, *Auguſtus*, and emperor, and all the enſigns of ſovereignty, and cauſed money to be coined with his name,

[u] Trig. tyr. vit. c. 22. p. 196. [w] Ibid. c. 21. p. 195.
[x] Gall. vit. p. 178.

(H) *Bruchium*, or, as *Euſebius* ſtiles it, *Pyruchium*, was a quarter of the city of *Alexandria* near the ſea, on the ſide of the *Pharos*, and, as it were, the citadel of that metropolis. There ſtood the royal palace, the place where the *Egyptian* ſenate or council met, the public granaries, the muſeum, and the celebrated library of the *Egyptian* kings, containing once ſeven hundred thouſand volumes, of which four hundred thouſand were burnt in *Julius Cæſar*'s time. The *Roman* army, under the command of *Theodotus*, having taken the reſt of the city, laid ſiege to this quarter, and in the end reduced it by famine (4).

(4) *Euſeb. l.* vii. *c.* 31. *p.* 285.

on

on which he was repreſented leading the *Perſians* captive. The title of *Auguſta* was given to his wife, and that of *Cæſar* to his children [y]. This action of *Gallienus* was highly applauded by the ſenate, by the people of *Rome*, and the whole empire; for to his valour was intirely owing the preſervation of the Eaſtern provinces, over-run and ſorely haraſſed by the *Perſians*. This year, 264. *Baliſta*, who had held ſome provinces in the Eaſt ever ſince the death of *Macrianus*, and his children, was at laſt killed, according to the moſt probable opinion, by a ſoldier ſent by *Odenatus* for that purpoſe [z]. Baliſta *murdered.*

Gallienus, in the ſpring of this year, left *Rome*, and marched a ſecond time in perſon againſt *Poſthumius*, who ſtill reigned in *Gaul*. At his approach, *Poſthumius* withdrew into a ſtrong-hold, which the emperor immediately inveſted; but ſoon after raiſed the ſiege, having received a wound in the back with an arrow, while he was viewing the walls [a] (I). However, *Poſthumius* ſtill maintained himſelf in poſſeſſion of great part of that country; and this year, being hard preſſed by *Gallienus*, he choſe for his collegue *M. Aurelius Pianvonius Victorinus*, as he ſtiled on the antient coins, of whom we read the following character in *Julius Aterianus*, a writer of thoſe times: No one, in our opinion, ought to be preferred to *Victorinus*, who reigned ſome time in *Gaul*: he equaled *Trajan* in bravery, *Antoninus* in clemency, *Nerva* in gravity, *Veſpaſian* in managing the public money, and *Pertinax* and *Severus* in his care of the military diſcipline: but his unbridled luſt drowned all his good qualities, and caſt ſuch a blemiſh upon his reputation, that no one dares to record the virtues of a man, whom all own to have deſerved the doom, which, in the end, overtook him [b]. Of this doom we ſhall ſpeak in its proper place. Gallienus *goes into* Gaul. Poſthumius *takes* Victorinus *for his partner.*

THE next year, *Valerian*, the emperor's brother, and *Lucillus*, his kinſman, being conſuls, the *Iſaurians*, revolting in *Aſia Minor*, choſe for their leader *C. Annius Trebellianus*, who took upon him the title of *Auguſtus*, cauſed money to be coined with his name, and reigned ſome time in *Iſauria* and *Cilicia*; but was in the end drawn by *Cauſiſoleus*, the brother of *Theodotus*, from among the rocks and mountains, where he had taken refuge, into a plain, and there defeated and *The* Iſaurians *revolt.*

[y] Gall. vit. p. 179. Goltz. p. 115. [z] Trig. tyrann. vit. c. 17. p. 193. [a] Gall. vit. p. 177. [b] Trig. tyran. c. 5. p. 186, 187.

(I) On ſeveral medals of this year, notice is taken of a victory gained by *Gallienus* in *Gaul*, and he is ſtiled the reſtorer of that province (5).

(5) *Birag. p.* 376, 377.

killed. The *Iſaurians* ranked him after his death among the gods; and, refuſing to ſubmit to *Gallienus*, whoſe cruelty they dreaded, maintained themſelves a free people in the very heart of the *Roman* empire, at leaſt till the time of the emperor *Conſtantine*, and committed dreadful ravages in *Aſia Minor* and *Syria* [c]. While *Gaul*, *Pontus*, *Thrace*, and *Illyricum*, were held either by a domeſtic or foreign enemy,

Celſus *made emperor in* Africa, *and ſoon after murdered.*

Africa too had its tyrant; to wit, *T. Cornelius Celſus*, ſet up by *Vibius Paſſienus*, proconſul of *Africa*, and *Fabius Pomponianus*, who commanded on the frontiers of *Libya*. He was but a tribune, and led at that time a retired life in the country. A lady, by name *Galliena*, nearly related to the emperor, bore a great ſhare in this revolt. *Celſus* was a man of great integrity, and worthy of the rank to which he was raiſed; but he held it a ſhort time, being killed the ſeventh day after his election. The inhabitants of *Sicca*, who had continued faithful to *Gallienus*, threw his body to the dogs, and crucified him in effigy, which, as our hiſtorian obſerves, had never been practiſed before [d]. Among the other misfortunes of this unhappy reign, we may reckon the loſs of all the conqueſts of *Trajan*, that is, of the whole province of *Dacia*, ſeized by the *Goths*, and other northern nations; and the dreadful ravages committed by the *Franks* in *Spain* (K).

Odenatus *gains great advantages over the* Perſians.

THE following year, *Gallienus* being conſul the ſeventh time, with *Sabinillus*, the brave *Odenatus*, entering the *Perſian* territories, put all there to fire and ſword, overcame *Sapor* in ſeveral battles, beſieged a ſecond time, and, according to *Syncellus*, made himſelf maſter of *Cteſiphon*. But, in the mean time, the *Goths* entering *Aſia* by the *Euxine* ſea, over-ran *Lydia*, *Bithynia*, *Phrygia*, *Troas*, *Cappadocia*, and *Galatia*, laying waſte the country, plundering the towns, and carrying off an immenſe booty, and an incredible number

[c] Trig. tyrann. c. 25. p. 198. [d] Ibid. c. 28. p. 198.

(K) *Victor* is of opinion, that they entered that province on the ſide of *Gaul* (6); but *Adrianus Valeſius* proves, from the panegyric of *Nazarius* on *Conſtantine*, that they conveyed themſelves thither by ſea (7). Be that as it will, all authors agree, that they entered *Spain*, ravaged the country far and wide, and took by ſtorm, plundered, and almoſt utterly deſtroyed, the city of *Tarraco*, which, for the ſpace of an hundred and fifty years, bore the marks of what it ſuffered at this time (8). Some of the *Franks* from *Spain* croſſed over into *Africa* (9); but what was the iſſue of that raſh undertaking, we are no-where told.

(6) *Aur. Vict. in Gall.* (7) *Val. rer. Francic. l.* i. *p.* 3, 4. (8) *Oroſ. l.* vii. *p.* 223. *Hier. chron. Eutrop. Vict.* (9) *Vict. & Val. p.* 5.

of

of captives [c]. The next year, *Paternus* and *Arceſilaus* being conſuls, *Odenatus*, leaving *Cteſiphon*, haſtened back to the relief of *Aſia*; but the *Goths*, not thinking it adviſeable to wait his arrival, reimbarked at *Heraclea* in *Pontus*, and returned home, loaded with booty. Many of them, however, were drowned, being overtaken in the *Euxine* ſea by the *Roman* fleet. All authors agree, that *Odenatus* was killed about this time; but differ both as to the place and manner of his death (L). He had begun, as appears from ſome medals [f], the fourth year of his reign. He left behind him three ſons by *Zenobia*, *Herennianus*, *Timolaus*, and *Vabalath*, or, as he ſtiled on ſome medals, *Hermias Vhaballat* [g]. As they were very young at the time of their father's death, *Zenobia* governed in their name with the title of *queen of the Eaſt*; arrayed them with purple robes, and other enſigns of the imperial dignity; and, in that attire, preſented them, after the death of their father, to the armies, and the aſſemblies of the people [h]. It is uncertain whether they were put to death by *Aurelian*, or died before [i]. From their medals it appears, that *Herennianus* reigned at leaſt two years, *Timolaus* three, and *Vhaballat* ſeven [k]. *Zenobia* did not, it ſeems, tread in the footſteps of her huſband, and keep up, as he had done, a good underſtanding with *Gallienus*. For we find, that *Heraclianus*, whom the emperor, upon the news of the death of *Odenatus*, had ſent into the Eaſt to

He is murdered.

Year of the flood 2704. Of Chriſt 266. Of Rome 1014.

His wife Zenobia governs in the name of her children.

[c] Gall. vit. p. 179. [f] Goltz. p. 115. [g] Idem, p. 116. Birag. p. 386. [h] Trig. tyrann. c. 26. p. 192. [i] Ibid. [k] Goltz. p. 116.

(L) According to *Syncellus*, he was killed at *Heraclea* (1); according to *Zoſimus*, at *Emeſa* (2). *Trebellius Pollio* writes, that he was murdered by one *Mæonius*, his couſin, who was proclaimed emperor in his room, but ſoon after put to death. *Syncellus* aſcribes his death to another *Odenatus*, who was himſelf murdered by the guards (3). Some writers ſuppoſe *Zenobia* herſelf to have aſſiſted the conſpirators underhand, being provoked againſt her huſband for preferring his eldeſt ſon *Herod*, by a former wife, to the children he had by her (4). It is certain, that *Herod* was killed with his father, who, according to ſome writers, had taken him for his partner. Such was the end of *Odenatus*, deſervedly ranked by hiſtorians among the greateſt princes that ever reigned in the Eaſt. God, ſays *Trebellius Pollio*, was angry with the *Romans*, ſince he took *Valerian* from them, and did not long preſerve *Odenatus* (5).

(1) *Syncell. p.* 382. (2) *Zoſ. p.* 651. *Trig. tyr. c.* 14, 16. (3) *Syncel. p.* 382. (4) *Trig. tyrann. c.* 16. *p.* 193. (5) *Ibid. c.* 14 *p.* 192.

make

make war upon the *Perſians*, was this very year defeated by *Zenobia*, and obliged to return to *Rome*.

Posthumius *murdered in* Gaul, *and* Lollianus *declared emperor.*

TOWARDS the end of the year, one *L. Ælianus* aſſumed the title of emperor at *Mentz*; but was ſoon overcome by *Poſthumius*, who reduced the rebellious city, but would not give it up to be plundered by his ſoldiers; who thereupon mutinied, and, tranſported with rage, murdered their brave leader, with young *Poſthumius*, his ſon. *Trebellius Pollio* aſcribes his death to *Lollianus*, who had revolted from him, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor. *Lollianus*, ſtiled on the antient coins *Spurius Servilius Lollianus* [l], was meanly born; but had raiſed himſelf in the army by his gallant conduct. He reigned in that part of *Gaul* which bordered on the *Rhine*, while *Victorinus*, whom *Poſthumius* had taken for his partner, held the reſt. But he did not long enjoy the ſovereignty, being murdered, on account of his ſeverity, by his own ſoldiers, ſtirred up by *Victorinus*, who, upon his death,

Victorinus *and his ſon murdered.*

became ſole maſter of all *Gaul*; but was ſoon after mortally wounded at *Cologne*, by one whoſe wife he had debauched. Before he died, he named his ſon *L. Aurelius Victorinus* his ſucceſſor, tho' then an infant. But the *Gauls*, not able to brook the government of a child, murdered him, and ſet up in his room one *M. Aurelius Marius*, originally an armourer,

Marius *declared emperor, and murdered; and* Tetricus *raiſed to the empire in his room.*

but a man of great valour, and extraordinary ſtrength. He was killed the third day of his reign by a ſoldier, who had formerly worked under him. The aſſaſſin ran him through with his ſword, telling him, that it was of his own making [m]. Upon his death, the troops in *Gaul* proclaimed *P. Piveſus* or *Peſuvius Tetricus* emperor. He was a *Roman* ſenator, had been conſul, and was at this time governor of *Aquitaine*. He was acknowleged in *Spain* and *Britain*, as well as in *Gaul*, and held thoſe provinces with the title of emperor till the fourth year of *Aurelian*'s reign, when he was taken and led in triumph by that prince [n], as we ſhall relate hereafter. He immediately conferred the title of *Cæſar* upon his ſon *C. Pacuvius Piveſus Tetricus*, who was then but an infant. All theſe uſurpers in *Gaul*, to wit, *Poſthumius*, *Lollianus*, *Victorinus*, *Marius*, and *Tetricus*, were ſet up by *Victorina*, or *Victoria*, the mother of *Victorinus*, who had a great intereſt in *Gaul*, and bore an irreconcileable hatred to *Gallienus*. She was honoured, probably by her ſon *Victorinus*, with the titles of *Auguſta*, and *The mother of the armies*. As ſhe was a woman of maſculine courage, and poſſeſſed of immenſe wealth, which ſhe liberally diſtributed among the ſoldiers, ſhe gave

[l] GOLTZ, p. 117. [m] Trig. tyrann. c. 7. p. 187. [n] Idem ibid. c. 23. p. 196.

the

the empire of *Gaul* to whom ſhe pleaſed, and bore under all the uſurpers, who were but her creatures, an abſolute ſway. She died during the uſurpation of *Tetricus*; but whether a natural or violent death, is uncertain; for ſome writers ſeem to inſinuate, that ſhe was privately diſpatched by his orders [o].

The irruptions of the Goths, *and the* Heruli:

THE ſame year the *Scythians*, that is, the *Goths*, ravaged anew the provinces of *Aſia*, *Bithynia*, *Pontus*, and *Cappadocia*, and thence carried back with them an immenſe booty; while the *Heruli*, paſſing from the *Palus Mæotis* into the *Euxine* ſea with five hundred veſſels, landed at *Byzantium*, and *Chryſopolis*, now *Scutari*, under the conduct of one *Naulobat*. At the latter place they were attacked and defeated by *Venerianus*, who was himſelf killed in the engagement. Notwithſtanding their defeat, inſtead of returning to their own country, they croſſed the *Boſporus*; and, ſteering their courſe towards *Cyzicus*, ſurpriſed and plundered that great and wealthy city, with part of *Aſia*, and the iſlands of *Lemnos* and *Scyros* in the *Archipelago*. Then they ſailed towards *Greece*; and, landing there, beſieged and burnt *Athens*, *Corinth*, *Sparta*, and *Argos*, and laid waſte all *Achaia*; but were in the end attacked and defeated with great ſlaughter by the *Athenians*, under the conduct of *Dexippus* the hiſtorian. However, in their retreat, they committed dreadful devaſtations in *Bœotia*, *Acarnania*, *Epirus*, and *Thrace* [p]. *Gallienus*, who was juſt then returned from *Gaul*, where he had been making war upon *Lollianus*, leaving *Aureolus* at *Milan*, haſtened into *Illyricum*; and, coming unexpectedly upon the barbarians there, gave them a total overthrow. *Naulobat*, their leader, was obliged to yield himſelf to the emperor's mercy, who treated him with great humanity; and, to gain the affections of the barbarians, even honoured him either with the conſulſhip, or the conſular ornaments [q]. *Aurelius Victor*, *Eutropius*, St. *Jerom*, *Oroſius*, and *Trebellius Pollio*, ſpeak of a great victory gained by *Gallienus* in *Illyricum* over the *Goths*, meaning, no doubt, the *Heruli*; for all the northern nations are, by ſome writers, ſtiled *Goths*, by others *Scythians*. After this victory, *Gallienus* haſtened back to *Italy*, leaving *Marcianus* in *Illyricum*, to purſue the war with the *Heruli*; which he did with no leſs courage than ſucceſs, cutting off great numbers of them, and obliging the reſt to quit their booty, and abandon the *Roman* dominions [r].

who are defeated by Gallinus.

THE revolt of *Aureolus* was what obliged *Gallienus* to return in great haſte to *Italy*. For *Aureolus*, not ſatisfied with

[o] Trig. tyrann. c. 30. p. 200. [p] Gall. vit. p. 184. SYNCELL. p. 382. Zos. p. 651. [q] Gall. vit. p. 181. SYNCEL. ibid. [r] Claud. vit. p. 208. Gall. vit. ibid.

the

the power which he already enjoyed, took advantage of *Gallienus*'s abſence, to march with all the troops under his command towards *Rome*, with a deſign to depoſe *Gallienus*, and cauſe himſelf to be proclaimed ſole emperor; for ſome writers tell us, that *Gallienus* had already taken him for his partner in the empire; while others ſtile him only the emperor's general. *Gallienus*, hearing of his march, and ſuſpecting his deſign, left *Illyricum*, and, reaching *Italy* in a few days, came up with him, defeated him in a pitched battle, and obliged him to ſhelter himſelf within the walls of *Milan*; which city *Gallienus* immediately inveſted. This happened in the beginning of the year 268. the fifteenth of *Gallienus*'s reign, when *Paternus* was conſul the ſecond time with *Marinianus* [s]. All authors agree, that *Gallienus* was killed during this ſiege; but differ both as to the manner and authors of his death. The moſt probable opinion is, that *Marcianus*, who was returned from *Illyricum*, *Heraclianus*, and *Cecrops*, a native of *Mauritania*, and commander of the *Dalmatian* cavalry, no longer able to bear his tyrannical government, conſpired againſt him, and, alarming the camp in the dead of the night, as if *Aureolus* were ſallying out with all his forces, killed him in the dark, with his ſon *Gallienus*, and his two brothers, *Valerian* and *Egnatius*. The ſoldiers, hearing the emperor was dead, and ſuſpecting he had been murdered, began to mutiny; but *Marcianus* diſtributing large ſums among them, twenty pieces of gold a man (for *Gallienus* always carried immenſe treaſures with him), the mutiny was appeaſed, and the whole army declared *Gallienus* a tyrant, and took the uſual oaths to *Claudius*, whom the conſpirators propoſed to them, as the beſt qualified man in the whole empire, to ſuſtain the name and dignity of a *Roman* emperor [t]. Such was the end of *Gallienus*, in the thirty-fifth year of his age, according to the moſt probable opinion, after he had reigned fifteen years, ſeven before, and eight after, the captivity of his father *Valerian*.

War between Aureolus *and* Gallienus.

Gallienus *murdered*; Year of the flood 2706. Of Chriſt 268. Of Rome 1016.

and moſt of his miniſters and friends condemned by the ſenate.

THE ſenate declared him a public enemy, ordered moſt of his friends, miniſters, and relations, to be thrown down headlong from the *Tarpeian* rock, and cauſed his name to be eraſed out of all public inſcriptions. He was one of the moſt wicked princes mentioned in hiſtory, and is ſaid to have equaled *Nero* in cruelty, and *Heliogabalus* in lewdneſs. He paſſed his whole time in the company of the moſt infamous proſtitutes in *Rome*, and, laying aſide all care and thought of the public, ſuffered the *Roman* dominions to be over-run by the barbarians, and the empire to be rent in pieces by the many uſurpers who

[s] Gall. vit. p. 181. [t] Ibid.

ſtarted

ſtarted up in his time, ſhewing no more concern for the loſs of a province, to uſe the expreſſion of *Trebellius Pollio*, than for that of an old garment. He exerted his cruelty chiefly againſt the ſoldiers, of whom he is ſaid to have ſometimes ordered three or four thouſand to be put to death in one day. He excluded all ſenators from military employments, and would not even ſuffer any of that illuſtrious body to appear in the camp, or among the ſoldiers. Notwithſtanding all his vices, he was a great encourager of learning, being himſelf well verſed in all the branches of polite literature, eſpecially in oratory and poetry. His hiſtorian tells us, that, on occaſion of the marriage of his brother's ſon, he made an extemporary epithalamium, which far excelled thoſe that were written at the ſame time, after many days ſtudy, by the beſt *Greek* and *Latin* poets then in *Rome* [u]. After his death, *Claudius* cauſed him, though univerſally abhorred both by the ſenate and people, to be deified with the uſual ceremonies. His body was, in all likelihood, conveyed by *Claudius*'s order to *Rome*; for *Ammianus Marcellinus* ſpeaks of his tomb on the *Appian* way, about nine miles from the city [w]. Of the few writers, who flouriſhed under him, we ſhall ſpeak in our note (M).

Gallienus generally abhorred, but deified.

As

[u] Gall. vit. p. 180. [w] Ammian. p. 472.

(M) *Palfurius Sura* wrote the hiſtory of the reign of *Gallienus* (6); and this is all we know of him. *Cæleſtinus*, and *Mæonius Aſtyanax*, quoted by ſome of the *Auguſtine* writers, are equally unknown. They all flouriſhed under *Gallienus*; for of the tranſactions of his reign they ſpeak, as of things happening in their time (7). *Voſſius* ranks them among the *Latin* hiſtorians (8). *Suidas* mentions one *Ephorus* of *Cumæ*, who wrote the hiſtory of *Galenus*, or rather, as others read, *Gallienus*, in twenty-ſeven books (9). *Voſſius* places him among the *Greek* hiſtorians, and takes him to have been a native of *Cumæ* in *Aſia* (1). He wrote other hiſtories; but none of them have reached us (2). *Trebellius Pollio* quotes a paſſage out of one *Julius Aterianus*, much to the credit and reputation of *Victorinus*, who uſurped the empire in *Gaul* (3). The ſame writer quotes another paſſage out of one *Gallus Antipater*, who wrote the hiſtory of *Aureolus*, and probably of the other tyrants: but he ſeems to have entertained a very bad opinion of him; for he calls him *a ſlave to honours*, and *the diſgrace of hiſtorians*, though the paſſage he quotes, does not, in our opinion, deſerve ſuch a ſevere cenſure (4). Under *Gallienus* flouriſhed likewiſe *Lupercus* of *Berytus*, a cele-

(6) *Gall. vit. p.* 183. (7) *Valer. vit. p.* 175. *Trig. tyrann. c.* 11. *p.* 190. (8) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. p.* 182. (9) *Suid. p.* 1111. (1) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 16. *p.* 240. (2) *Idem, l.* i. *c.* 7. *p.* 37. (3) *Trigint. tyrann. c.* 5. *p.* 187. (4) *Claud. vit. p.* 203.

brated

Claudius *proclaimed emperor.*

As ſoon as the tumult, occaſioned by the death of *Gallienus*, was appeaſed, the ſoldiers, with loud acclamations, proclaimed *Claudius* emperor. The news of what had happened at *Milan* reaching *Rome* on the twenty-fourth of *March*, the ſenate immediately aſſembled; and the letter which *Claudius* wrote to them being publicly read, they unanimouſly confirmed the election of the army, proclaimed *Claudius* emperor, and heaped upon him all the honours which had ever been conferred upon any prince, repeating forty times, *That they had always wiſhed to have* Claudius, *or ſuch a perſon as* Claudius, *for emperor* [x]. He was a native of *Illyricum*, born, according to ſome, in *Dardania*, according to others, in *Dalmatia*. Of his father and anceſtors *Trebellius Pollio* owns that he knows but very little, though, after his acceſſion to the empire, ſome flattering genealogiſts pretended to derive his pedigree from *Dardanus* and the *Trojans* [y]. On moſt medals he is ſtiled *M. Aurelius Claudius* [z]. He had no children, but two brothers, *Quintillus*, who ſucceeded him, and *Criſpus*, the father of *Claudia*, who married *Eutropius*, and had by him *Conſtantius*, the father of *Conſtantine the Great*. The name of *Conſtantine* was, it ſeems, peculiar to the family of *Claudius*; for one of his ſiſters was called *Conſtantina*, a name hitherto never mentioned in hiſtory. The preſent emperor is, by all writers, even by *Zoſimus*, an avowed enemy to *Conſtantine*, extolled as one of the beſt princes that ever ſwayed a ſceptre. He was highly eſteemed by the emperor *Valerian*, who firſt gave him the command of the fifth legion, and afterwards, at the requeſt of the ſenate, appointed him general of all the troops in *Illyricum*, which comprehended *Thrace*, *Mœſia*, *Dalmatia*, *Pannonia*, and *Dacia*. The ſame emperor deſigned to raiſe him to the conſulſhip, and give him the command of the prætorian guards. *Gallienus* ſtood in great awe of him; and, being informed that *Claudius* diſapproved of his conduct, he did all that lay in his power to attach him to his intereſt, ſent him rich preſents, and wrote to one *Venuſtus*, his particular friend, charging him, by all means, to gain *Claudius*, and remove from him all jealouſies and ſuſpicions [a]. In his letter he ſtiled *Claudius his friend and kinſman*. *Claudius* attended him in his wars againſt *Poſthumius* in *Gaul*, and the

His extraction and preferments.

[x] Claud. vit. p. 203. p. 117. Birag. p. 402.

[y] Idem, p. 206.

[z] Goltz.

[a] Claud. vit. p. 207.

brated grammarian, who wrote ſeveral grammatical pieces, and was, in many things, preferred to *Herodian* (5).

(5) *Suid. p.* 58. *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 16. *p.* 240.

Herulæ

Heruli in *Illyricum*; and was ſent by him, after the revolt of *Aureolus*, to defend the city of *Ticinum* or *Pavia*. But, in the mean time, *Gallienus* being killed, he was, though, according to ſome writers, not privy to the conſpiracy, proclaimed emperor [b].

His election was no ſooner confirmed by the ſenate, than he attacked *Aureolus*, encamped at a ſmall diſtance from *Milan*, utterly defeated the troops under his command, and took the uſurper himſelf priſoner. He deſigned to grant him his life; but the ſoldiers killed him without his orders (N). After the death of *Aureolus*, the troops that had ſerved under him acknowleged *Claudius*, who, without loſs of time, led them and the reſt of his army againſt the *Germans*, who had broken into *Italy*, and were advanced as far as the lake *Benacus*, now *Lago di Garda*, near *Verona*. There the emperor defeated them in a pitched battle, cut incredible numbers of them in pieces, obliged thoſe, who outlived the general ſlaughter, to ſave themſelves by a precipitate flight into their own country, and, returning to *Rome*, where he was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy imaginable, paſſed the remaining part of the year in ſettling affairs there; which he did with great prudence and juſtice, redreſſing all grievances, and ſuppreſſing the many abuſes and diſorders which had prevailed in the late reign.

He defeated and killed.

The Germans *defeated by* Claudius.

In the beginning of the following year he entered upon his ſecond conſulſhip, having *Paternus* for his collegue; and ſoon after ſet out from *Rome* to make head againſt the *Goths*, and other northern nations, who, to the number of three hundred and twenty thouſand fighting men, beſides women, ſervants, and children, had invaded the *Roman* dominions, and committed every-where moſt dreadful ravages, laying waſte whole provinces, burning cities, and putting all to fire and ſword. The emperor came up with them, as they were retiring, loaded with booty, through *Upper Mœſia*.

He marches againſt the Goths, *and other northern nations;*

As he was upon the point of engaging them, he wrote with his own hand the following letter to the ſenate: "I am, "conſcript fathers, in ſight of the enemy, and ready to en-

[b] Claud. vit. p. 203.

(N) The emperor raiſed a monument to his memory, cauſed his body to be honourably interred, and ordered a bridge to be built over the *Adda*, at the place where he had been killed; which, from his name, he called *Pons Aureoli*, *The bridge of* Aureolus; whence the preſent village of *Pontirolo* on the *Adda*, between *Milan* and *Bergamo*, in all likelihood, took its name (6).

(6) *Trigint. tyran. c.* 10. *p.* 190.

"gage

" gage them: they are three hundred and twenty thouſand
" ſtrong. If I overcome them, you will not, I hope, be
" ungrateful. If I ſhould not be attended with ſucceſs,
" you will remember, that I fight after the reign of *Gallie-*
" *nus*. The whole empire is quite ſpent and exhauſted,
" partly by him, and partly by the many tyrants, who, during
" his reign, uſurped the ſovereignty, and laid waſte our pro-
" vinces. We want even ſhields, ſwords, and ſpears. The
" provinces of *Gaul* and *Spain*, the main ſtrength of the
" empire, are in the hands of *Tetricus*. Our archers, to our
" great ſhame, are with-held from us by *Zenobia*. Whatever,
" therefore, we perform ſucceſsfully in our preſent circum-
" ſtances, muſt be accounted great." But, notwithſtanding theſe diſadvantages, *Claudius* advanced boldly againſt the barbarians, and, after a long and obſtinate diſpute, gained one of the greateſt victories mentioned in hiſtory; for no fewer than three hundred thouſand of the enemy were killed or taken priſoners. The emperor himſelf gave the following account of this memorable victory, in a letter, which he wrote after the battle to *Junius Brocchus*, governor of *Illyricum*: " We
" have utterly defeated an army of three hundred and twen-
" ty thouſand *Goths*, and deſtroyed their fleet, conſiſting of
" two thouſand ſail. The fields and ſhores are covered with
" ſwords, ſhields, and dead bodies. We have taken ſuch
" numbers of captives, that, not to mention the men, two
" or three women will fall to the ſhare of each ſoldier in our
" victorious army [c]." Among the priſoners were many princes, and perſons of great diſtinction. All the provinces of the empire were filled with captives, who were employed to till the ground; and every city could ſhew you, ſays *Pollio*, glorious monuments of the fortune and courage of the brave and invincible *Claudius* [d]. For this victory the emperor took the ſurname of *Gothicus* [e].

and gains a memorable victory over them.

WHILE *Claudius* was thus employed againſt the barbarians, *Zenobia*, having overcome *Probus*, who commanded ſome troops in *Egypt*, reduced that province, and, after a long ſiege, took, and utterly deſtroyed, *Bruchium*, the citadel of *Alexandria*. *Probus*, finding he could not, by any other means, eſcape falling into the hands of the victorious queen, diſpatched himſelf with his own ſword [f]. The following year, when *Antiochianus* and *Orphitus* were conſuls, the emperor, having nothing to fear from the barbarians, reſolved to march againſt *Zenobia*, who held all the provinces in the Eaſt; but was prevented by a violent plague which broke out in his army,

Zenobia *reduces* Egypt.

[c] Claud. vit. p. 204. [d] Ibid. [e] GOLTZ. p. 118.
[f] Zos. p. 654, 655.

and made a dreadful havock of his men. The emperor himself was, in the end, seized, and carried off by the raging distemper at *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, after he had reigned, according to the most probable opinion, two years, and one month [g]. In him centred, says *Trebellius Pollio*, the moderation of *Augustus*, the valour of *Trajan*, the piety of *Antoninus*, and all the virtues of the good princes who had reigned before him [h]. He may be truly said to have re-established, during his short, but glorious reign, the tottering empire, and to have restored it to its former lustre. The senate not only bestowed divine honours upon him after his death, but hung up in the place where they assembled, a shield of gold, on which was ingraved his image. This shield was still to be seen in the reign of *Constantine the Great*. The people erected to him at their own expence two statues, one of gold ten feet high, which they placed by that of *Jupiter* in the capitol, and another of silver in the forum, weighing fifteen hundred pounds, and representing the emperor in his triumphal robes [i] (O).

The death of Claudius. (2708. Of Christ 270. Of Rome 1018.)

Extraordinary honours conferred on him by the senate and people of Rome.

Upon the death of *Claudius*, the senate and people of *Rome* proclaimed his brother *Quintillus* emperor, who was then at *Aquileia*, in which city he was murdered by his soldiers, after a short reign of seventeen days, for attempting to restore, with too much severity, the discipline of the primitive times. Thus *Trebellius Pollio* [k]. But *Zosimus* [l], and *Zonaras* [m], tell us, that *Quintillus*, hearing *Aurelian* had been acknowleged emperor by the army in *Pannonia*, and finding his own troops ready to revolt, by the advice of his friends, caused his veins to be opened, and, by that means, put an end to his life and reign. Most writers speak of him as one in every respect equal to his brother. Upon his death the senate readily confirmed the election of *Aurelian*, and honoured him with the title of *Augustus*. He was, according to most writers, a native of *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*, of a mean descent, but universally admired on account of his extraordinary strength and courage. He had distinguished himself in a very eminent manner under the emperors *Valerian*, *Gallienus*, and

His brother Quintillus *proclaimed emperor; but dies soon after.*

Aurelian raised to the empire.

His extraction and preferments.

[g] Zos. p. 654. Euseb. chron. p. 138. Gruter. p. 276.
[h] Claud. vit. p. 203. [i] Ibid. p. 208. [k] Ibid. p. 206.
[l] Zos. p. 654. [m] Zonar. p. 239.

(O) *Claudius*, and not *Gallienus*, as *Spanhemius* pretends (7), was the last emperor, who assumed on his medals the titles of *high pontif*, and *tribune of the people* (8).

(7) *Spanh. l.* viii. *p.* 699. (8) *Birag. p.* 402. *Noris. de Licinii nummo, t.* 3. *p.* 49.

Claudius, in their wars with the barbarians, of whom he is ſaid to have killed with his own hand forty-eight in one engagement, and in ſeveral others nine hundred and fifty; whence ſongs were made upon his exploits, and ſung publicly by the youth on feſtival days. As there were two *Aurelians* at the ſame time in the army, and both tribunes, the ſoldiers uſed to diſtinguiſh the preſent *Aurelian* with the ſurname of *Manu ad ferrum*, that is, *Hand to the ſword*; ſo ready was he on all occaſions to draw his ſword, and encounter the enemy [n]. He was a moſt ſtrict obſerver of the military diſcipline, and uſed to puniſh with the utmoſt ſeverity the leaſt neglect of duty, and the leaſt injury offered by his ſoldiers to any of the inhabitants of the provinces, through which he marched. He was, when proclaimed emperor, commander in chief of the cavalry, to which poſt he had raiſed himſelf from the low ſtation of a common ſoldier [o]. From *Sirmium*, where he was ſaluted emperor by the whole army, after the death of *Claudius*, he haſtened to *Rome*, and was received there, both by the ſenate and people, with extraordinary demonſtrations of joy; but before he could ſettle affairs in the metropolis of the empire, he was obliged to return in great haſte to *Pannonia*, the *Goths*, notwithſtanding their late moſt dreadful overthrow, having anew broken into that province. *Aurelian* engaged them, and the battle laſted, without any conſiderable advantage on either ſide, till night, when the enemy repaſſed the *Danube*, and the next day ſent embaſſadors to ſue for peace; which *Aurelian* readily granted them, being informed, that the *Alemanni*, the *Juthongæ*, whoſe country bordered upon *Rhætia*, and the *Marcomanni*, threatened to invade *Italy* itſelf, and were committing dreadful ravages and devaſtations in ſeveral parts.

Concludes a peace with the Goths.

He defeats ſeveral German *nations;*

AGAINST them therefore *Aurelian* led the flower of his army, and, meeting them in *Vindelicia*, which comprehended all the preſent *Bavaria*, and great part of *Suevia*, he put them to flight, and deſtroyed vaſt numbers of them, as they attempted to paſs the *Danube*. Hereupon they ſent embaſſadors to the emperor, offering to renew their antient alliance with *Rome*, provided they were allowed to return unmoleſted into their own country; for *Aurelian* had cut off their retreat, and detached part of his army to guard the banks of the *Danube*. The emperor, elated with his victory, would hearken to no terms; which threw the enemy into the utmoſt deſpair. After various conſultations and debates among themſelves, they reſolved at length to enter *Italy*, ſince they could not return to their own country; and accordingly,

who nevertheleſs enter Italy,

[n] Aurel. vit. p. 210, 211.

[o] Ibid. p. 211.

finding

finding the paſſes unguarded (for *Aurelian* apprehended no attempt of that nature), they advanced, before the emperor came up with them, as far as *Placentia*. There *Aurelian* attacked them; but, after having loſt moſt of his troops, was put to flight, and utterly defeated. The barbarians, elated with ſo ſignal a victory, purſued their march, not doubting but they ſhould be able to take *Rome* itſelf, as the *Gauls* had formerly done. But, in the mean time, *Aurelian*, having rallied his diſperſed troops, and reinforced them with the legions quartered in *Illyricum*, came unexpectedly upon the enemy in the neighbourhood of *Fanum Fortunæ*, now *Fano*, and gave them a dreadful overthrow. Such of them as eſcaped from this firſt battle, were ſlain in two others, one of which was fought near *Placentia*, and the other in the plains of *Ticinum*. Thus was the whole multitude cut off to a man [p] (P).

and put the emperor's flight:

but are, in the end, all cut off.

WHILE the emperor was preparing to return to *Rome*, news were brought him, that the *Vandals* had paſſed the *Danube*, under the conduct of two of their kings, and ſeveral other princes. This obliged him to haſten to the defence of the threatened provinces. The *Vandals* retired upon his approach; the emperor, however, purſued and overtook them before they reached the *Danube*, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the reſt to ſue for peace; which he readily granted them, upon their delivering to him as hoſtages the ſons of their two kings, and ſeveral other perſons of great diſtinction. He incorporated two thouſand of their beſt men in his army, and ordered the reſt to be ſupplied with proviſions at the public expence, till they reached the *Danube* [q]. *Aurelian*, having thus happily ended the wars with the *Goths*, *Germans*, and *Vandals*, returned to *Rome*, and, in the beginning of the following year, entered upon his firſt conſulſhip, having for his collegue *Numerius Ceionius Virius Baſſus*. As ſeveral diſturbances had happened in *Rome* during his abſence, he puniſhed the authors of them with great ſeverity, and ſuch too as were accuſed of having blamed his conduct in the *German* war. *Trebellius Pollio* tells us, that though he was, in other reſpects, an excellent prince, he often ſuffered his paſſion to get the better of his reaſon, and puniſhed, with exceſſive rigour, faults which an humane prince would have overlooked. He put ſeveral ſenators to death, upon the

The Vandals *defeated.*

[p] Aurel. vit. p. 215, 216. DEXIPP. legat. p. 7——11.
[q] DEXIPP. legat. p. 12.

(P) To this day is to be ſeen at *Peſaro*, a city about five miles from *Fano*, a monument erected by the inhabitants in memory of the victory gained there by *Aurelian* over the *Germans* (9).

(9) *Gruter. p.* 276.

Aurelian *eſtranges the minds of the ſenate and people with his ſeverity.*

depoſition of a ſingle witneſs; and often gave ear to the accuſations of perſons, who deſerved no credit; which much leſſened the reputation he had gained by his exploits in the field, and eſtranged from him the minds both of the ſenate and people[r] (Q). This year, with the conſent and approbation of the ſenate, he undertook the repairing the walls of the city, which he likewiſe extended; ſo that they were near fifty miles in compaſs[s]. This great work was not accompliſhed till the latter end of the reign of *Probus*[t].

He marches againſt Zenobia.

Year of the flood 2710. Of Chriſt 272. Of Rome 1020.

THE following year, when *Quietus* and *Voldumianus* were conſuls, *Aurelian*, having ſettled affairs in *Pannonia*, *Italy*, and at *Rome*, left the city anew, and ſet out for the Eaſt, to make war upon the celebrated *Zenobia*, who, to the great diſgrace of the empire, had held, for ſeveral years, moſt of the eaſtern provinces. This queen, one of the moſt illuſtrious women mentioned in hiſtory, is ſtiled on ſeveral medals *Septimia Zenobia*[u]; whence ſome writers conclude her to have been allied to the family of the emperor *Septimius Severus*. She pretended to derive her pedigree from the *Cleopatra's* and *Ptolemies* of *Egypt*, and her family was reckoned one of the moſt conſpicuous in the Eaſt. She was well verſed in all the branches of polite literature, underſtood thoroughly the *Egyptian*, *Greek*, and *Latin* languages, and, in the knowlege of hiſtory, excelled moſt men of her time. She is even ſaid to have compiled an abridgment of the *Egyptian* and *Oriental* hiſtorians, which was in great requeſt among the learned[w]. St. *Athanaſius* writes, that ſhe profeſſed the *Jewiſh* religion[x], and is therein followed by *Abulfarajius*[y]. She married the celebrated *Odenatus*, prince of *Palmyra*, and afterwards partner in the empire with *Gallienus*. She had great ſhare in the many ſignal victories gained by her huſband over the *Perſians*, and is ſaid to have been no leſs courageous than that brave commander, and equally experienced in military affairs. Upon his death, ſhe arrayed her three ſons, *Herennianus*, *Timolaus*, and *Vhaballat*, in purple, cauſed them to be acknowleged by all the eaſtern provinces as joint emperors of *Rome*, and obli-

Her extraction, conduct, and adminiſtration.

[r] Aurel. vit. p. 116. [s] AUR. VICT. epit. Aurel. vit. p. 216. [t] Zos. p. 655. [u] BIRAG. p. 385. SPANH. p. 937. [w] Aur. vit. p. 219. [x] ATHAN. ſolit. p. 857. [y] ABUL. p. 81.

(Q) The emperor *Julian* charges him with having put many perſons to death unjuſtly (1); and *Ammianus Marcellinus* writes, that he was glad of any pretence to condemn the rich, being in great want of money to carry on the war, and pay his troops (2).

(1) *Julian. Cæſ. p.* 16. (2) *Ammian. l.* XXX. *p.* 431.

ged

ged them to conform to the *Roman* cuſtoms, and uſe not the *Greek*, which was ſpoken by other eaſtern princes, but the *Latin* tongue. As they were under age, ſhe governed in their name, with the title of *queen of the Eaſt*, for the ſpace of five, or, as others will have it, ſix years, diſcharging each duty of an excellent prince, and experienced commander, with all the prudence and intrepidity of a man. She ſhewed great wiſdom in her counſels, was ſteady in her reſolutions, kind and generous to perſons of merit, but inexorable when ſeverity was judged neceſſary. She lived with all the grandeur of a queen, imitating the pomp and magnificence of the *Perſian* monarchs, and cauſing all thoſe who approached her to fall proſtrate before her, after the manner of the *Perſian* court. She often appeared at the head of her troops, armed with an helmet, and arrayed with the imperial robes, harangued them, and marched with them ſeveral miles on foot, uſing an horſe, and ſometimes a chariot, when the marches were long, but ſeldom a litter. In imitation of the *Roman* emperors, ſhe gave magnificent entertainments, not ſcrupling, on theſe occaſions, to drink plentifully with the officers of her army, and the *Perſian* and *Armenian* embaſſadors, though otherwiſe very ſober and temperate [z].

Her exploits.

In the reign of *Gallienus*, ſhe defeated *Heraclianus*, as we have related above; and, by his overthrow, remained in peaceable poſſeſſion of all *Syria* and *Meſopotamia*, to which ſhe added *Egypt*, while *Claudius* was taken up with the *Gothic* war. Not ſatisfied with theſe acquiſitions, in the reign of *Aurelian*, ſhe ſeized on great part of *Aſia*, and attempted to reduce *Bithynia* [a]. *Aurelian*, deſirous to put an end to her uſurpation, ordered all his forces to aſſemble in *Illyricum*; and, ſetting out from *Rome* early in the ſpring of this year, 272. bent his march through *Thrace*, where he engaged, and put to flight, ſeveral barbarous nations, who had made irruptions into that province. He even paſſed the *Danube*, and in an engagement with *Caunabaud*, a *Gothic* prince, ſlew him, and five thouſand of his men [b]. Having thus defeated the *Goths*, he purſued his march to *Byzantium*, and, croſſing the *Boſporus*, entered *Bithynia*, which was held by *Zenobia*, according to *Vopiſcus*, but immediately ſubmitted. From *Bithynia* he advanced into *Cappadocia*, where the inhabitants of *Tyana* ſhut their gates againſt him; which ſo incenſed *Aurelian*, that he ſwore he would not leave a dog alive in the place. His ſoldiers attacked it with great fury; but were, in their repeated aſſaults, repulſed with conſiderable loſs by the in-

Aurelian *defeats the* Goths, *and kills one of their kings.*

[z] Trigint. tyran. c. 29. p. 198. [a] Zos. p. 655. [b] Aur. vit. p. 216.

habitants, till one of them, by name *Heraclammon*, betrayed his country and fellow-citizens to the enemy (R).

Takes Tyana *in* Cappadocia.

FROM *Tyana Aurelian* led his army ſtrait to *Antioch*, defeated the troops of *Zenobia* in the neighbourhood of that city, and entered, as it were, in triumph, the metropolis of *Syria*. This victory, however, coſt him dear; for the *Palmyrenians* (ſo the troops of *Zenobia* are ſtiled by hiſtorians) fought with incredible bravery, and the *Romans* owed the victory rather to art than valour; for, obſerving the enemy's cavalry heavily armed, they betook themſelves to flight; and, facing about unexpectedly, when they were quite ſpent with the long purſuit, put them eaſily in diſorder, and gained a complete victory [c]. From *Antioch Aurelian* purſued his march to *Emeſa*, whither *Zenobia* had retired with her army, conſiſting of ſeventy thouſand men. Under her commanded one *Zabas* or *Zabdas*, a man of great courage and experience, who had ſignalized himſelf in the *Perſian* wars in the time of *Odenatus*. After ſeveral ſkirmiſhes with various ſucceſs, both armies came to a general engagement, in which the *Roman* horſe were put to flight at the firſt onſet; but their infantry, attacking the enemy both in the front and flanks, left naked

Zenobia's army defeated.

[c] Zos. p. 655.

(R) We are told by *Vopiſcus*, that the ghoſt of the famous *Apollonius Tyanæus*, appearing to *Aurelian*, warned him not to deſtroy the place of his nativity; and that the emperor, moved by this apparition, would not ſuffer his ſoldiers to offer the leaſt injury to the inhabitants, anſwering them, when they put him in mind of his vow, not to leave a dog alive in the place, That they might kill, if they pleaſed, all the dogs, provided they ſpared the inhabitants. This anſwer was received with great applauſe by the ſoldiers themſelves, who were no leſs pleaſed, ſays *Vopiſcus*, with the humour of their general, than if he had abandoned to them all the riches of that opulent city (3). *Heraclammon*, who betrayed the place, was the only perſon whom the emperor ſuffered to be put to death. Concerning him, he wrote the following letter to *Mallius Chilo*, who was, it ſeems, the emperor's particular friend: "I "have taken *Tyana*, and ſuffered "the perſon, by whoſe favour, "and, as it were, good offices, "I took it, to be cut in pieces "by my ſoldiers. I have ſpared "the reſt; but could not endure "ſuch a traitor. Would he ever "have been faithful to me, who "betrayed his own country? "He was rich, I own it; but "his eſtate I have given to his "children, that no one might "accuſe me, as if I had put him "to death for the ſake of his "wealth (4)."

(3) *Aur. vit. p.* 217. (4) *Ibid.*

and

and expoſed by the departure of their cavalry, who were purſuing the *Romans*, obliged them, after a long and obſtinate diſpute, to give ground, and ſhelter themſelves behind the walls of *Emeſa*; which place, however, they abandoned at the approach of the victorious army, and withdrew with *Zenobia* to *Palmyra*, whither *Aurelian* purſued them cloſe, though ſtrangely haraſſed in his march by the *Syrian* robbers, who cut off great numbers of his men.

Zenobia defeated a ſecond time.

He immediately inveſted the place, hoping to carry it by repeated aſſaults; but all his efforts proving unſucceſsful, he began to batter it with an incredible number of warlike machines. The beſieged, animated by the example of their queen, not only repulſed the aggreſſors with ſhowers of arrows, darts, and ſtones, but raillied them from the walls, without ſparing the emperor himſelf (S); who being, at length, quite tired out with the toils and fatigues of ſo long a ſiege, wrote a letter to *Zenobia*, exhorting her to ſurrender, and promiſing her her life. To this letter *Zenobia* returned the following anſwer:

Palmyra beſieged.

" No man ever before you made ſuch a demand. It is not " by letters, but valour, that you muſt induce me to ſubmit. " You cannot but know, that *Cleopatra* choſe rather to die, " than live under *Auguſtus*, notwithſtanding the mighty pro- " miſes he made her. I expect daily the *Perſians*, *Saracens*, " and *Armenians*, who are all haſtening to my relief; and " what will then become of you, and your army, whom the " robbers of *Syria* have put to flight? You will then lay " aſide that pride and preſumption, with which you com- " mand me to ſurrender, as if you were the conqueror of the " univerſe[d]." *Aurelian*, piqued with this anſwer, immediately ordered a general aſſault; but was repulſed with great loſs, and obliged to give over the attempt. However, he defeated, a few days after, the *Perſians*, who were coming to the relief of the place; and partly by menaces, partly by promiſes, prevailed upon the *Armenians* and *Saracens* to join him againſt the queen, whom they were come to aſſiſt. *Zenobia*, finding

Zenobia's anſwer to Aurelian, requiring her to ſubmit.

[d] Aur. vit. p. 218.

(S) *Aurelian* owned in one of his letters, that he had never engaged a more brave and reſolute enemy; and, mentioning *Zenobia*, ſays, that ſhe did not behave like a timorous woman, but fought with all the boldneſs of a man in deſpair. " It is in- " credible, adds he, what thick " ſhowers of arrows, darts, and " ſtones, ſhe diſcharges upon us; " ſhe haraſſes us night and day " with fire from her engines, *&c.* " However, I hope the gods, " who have never yet failed to " ſecond our endeavours, will " not, on this occaſion, abandon " the cauſe of the *Roman* peo- " ple."

herſelf diſappointed as to the ſuccours which ſhe had long expected, and deſpairing of being able to hold out much longer with her own forces, reſolved to withdraw privately from the city into *Perſia*, and there ſolicit in perſon more powerful ſupplies. Accordingly ſhe ſet out in the dead of the night, with a ſmall retinue, on fleet camels, carrying with her part of her jewels and treaſures. But *Aurelian*, who was very watchful, having had timely notice of her flight, detached a party of horſe after the fugitive queen; who, coming up with her as ſhe was ready to croſs the *Euphrates* in a boat, ſeized her, and carried her back to *Aurelian*, who, from that moment, began to look upon himſelf as the conqueror and ſole lord of the Eaſt. When ſhe was brought into his preſence, he aſked her, What had prompted her to take up arms againſt, and inſult over, the emperors of *Rome?* To this queſtion the queen replied, with no leſs intrepidity than addreſs, That ſhe looked upon him indeed, who knew how to conquer, as emperor; but, as for *Gallienus*, *Aureolus*, and ſuch as reſembled them, ſhe had never thought them worthy of that name [e].

Zenobia taken, and brought to Aurelian. Year of the flood 2711. Of Chriſt 273. Of Rome 1021.

THE city of *Palmyra* ſtill held out, and ſome were againſt ſubmitting upon any terms whatſoever; but others ſued for mercy, and, upon the emperor's promiſing to grant them their lives, opened their gates to the conqueror, who ſpared the inhabitants, but ſtripped the city of all its wealth, and appointed one *Sandarion* governor of the place, with five hundred archers, and other troops, under his command [f]. After this, the emperor returned to *Emeſa*, carrying with him the captive queen, whoſe death the ſoldiers demanded with loud clamours; but the emperor thought it beneath him to ſpill the blood of a woman, the more, becauſe ſhe had with great care defended the eaſtern provinces againſt the *Perſians*, and other neighbouring nations, ready to ſeize them during the domeſtic diſturbances that prevailed in every part of the empire [g] (T).

The city of Palmyra *ſubmits.*

The

[e] Trigint. tyran. c. 29. p. 199. [f] Aur. vit. p. 219.
[g] Ibid.

(T) The emperor likewiſe ſpared *Vhaballat*, the queen's youngeſt ſon (5). As for the other two, *Herennianus* and *Timolaus*, *Pollio* tells us in one place, that it is uncertain whether they died a natural or violent death (6); and elſewhere, that they were led in triumph with the queen their mother (7). All writers agree, that *Aurelian* cauſed many per-

(5) *Zoſ.* p. 661. *Birag.* p. 385. (6) *Trig. tyran.* c. 26. p. 198.
(7) *Idem*, c. 23. p. 196.

ſons

The fame of this victory ſoon reached the moſt diſtant nations, and they all ſtrove with ſolemn embaſſies, and rich preſents, to gain the friendſhip of the conqueror of *Zenobia* (U). *Aurelian*, having thus recovered, and ſettled in peace, the eaſtern provinces, returned by *Chalcedon* and *Byzantium* into *Europe*, carrying with him his illuſtrious captive.

All the eaſtern and ſouthern nations court the friendſhip of Aurelian.

He defeated, on his march through *Thrace*, the *Carpi*, who had broken into that province; but at the ſame time he was informed, that the inhabitants of *Palmyra* had revolted, put the *Roman* governor and gariſon to the ſword, and proclaimed a kinſman of *Zenobia*, named *Achilleus*, or, as *Zoſimus* calls him, *Antiochus*, their ſovereign. Upon this intelligence, the emperor, with great expedition, haſtened back into *Syria*; and, arriving at *Palmyra* before the inhabitants had any notice of his march, he took the city without oppoſition, and put all the inhabitants to the ſword, without diſtinction of ſex, age, or condition [h]. He had not yet quitted the Eaſt, when news were brought him, that *Egypt* had revolted, and ſet up for emperor one *Firmus*, or rather *Firmius*, as he is ſtiled on ſuch of his medals as have reached our times [i]. He was a native of *Seleucia* in *Syria*; but poſſeſſed an immenſe eſtate in *Egypt*, and carried on an advantageous trade with the *Saracens*, the *Blemyes*, a people of *Ethiopia*, and the inhabitants of *India*; for he uſed to boaſt, that, with his gains only upon paper and glue, he could maintain a whole army. *Vopiſcus* relates wonderful things of his ſtrength and appetite. He was

Palmyra *revolts; but is retaken, and all the inhabitants put to the ſword.*

The revolt of Firmus.

[h] Aur. vit. p. 219. [i] Goltz. p. 119. Spanh. l. vii. p. 599.

ſons of diſtinction to be executed at *Emeſa* for ſiding with *Zenobia*, and ordered others to be thrown overboard, when he croſſed over from *Chalcedon* to *Thrace*. Among the former was the celebrated philoſopher *Longinus*, of whom hereafter.

(U) Among theſe are mentioned the *Blemyes*, the *Auxumites*, the inhabitants of *Arabia Felix*, the *Bactrians*, *Iberians*, *Albanians*, *Saracens*, *Armenians*, *Ethiopians*, *Indians*, *Perſians*, and even the *Seres* or *Chineſe*. *Hormiſdas*, or, as *Eutychius* calls him, *Hormoz al Horri*, who had ſucceeded his father *Sapor* in the kingdom of *Perſia*, ſent to the emperor, amongſt other preſents, a chariot covered all over with gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones of an ineſtimable value, and a ſcarlet mantle of ſuch a lively colour, that the *Romans* had never ſeen any but what came infinitely ſhort of it. *Aurelian*, and after him *Probus* and *Dioclefian*, taken with its extraordinary brightneſs and beauty, ſent, but to no effect, perſons into the Eaſt, on purpoſe to diſcover the art of dying to ſuch an extraordinary perfection (8).

(8) *Aur. vit. p.* 218.

greatly

greatly attached to *Zenobia*, and, to keep up her party and intereſt, aſſumed the title of *Auguſtus*, made himſelf maſter of *Egypt*, and ſtopped the corn which it uſed to ſend yearly to *Rome*. *Aurelian* marched againſt him with that expedition which was peculiar to him; and, being attended with his uſual ſucceſs, overcame the uſurper, ſtormed a ſtrong-hold to which he fled, and, having taken him priſoner, cauſed him to be publicly executed [k].

HAVING thus ſuppreſſed all troubles in the Eaſt, he returned the ſecond time to *Europe*, with a deſign to recover, and reunite to the empire, the provinces of *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*, which were ſtill held by *Tetricus*. This he eaſily compaſſed, *Tetricus* himſelf, no longer able to bear the continual diſorders and mutinies of his troops, inviting him privately into *Gaul* [l]. However, a battle was fought near *Chalons* on the *Marne*; during which, *Tetricus* voluntarily yielding to *Aurelian*, his troops, deſtitute of a leader, were cut in pieces. Thus was *Gaul*, after it had been held for the ſpace of thirteen years by different tyrants, united anew to the empire. Towards the end of this year, when *Tacitus*, afterwards emperor, and *Placidianus*, were conſuls, *Aurelian* returned to *Rome*, where he was received with the moſt magnificent triumph the city had ever beheld. There were four royal and ſtately chariots: the firſt, which had belonged to *Odenatus*, was intirely covered with ſilver, gold, and jewels; another, equally rich and magnificent, was a preſent to *Aurelian* from the king of *Perſia*; the third was *Zenobia*'s own chariot; and the fourth, which was drawn by four ſtags, had been taken by *Aurelian* from a *Gothic* prince. In the latter the emperor himſelf made his entry. Theſe chariots were preceded by twenty elephants, and great variety of wild beaſts from different countries. Next came eight hundred couple of gladiators, followed by an incredible number of captives of different nations, with their hands tied behind their backs, to wit, *Goths*, *Alans*, *Roxolans*, *Sarmatians*, *Franks*, *Suevians*, *Vandals*, *Alemans*, *Blemyes*, *Auxumites*, *Arabians*, *Eudæmonians*, *Indians*, *Bactrians*, *Iberians*, *Saracens*, *Armenians*, *Perſians*, ſuch of the *Palmyrenians* as had outlived the late ſlaughter, ſome *Egyptians* taken in the late rebellion of *Firmius*, and ten *Gothic* women, whom *Aurelian* had taken fighting in the habit of men. Theſe were followed by *Tetricus* in a ſcarlet robe, and his ſon, whom he had taken for his partner in the empire. Next to them marched *Zenobia*, whoſe uncommon beauty, noble ſtature, and majeſtic mien, attracted the eyes

Gaul *reduced.*

Aurelian's *triumph.*

[k] Aur. vit. p. 220. Zos. p. 661. [l] Trig. tyran. c. 23. p. 119.

of

of the ſpectators, and ſeemed to eclipſe the grandeur and luſtre of the emperor himſelf. She was bound with chains of gold, which other perſons bore up, appareled with the richeſt tiſſues and robes, and ſo loaded with pearls and precious ſtones, that ſhe was often obliged to halt, being ready to ſink under ſo great a burden. *Zenobia* was followed by the emperor's triumphal chariot, the ſenate in a body, the people of *Rome*, with their various ſtandards, and the victorious legions, horſe and foot, in rich and ſplendid armour, with crowns of laurel on their heads, and branches of palm-trees, the ſymbol of victory, in their hands. The ſenate, however, in the midſt of the public rejoicings, betrayed no ſmall concern to ſee *Tetricus*, one of their own body, who had even been conſul, led in triumph. In the capitol *Aurelian* ſacrificed to *Jupiter* the four ſtags that had drawn his chariot, in compliance with a vow he had made, when he took them. From the capitol he went to the palace, attended by the ſenate, and ſuch crouds of people, that the day was far ſpent before he could reach it. The next and ſeveral following days, he diverted the people with plays, races in the circus, ſhews of gladiators, combats of wild beaſts, ſea-fights in the *naumachia*, and all ſorts of entertainments [m].

His humanity towards Zenobia, and her children;

HE treated his illuſtrious captives with great humanity and kindneſs. To *Zenobia* he gave lands and poſſeſſions in the neighbourhood of *Tibur*, now *Tivoli*, ſufficient to maintain her according to her rank. On that eſtate ſhe lived, ſays *Trebellius Pollio*, like a *Roman* matron, with her children, that is, according to *Zonaras*, with her daughters, whom *Aurelian* took under his protection, and married to perſons of the firſt quality in *Rome* [n] (W). The emperor ſhewed no leſs kind-

[m] Aur. vit. p. 220. Zon. p. 240.

[n] Trigint. tyrann. c. 29. p. 198.

(W) The ſame writer adds, that *Aurelian* himſelf married one of them; which may perhaps be as true as what *Syncellus* had written before him, to wit, that the emperor gave *Zenobia* herſelf in marriage to an illuſtrious ſenator (9). Be that as it will, it is certain, that her deſcendents lived ſtill at *Rome* in great ſplendor about the latter end of the fourth century (1). *Baronius* takes the holy biſhop of *Florence*, *Zenobius*, who was cotemporary with St. *Ambroſe*, to have been of her family (2). As for her ſon *Vhaballat*, he retired into *Armenia*, where *Aurelian* gave him, it ſeems, a ſmall principality; for he coined money, and

(9) *Syncell. p.* 385.

(1) *Hier. chron.*

(2) *Baron. ad ann.* 274.

is

and towards Tetricus, *and his son.*

kindneſs to *Tetricus*, than to *Zenobia*. To make ſome amends for the injury he had done him, by leading him like a captive in triumph, he heaped many honours upon him, ſtiling him his collegue, his fellow-ſoldier, and even honouring him ſometimes with the title of emperor. He appointed him governor of *Lucania*, telling him pleaſantly, that it was more to his reputation to govern a province of *Italy*, than to reign beyond the *Alps* o. He treated with the ſame humanity and good-nature young *Tetricus*, whom he had led in triumph with his father, ſuffering him to continue in the ſenate, and leaving his eſtate untouched, which he tranſmitted to his poſterity, who lived at *Rome*, under the ſucceeding princes, in great ſplendor, eſteemed and revered by perſons of all ranks (X).

THE next conſuls were, *Aurelian* the ſecond time, and *C. Julius Capitolinus*. This year the emperor continued at *Rome*; and, being now diverted by no foreign or domeſtic wars, he applied himſelf wholly to the ſuppreſſing of ſeveral abuſes which had prevailed in the time of *Gallienus*, and which *Claudius* had not been able to obviate during his ſhort reign.

Several regulations made by Aurelian.

He made ſeveral regulations, which gained him the affections of the people, whom he had eſtranged from him, in the beginning of his reign, with his cruelty, to which he had naturally a great byas. To the bounties of the emperors his predeceſſors, who had eſtabliſhed funds for diſtributing bread and oil among the people, he added a certain portion of hogs-fleſh to be given with the bread and oil; and increaſed the latter largeſs by the addition of an ounce to each pound. He even deſigned to eſtabliſh a fund for diſtributing a certain quantity of wine among them; but was either prevented by death from putting his deſign in execution, or, as others write, diverted from it by the captain of the guards, who told him, that, if he allowed the populace wine, they would next expect geeſe and chickens p (Y). He appointed, that *Egypt* ſhould ſupply the city

Year of the flood 2712. Of Chriſt 274. Of Rome 1022.

o EUTROP. AUR. VICT. epit.

p Aurel. vit. p. 225.

is ſtiled on ſome of his coins, which are ſtill to be ſeen, Vhaballat *of* Armenia, and on others, Vhaballat *king of the* Verimi, probably an obſcure people of *Armenia* (3).

(X) In the houſe of the *Tetrici*, on mount *Cœlius*, was ſtill to be ſeen, in the time of *Conſtantine the Great*, a moſt beautiful piece, repreſenting in moſaic work the father and ſon delivering up a ſceptre to *Aurelian*, and *Aurelian* reſtoring to them the ſenatorial robes, and veſting them with their former dignity (4).

(Y) When he left *Rome*, to

(3) *Birag. p.* 407. *Golix. p.* 116. *p.* 196, 197.

(4) *Trig. tyrann. c.* 23, 24.

make

city of *Rome* yearly with a certain quantity of glaſs, paper, linen, and ſeveral other things, that were either the natural growth of, or manufactured in, that country[q]. He cauſed wharfs to be built along the banks of the *Tiber*, and the chanel of that river to be cleanſed, and dug deeper.

His generoſity.

BUT nothing more obliged perſons of all ranks, than his generouſly remitting whatever was owing this year by private perſons to the exchequer, and his publicly burning in the forum of *Trajan* all the papers, bonds, and regiſters, relating to ſuch debts. At the ſame time he publiſhed an act of oblivion with reſpect to all crimes committed againſt the ſtate to that day. From that time forward he puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity ſuch as accuſed others, without being able to make good their charge[r]. He enacted many wholſome laws, by which he is ſaid to have purged *Rome* of all profeſſed lewdneſs, irreligion, and wicked arts. Finding that eunuchs began to be ſold at a very great rate, he fixed the number which each perſon might keep of ſuch ſlaves, according to their different ranks. He enacted moſt ſevere laws againſt adultery, and puniſhed with death one of his own domeſtics guilty of that crime. He would ſuffer none to keep women free-born for concubines. His domeſtics, freedmen, and ſlaves, he kept in great awe, cauſing them, as he was naturally inclined to cruelty, to be inhumanly beaten in his preſence for the ſmalleſt faults, and delivering them up, when guilty of tranſgreſſing the laws, to the civil magiſtrates[s]. He deſigned to forbid all tiſſue of gold, and gilding, pretending, that in nature there was as great a ſtock of gold, as of ſilver; and that the former metal, if ſuch a prohibition ſhould take place, would become as common as the latter. This prohibition, however, was not publiſhed by him, but by his ſucceſſor *Tacitus*, who is ſuppoſed to have ſuggeſted it to him[t]. About this time he built and conſecrated a moſt magnificent temple to the *Sun*, of which frequent mention is made in hiſtory; and embelliſhed it with moſt rich and coſtly ornaments, and with an infinite quantity of gold, pearls, and precious ſtones. It was one of

He builds a magnificent temple to the Sun.

[q] Aurel. vit. p. 224. [r] Ibid. p. 222. [s] Ibid. p. 224. [t] Ibid. & Tacit. vit. p. 230.

make war upon *Zenobia*, he promiſed to give to each man among the people a crown weighing two pounds, if he returned conqueror. The people thought he meant crowns of gold; but, when they challenged his promiſe, the emperor cauſed loaves to be made of the fineſt flour in the form of crowns, each weighing two pounds; and diſtributed them daily among the people ſo long as he lived, as he frequently did money and cloaths.

the

the moſt ſtately and magnificent ſtructures in *Rome*. The gold veſſels belonging to it weighed fifteen hundred pounds. He likewiſe enriched the capitol, and moſt of the temples in the city, with preſents of great value ſent him by foreign princes [u]. He extended the juriſdiction of the pontifs, increaſed their revenues, and eſtabliſhed funds for the repairs of the temples, and the ſalaries of the inferior miniſters.

A great ſedition in Rome.

TOWARDS the end of the year, a dangerous ſedition was raiſed in *Rome* by the perſons employed in the mint, who, having, by a notorious breach of truſt, coined a great quantity of falſe money, to avoid the puniſhment due to their crime, joined in a body, and, under the conduct of one *Feliciſſimus*, formerly a ſlave, but appointed by *Aurelian* one of the receivers of the exchequer, raiſed ſuch diſturbances, that the emperor was obliged to order his troops to march againſt them, whom they received drawn up in battle-array on mount *Cælius*; killed ſeven thouſand of them; but were in the end, though they fought with all the boldneſs of men in deſpair, overcome, and puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity, not to ſay cruelty. After this the emperor called in all the falſe coin, and gave true money in its room [w]. Soon after this ſedition, he put ſeveral ſenators to death, and likewiſe the ſon, or, as others will have it, the daughter, of his own ſiſter, for faults not ſpecified in hiſtory, but only ſaid not to have deſerved ſuch a ſevere puniſhment [x].

Aurelian *marches into* Gaul, *to appeaſe ſome diſturbances there.*

TOWARDS the cloſe of this, or the very beginning of the following year, when *Aurelian* was conſul the third time, with *Marcellinus*, ſome diſturbances happened in *Gaul*, which obliged the emperor to quit *Rome*, and haſten thither. All we know of this expedition is, that *Gaul* was reſtored to its former tranquillity; and that the emperor, marching from that province into *Vindelicia*, obliged the barbarians, who had made an irruption on that ſide, to repaſs the *Danube* [y] (Z). From *Vindelicia* the emperor marched into *Illyricum*; and there find-

[u] Aur. vit. p. 217, 222. Zos. p. 661. [w] Aur. vit. p. 222. Zos. p. 665. [x] Aur. vit. ibid. AUR. VICT. epit.
[y] Aur. vit. p. 221. ZON. p. 240.

(Z) A modern writer (5) is of opinion, that the emperor, before he left *Gaul*, rebuilt the city of *Orleans*, which, at leaſt ever ſince the fifth century, has been called by the *Latin* writers *Aureliani urbs*, and *urbs Aurelianorum*: its antient name was *Genabum* or *Cenabum*. *Gregory* of *Tours* tells us, that he likewiſe either built or fortified the city of *Dijon*, at preſent the capital of *Burgundy* (6).

(5) *Le Maire, antiq. d'Orleans, c. 3. p. 9.* (6) *Greg. p. 172.*

ing

ing the province of *Dacia* in the hands of the barbarians, who had ſeized it in the reign of *Gallienus*, he did not think it worth his while to recover a country, which, he was well appriſed, he could not maintain in the midſt of ſo many barbarous nations. He therefore withdrew the *Roman* troops from the few forts they ſtill held beyond the *Danube*, and gave to the inhabitants, who had been driven out by the barbarians, part of *Mœſia* and *Dardania* to ſettle in (A).

He abandons to the barbarians the province of Dacia.

FROM *Illyricum* the emperor marched into *Thrace*, with a deſign to paſs the winter there, and early in the ſpring to croſs over into *Aſia*, and lead his army againſt the *Perſians*, upon what provocation, hiſtory does not inform us. But, while he was wholly bent upon this war, death overtook him, and put a period to this, and his other vaſt deſigns. Hiſtorians give us the following account of his unhappy end: He ſuſpected *Mneſtheus*, one of his freedmen ond ſecretaties, of ſome extortion, and had threatened to puniſh him. Hereupon *Mneſtheus*, probably conſcious to himſelf of the crime laid to his charge, and well acquainted with the emperor's cruel and inflexible temper, reſolved to prevent his deſign. Accordingly, counterfeiting his maſter's hand, he wrote a roll of the names of the chief officers in the army, and, among the reſt, his own; and, ſhewing it to thoſe whoſe names he had ſet down, told them, that he had found it in the emperor's cloſet; that they were all doomed to deſtruction; and that only by ſome deſperate attempt they could avert their impending ruin. They all believed him, and, prompted partly by fear, partly by indignation, to ſee their ſervices thus rewarded, took, without heſitation, the reſolution ſuggeſted to them by *Mneſtheus*; and a few days after, as the army was marching to a place named *Cænophrurium*, that is, the *new caſtle*, half-way between *Byzantium* and *Heraclea*, they fell upon the emperor ſword in hand, while he was attended only by a ſmall guard, and diſpatched him with many wounds (B). The emperor muſt have known to us by the name of *Sofia*, but called by the inhabitants *Triadizza* (7). The *Goths*, it ſeems, poſſeſſed themſelves of the country which the emperor had abandoned.

A conſpiracy formed againſt him.

He is murdered.

Year of the flood 2713. Of Chriſt 275. Of Rome 1023.

(A) Thus out of theſe two countries he formed a new province, called by ſome the *Aurelian Dacia*, by others *New Dacia*, to diſtinguiſh it from *Trajan*'s *Dacia*, which lay beyond the *Danube*. The metropolis of this new province, which, according to *Sanſon*, comprehended the moſt diſtant parts of *Bulgaria* and *Servia*, was *Sardica*, now

(B) *Vopiſcus* writes, that he fell by the hand of *Mucapor*, who, it ſeems, was a man of rank, ſince he is ſtiled general; and a letter is ſtill extant written to him

(7) *Aur. vit. p.* 222. *Lactant. perſec. c.* 9. *p.* 8. *Syncell. p.* 385.

have been killed about the latter end of *January*; for his death was known at *Rome* on the third of *February* of this year 275. ſo that he had reigned five full years; and lived, according to the moſt probable opinion, ſixty-three [z]. His death did not remain unpuniſhed; for the officers, who had killed him, finding, ſoon after his death, that they had been impoſed upon by *Mneſtheus*, threw him to the wild beaſts, and built a magnificent temple and tomb to the honour of the deceaſed emperor, in the place where he had been killed, the whole army ſolemnizing his obſequies with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence. All thoſe who had had any hand in his death were either cut in pieces on the ſpot by the enraged ſoldiery, or afterwards executed under his ſucceſſors *Tacitus* and *Probus*. His death was much lamented by the ſenate, who, at the requeſt of the army, ranked him among the gods; but more by the people, whom he had obliged with more bounties and largeſſes than any of his predeceſſors had done.

His character.

AURELIAN is commonly ſtiled the reſtorer of the empire, which, after the evils it had ſuffered by the captivity of *Valerian*, and indolence of *Gallienus*, began to revive under *Claudius*, and was by *Aurelian* reſtored to its former ſtrength and luſtre. He delivered *Italy* from the incurſions of the *Alemanni*, reſcued the Eaſt from the ſhameful yoke of a woman, humbled the *Perſians*, ſtill elated with the captivity of *Valerian*, reunited *Gaul* to the empire, and reſtored to *Rome Thrace* and *Illyricum*, over-run and oppreſſed by the barbarians. His arms were dreaded, and his friendſhip courted, by the moſt diſtant nations. He was a prince of great bravery, prudence, and generoſity; but, as his exceſſive cruelty overbalanced all his other good qualities, he is by *Vopiſcus*, and moſt other writers, ranked not among the good, but the uſeful princes (C). Of the

[z] Aur. vit. p. 221. AUR. VICT. epit. Zos. p. 661.

by *Aurelian*, wherein the emperor gives him an account of the vigorous oppoſition he met with from *Zenobia* at the ſiege of *Palmyra* (8).

(C) Of *Aurelian*, *Victor* the younger obſerves, that he appeared in public with a diadem on his head, which no emperor had dared to do before him. *Jornandes* writes, that *Diocleſian* was the firſt *Roman* emperor who preſumed to wear that royal ornament (9). But that he, and not *Victor*, was miſtaken, appears from one of the duke of *Arſchot*'s medals, on which *Aurelian* is repreſented with a crown on his head reſembling our ducal crowns (1). The ſucceeding princes followed his example; but the diadem was not commonly worn till the time of *Conſtantine*.

(8) *Aur. vit. p.* 218. (9) *Jorn. reg. c.* 23. *p.* 445. (1) *Arſchotana numiſm. Croii ducis, tab.* 63. *Antwerp. ann.* 1604. *Spanhem. lib.* viii. *p.* 682, 683.

writers who flouriſhed under this prince, we ſhall ſpeak in our note (D).

As

(D) Under *Aurelian* flouriſhed two celebrated philoſophers, *Longinus* and *Amelius*. The former, named *Caſſius Longinus*, and likewiſe *Dionyſius*, which name is prefixed to his treatiſe on the ſublime, is by moſt writers thought to have been a native of *Athens* (2). From *Vopiſcus* it appears, that he could not write in the *Syriac* tongue (3); and conſequently, that he was not by birth a *Syrian*, as ſome have aſſerted. His family, it ſeems, came originally from that country (4); for his mother *Frontonides* was ſiſter to *Fronto* of *Emeſa* in *Phœnicia*, who taught rhetoric at *Athens* in the reign of *Severus*, publiſhed many works, and, dying in that city, bequeathed his eſtate to his nephew (5). *Longinus*, when he was yet very young, traveled with his father into ſeveral countries; which gave him an opportunity of becoming acquainted with all the great philoſophers of thoſe times. In one of his works, which *Porphyrius*, his epitomizer, has conveyed to us, he names ſeveral philoſophers of different ſects, among whom the moſt famous are *Plotinus*, his diſciple *Amelius*, *Ammonius* a Chriſtian philoſopher, and one *Origenes*. *Longinus* was a long time the diſciple of the two latter (6). He profeſſed and taught the philoſophy of *Plato*, and had the celebrated philoſopher *Porphyrius* for his diſciple, who tells us, that he and ſome other philoſophers were feaſted at *Athens* by *Longinus*, on *Plato*'s birthday (7). *Longinus* was not only a great philoſopher, but the beſt critic and orator of his age, and ſo well verſed in the various branches of literature, that he was commonly ſtiled *a treaſure of knowlege*, and *a living library* (8). He was a man, ſays *Eunapius*, of an extraordinary diſcernment in diſcovering beauties and faults in the writings of others, and therein ſurpaſſed all men (9). He was charged, ſays that writer, without telling us by whom, to write critical diſſertations on the works of the antients; and his judgment was preferred to what others had written on the ſame ſubject before him (1). He tanght *Zenobia* the *Greek* tongue, eſpouſed her cauſe with great warmth againſt *Aurelian*, and was ſuppoſed to have dictated the letter which that princeſs wrote to the emperor during the ſiege of *Palmyra*. That letter ſo provoked *Aurelian*, that, upon the reduction of the place, he cauſed the ſuppoſed author of it to be put to death; which he ſuffered with great firmneſs and intrepidity, comforting thoſe who were affected with his misfortune. This baſe revenge reflected no ſmall diſhonour on *Aurelian* (2); for the loſs of ſo great a man was looked upon as a public calami-

(2) *Johnſ. l.* iii. *c.* 14. *p.* 284. (3) *Aur. vit. p.* 219. (4) *Suid.* 1088. (5) *Idem ibid.* (6) *Plot. vit. p.* 13. (7) *Euſeb. præpar. evang. l.* x. *c.* 3. *p.* 464. *Plot. vit. p.* 14. (8) *Eunap. c.* 2. *p.* 17. *Plot. vit. p.* 13. (9) *Eunap. c.* 2. *p.* 16, 17. (1) *Idem ibid.* (2) *Aur. vit. p.* 219. *Zoſ. l.* i. *p.* 659.

As all the chief officers in the army had been concerned in the death of *Aurelian*; the ſoldiers, by whom he was greatly beloved,

ty (3). He left many works behind him, very uſeful, ſays *Zoſimus* (4), to ſuch as deſire to be inſtructed in the ſciences, and which were admired by all the world. He muſt have begun to write very early, if what *Porphyrius* aſſerted be true, to wit, that *Origen*, who died in 253. read with application his works (5). *Euſebius* quotes a paſſage out of one of his works, ſhewing the abſurdity of the opinion of the Stoics concerning the ſoul (6). *Porphyrius* mentions a work of his upon vehemence, inſcribed to *Porphyrius* himſelf, and to one *Cleodamus* (7); and the preface of another upon the Supreme Being, addreſſed to one *Marcellus*, wherein he confuted the opinions of *Plotinus* and *Amelius* (8), quoting a work which he had written againſt *Porphyrius* himſelf, for his having preferred the opinion of *Plotinus* to what he had learnt of him concerning ideas: in the ſame preface he made mention of a long letter, which he had written to *Amelius* againſt ſome particular ſentiments of *Plotinus*, and upon *Plato*'s opinion touching juſtice (9). *Porphyrius* gives us the abſtract of a letter which *Longinus* wrote to him about the year 270. deſiring him to ſend him the works of *Plotinus*, and to leave *Sicily*, where *Porphyrius* then was, and come to him in *Phœnicia*. *Porphyrius* adds, that, if his affairs had allowed him to go thither, *Longinus* would have better underſtood the ſentiments of *Plotinus*, and ſaved himſelf the trouble of confuting them (1). The ſame writer quotes three other works of *Longinus*, to wit, on principles, or firſt cauſes, on the love of antiquity, and on men of letters (2). *Suidas* mentions ſeveral philological pieces publiſhed by *Longinus* (3); but takes no notice of his treatiſe on the ſublime, the only intire work of *Longinus* which has reached our times, and fully anſwers the great idea which the antients raiſe in us of its author. *Cæcilius*, who flouriſhed in the time of *Auguſtus*, wrote a treatiſe on the ſublime; but contented himſelf only with ſhewing in what true ſublimity conſiſted, without preſcribing any rules leading us to the attainment of it, which is the chief ſubject of *Longinus*'s treatiſe, handled in a manner worthy of ſo great a writer. Among the inſtances he alleges of thoſe who have written in a ſtile truly ſublime, and ſuitable to the greatneſs of their ſubject, he ſpeaks of *Moſes* thus: "The "*Jewiſh* legiſlator, who was no "common man, having filled "his mind with ſublime notions "of the grandeur and power of "God, expreſſed them, at the "beginning of his laws, in a "ſtile anſwering the mighty ſub-"ject; God ſaid, Let there be

(3) *Eunap.* c. 2. p. 17. (4) *Zoſ.* l. i. p. 659. (5) *Euſeb.* l. vi. c. 19.
(6) *Idem, præp. evang.* l. xv. c. 20. p. 822. (7) *Plot.* vit. p. 10.
(8) *Idem*, p. 13, 14. (9) *Idem ibid.* (1) *Plot.* vit. p. 15.
(2) *Idem*, p. 9. *Johnſ.* l. iii. c. 14. p. 284. (3) *Suid.* λ. p. 50.

"light,

beloved, not able to prevail upon themſelves to name any of them in his room, wrote to the ſenate, acquainting them with the

" light, and there was light; Let " the earth appear, and it was " ſo (4)." *Longinus* inſcribed this work to one *Poſthumius Terentianus*, his intimate friend, and a man of letters, whom ſome writers take to be the ſame perſon with *Terentianus Maurus*, who publiſhed ſeveral works, ſome of which have reached our times. But of him we have ſpoken in the reign of *Domitian* (5); for he flouriſhed, according to *Voſſius*, under that prince.

Amelius, againſt whom *Longinus* wrote, was a philoſopher of great note among the *Platonics* (6). *Suidas* ſays, he was of *Apamea*; but *Porphyrius* aſſures us, that he was born in *Hetruria:* perhaps his family came originally from *Apamea* in *Syria*, and ſettled in *Hetruria*. *Cyrillus* of *Alexandria* ſuppoſes *Amelius* and *Gentilianus* to have been two diſtinct perſons; and quotes, for that, *Porphyrius*, who tells us in expreſs terms, that *Amelius* was likewiſe called *Gentilianus* (7). He was diſciple to *Plotinus*, and greatly attached to him; for he lived twenty-four years with him at *Rome*, from the third year of *Philip* to the firſt of *Claudius*, that is, from the year 246. to the beginning of 269 (8). He had ſtudied before under *Lyſimachus* a Stoic philoſopher (9). He was at *Apamea* in *Syria* at the beginning of the year 270. when *Plotinus* died. He was a very laborious man, and is ſaid to have compoſed an hundred volumes, containing only what he had heard of *Plotinus* in the frequent conferences that philoſopher had held with him, and others of the ſame ſect (1). In the year 263. he had not yet publiſhed any thing of his own; but, before the death of *Plotitinus*, he wrote forty books againſt magic, and the heretics called gnoſtics (2). He compoſed one in three days time, ſhewing in what chiefly the doctrine of *Plotinus* differed from that of *Numenes*. This piece he inſcribed to *Porphyrius* by a letter, which is ſtill extant (3). To him he likewiſe addreſſed ſome other works to clear up the difficulties he met with in the doctrine of *Plotinus*. *Amelius* and *Plotinus* were, in the opinion of *Longinus*, the only philoſophers, who, in his time, publiſhed works worth peruſing (4). The tenets of theſe two philoſophers were the ſame; but *Amelius* explained them more (perhaps, too much) at large; and hence probably it was, that his works were greatly neglected and undervalued by the *Platonics* themſelves about the latter-end of the following century (5). *Euſebius* (6), *Theodoret* (7), and *Cyrillus* of *Alexandria* (8), produce a paſſage out of his works, wherein he quotes

(4) *Long. c.* 8. *p.* 2[illegible]. (5) *See before, p.* 93, *in the note.* (6) *Euſeb. præpar. l.* xi. *c.* 18. *p.* 540. (7) *Cyrill. in Jul. l.* viii. *c.* 6. *p.* 283. *Plot. vit. p.* 5. (8) *Plot. vit. p.* 3. 6. (9) *Idem, p.* 13. (1) *Idem, p.* 3. (2) *Idem, p.* 10. (3) *Idem, p.* 11. (4) *Idem, p.* 14. (5) *Euſeb. præp. l.* xi. *c.* 11. *c.* 9. *p.* 140. (6) *Idem ibid.* (7) *Theod. de curand. Græcor. affect. p.* 502. (8) *Cyr. in Jul. l.* viii. *p.* 283.

The army refer the

the death of the emperor, and referring to them the choice of a new prince. When their letter was read, *Tacitus*, who was

the beginning of St. *John*'s gospel. *Theodoret* calls him the chief of the school of *Porphyrius*, that is, of *Plotinus*, whose tenets were held by *Porphyrius* (9). *Suidas* writes, that *Porphyrius* was instructed by him in the principles of the *Platonic* philosophy (1). About the same time flourished one *Androclides*, author of a piece upon the sophists, who made extemporary speeches: in that work he mentions *Porphyrius*; whence *Suidas* concludes him to have flourished at the same time. He was the son of one *Synesius* of *Philadelphia* in *Lydia* (2).

Some historians too flourished under *Aurelian*, to wit, *Callicrates* of *Tyre*, whom *Vopiscus* stiles the most learned of all the *Greek* historians of his time (3); and *Theoclius*, or *Theon*, of *Chios*, as some critics conjecture (4). Both these historians wrote the life of *Aurelian*; but dwelt, it seems, too much on most trifling incidents (5). *Nicomachus*, another *Greek* historian, wrote at the same time; for *Vopiscus* tells us, that he copied from him the letter which *Zenobia* wrote to *Aurelian*; that *Zenobia* dictated it in the *Syrian* language; and that *Nicomachus* translated it into *Greek*; in which language it was sent to *Aurelian*, who had written to her in the same dialect (6). *Vossius* takes this to be the *Nicomachus* who transcribed, as we read in *Sidonius* (7), and corrected, the life of *Apollonius Tyanæus*, in confronting it with the original of *Philostratus* (8). *Aurelianus Festivus*, a freedman of the emperor *Aurelian*, wrote the history of his reign, or at least part of it, with the life of *Firmus*, who usurped the title of emperor in *Egypt* (9). *Vossius* ranks him, *Cornelius Capitolinus*, who wrote the history of *Zenobia*, and *Gellius Fuscus*, who wrote the life of *Tetricus* tyrant of *Gaul*, among the *Latin* writers, no doubt on account of their names; for *Vopiscus*, who quotes the two former, and wrote in the reign of *Constantius Chlorus*, tells us, that some *Greek*, but no *Latin*, author had undertaken, before him, to write the history of *Aurelian*'s reign (1). *Erennius Dexippus*, by birth an *Athenian*, by profession an orator, the son of another *Dexippus*, flourished under *Aurelian*, and was reckoned one of the greatest orators *Greece* had ever produced (2). His stile, says *Photius*, was grave and majestic; his words expressive, his phrases proper, and well suited to the subject; so that he may be called a second *Thucydides*; but in clearness he far excels the first (3). Though he was a man of letters, yet he fought with success at the head of his countrymen against the *Goths*,

(9) *Theod. p.* 500.
(3) *Vit. Aurel. p.* 209.
(5) *Aurel. vit. p.* 210.
epist. 3. *p.* 214.
vit. p. 244.
nop. c. 2. *p.* 21.
(1) *Suid.* α, *p.* 198.
(4) *Voss. hist. Græc. l.* iv. *c.* 17. *p.* 485.
(6) *Idem, p.* 218.
(8) *Voss. ibid. l.* ii. *c.* 16. *p.* 214.
(1) *Aurel. vit. p.* 209.
(3) *Plot. c.* 82. *p.* 200.
(2) *Idem,* α, *p.* 261.
(7) *Sidon. l.* viii.
(9) *Firm.*
(2) *Suid.* δ, *p.* 659. *Eu-*

was at that time prince of the ſenate, and voted the firſt, declared, that he was for referring the choice of a new emperor to the army, as the army had done to the ſenate: *For what diſputes*, ſaid he, *and diſturbances will inevitably enſue, ſhould not the army approve of the perſon whom we name!* The ſenate acquieſced to his propoſal; but the ſoldiers referred the choice a ſecond and a third time to the ſenate, as the ſenate did to the ſoldiers; ſo that the empire, by this reciprocal exchange of compliments, and commendable diſpute between the ſenate and army, remained near eight months without an head, and nevertheleſs no uſurper ſtarted up during that time; no diſturbances happened either at *Rome*, or in the provinces. But the barbarians in the mean time, taking advantage of the interregnum, began to put themſelves in motion. The *Germans*, that is, the *Lyges*, the *Franks*, the *Burgundiones*, and the *Vandals*, broke into *Gaul*; the *Goths* threatened *Illyricum*; and every one expected, that the *Perſians*, againſt whom *Aurelian* had declared war, would not continue long quiet. Theſe things *Velius Cornificius Gordianus*, then conſul, laid before the ſenate on the twenty-fifth of *September*; and earneſtly preſſed them to proceed, without farther delay, to the election of a new prince. He concluded his ſpeech by telling them, That the empire could no longer ſubſiſt without an head; and that the army would either accept the prince whom they choſe, or, rejecting him, chooſe another.

election of a new prince to the ſenate, and the ſenate to the army.

THERE had been ſome talk before of raiſing *Tacitus* to the empire, who thereupon had withdrawn into *Campania*, and

or *Heruli*, in the year 267 (4). He wrote the hiſtory of the *Roman* emperors from *Alexander* to *Claudius*, with no leſs conciſeneſs, ſays *Capitolinus* (5), than ſincerity; whence he is often quoted by him, and *Trebellius Pollio*, who ſtile his hiſtory *the hiſtory of the times*. He wrote a ſeparate hiſtory of the wars of the *Romans* with the *Scythians*, which he intituled *Scythica*. This *Photius* preferred, for the elegance of ſtile, to all his other works (6). He likewiſe wrote, in four books, the hiſtory of the ſucceſſors of *Alexander the Great* (7). *Voſſius* aſcribes to him the book on *Ariſtotle*'s categories, which has reached our times (8). But others maintain, that *Dexippus*, the author of that work, was diſciple to *Iamblichus*, who flouriſhed in the reign of *Julian the Apoſtate* (9). We ought perhaps to diſtinguiſh likewiſe *Dexippus*, the author of ſome comedies (1), from the hiſtorian, though *Voſſius* confounds them (2).

(4) *Gallien. vit. p.* 181. (5) *Capit. p.* 150. (6) *Phot. c.* 82. *p.* 200. (7) *Idem ibid. p.* 201. (8) *Voſſ. p.* 243. (9) *Johnſ. l.* iii. *p.* 299. (1) *Suid. p.* 1516. (2) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 16. *p.* 243.

lived there two months in retirement; but, being recalled by the ſenate, he was preſent at this meeting held on the 25th of *September*; and, after the conſul *Gordianus* had ended his ſpeech, he roſe up to deliver his opinion the firſt, as prince of the ſenate; but, before he had uttered a ſingle word, the whole aſſembly cried out with one voice, *We ſalute you*, Tacitus, *emperor: to you we commit the care of the ſtate, and the world. Take the empire given you by the authority of the ſenate: your rank, your character, your paſt conduct, deſerve it.* He attempted to excuſe himſelf in regard of his great age (for he was then ſeventy-five); but they all cried out, That other emperors, advanced in years, had governed with great applauſe; that they wanted not a ſoldier, but an emperor; not a ſtrong body, but a vigorous mind; and that he had a brother, who would bear with him part of the burden. After this, was taken the ſuffrage of each ſenator in particular, when *Metius Falconius Nicomachus*, the eldeſt conſular, after having in an elegant ſpeech beſtowed the higheſt encomiums upon *Tacitus*, enlarged in a very affecting manner on the many evils attending the adminiſtration of young and unexperienced princes; and conjured *Tacitus*, by the love he bore his country, not to leave the empire to his ſons, who were yet children, but to name for his ſucceſſor a perſon, whom he judged equal to ſo great a truſt, if the ſtate were, by the immutable decrees of the *Fates*, deprived of him before his children attained to maturity of age. He added, that, to diſpoſe of the ſenate, the people of *Rome*, and the whole empire, in the ſame manner as he diſpoſed of his houſes, lands, and ſlaves, was repugnant to the laws of juſtice and equity; and that nothing would ſo much commend his name to all future ages, as to ſhew at his death, that he loved the republic above his family and iſſue [a]. When *Metius* had ended his ſpeech, the ſenators all to a man cried out, Tacitus *is emperor*. The decree was accordingly drawn up, veſting him with the ſovereign power, and ſigned by all the ſenators, even by *Tacitus* himſelf. From the ſenate they all went to the field of *Mars*, where *Ælius Ceſetianus*, then governor of *Rome*, declared to the ſoldiers and people aſſembled there, the election of *Tacitus*, which was received with the uſual acclamations [b].

Tacitus *unanimouſly choſen by the ſenate.*

THE preſent emperor, named on his coins *M. Claudius Tacitus*, but, by *Vopiſcus*, *Aurelianus*, or *Aurelius Tacitus*, acknowleged *Cornelius Tacitus*, the celebrated hiſtorian, for his kinſman; and therefore, to ſecure his inimitable performance againſt the injuries of time, he ordered ten copies of it to be tranſcribed every year, and to be lodged in the public

[a] Tacit. vit. p. 227—231. [b] Ibid.

libraries, and in the cabinets of the learned; but, notwithſtanding his care, only a ſmall part of what that excellent hiſtorian wrote, has reached our times. The emperor, as we have hinted above, was advanced in years; but had ſeveral children, who were very young. *Florianus*, named on the antient coins *M. Annius Florianus*, was only his uterine brother. All we know of his preferments is, that he had been conſul, and was, at the time of his election, prince of the ſenate. *His preferments.*

He was a man of learning, of a mild temper, an enemy to all pomp, and a great admirer of the manners of the primitive *Romans*. When he was created emperor, he gave his immenſe eſtate to the public, allotting part of it for the repairing and beautifying the temples. What ready money he had by him, he diſtributed among the ſoldiers. He ſet at liberty all the ſlaves he had at *Rome*, and cauſed his houſe to be pulled down, in order to build public baths in the place where it ſtood. His temperance and regularity, his œconomy, and care of the public money, his impartiality in the adminiſtration of juſtice, are much commended by the authors of his life.

In the firſt ſpeech he made to the ſenate, he declared, that he would tranſact nothing without their conſent and authority; and then propoſed the two following laws, which were received with great applauſe, and confirmed by a decree; to wit, That whoever ſhould mix metals with a baſer ſort, ſhould forfeit his eſtate and life; that ſlaves ſhould not be admitted as witneſſes againſt their maſters, even in caſes of treaſon. In the ſame ſpeech he deſired the conſulſhip for his brother *Florianus*; but the ſenate did not think fit to grant him his requeſt; which he was ſo far from reſenting, that, on the contrary, he ſeemed highly pleaſed with the liberty they had taken, ſaying, *I am glad they know him.* From the very beginning of his reign, he applied himſelf to the ſuppreſſing of ſeveral abuſes which ſtill prevailed in *Rome*. By one edict, he put down all the brothel-houſes; by another, he ordered all the public baths to be ſhut up at ſunſet; and, by a third, prohibited all ſorts of gold tiſſue and gilding. He reſpected the memory of the good emperors, and cauſed a temple to be built to their honour, and ſacrifices to be offered to them on their ſeveral anniverſaries. He had a particular regard to *Aurelian*, and prevailed upon the ſenate to decree him a ſtatue of gold, to be ſet up in the capitol, and others of ſilver, to be placed in the ſenate, in the temple of the *Sun*, and in the ſquare of *Trajan* [c]. The ſenate, overjoyed for the recovery of their antient right of creating emperors, ordered public *Two of his laws.*

[c] Tacit. vit. p. 232.

proceſſions, vowed hecatombs, appeared in white garments, feaſted their friends, and wrote letters to all the ſtates and cities in alliance with *Rome*, acquainting them, that they were at length reſtored to their former authority; that the kings and princes of the barbarians were to apply to them; and that all appeals from the proconſuls were to be made, not to the emperor, or the captain of the guards, but to the governor of *Rome*, from whom they might appeal to the ſenate [d].

Tacitus marches againſt the barbarians, and defeats them.

THE new prince was ſcarce well ſettled in the empire, when news were brought him, that incredible multitudes of barbarians were advancing from the *Palus Mæotis* through *Colchis*, pretending to have been invited by *Aurelian* to aſſiſt him in his intended expedition againſt the *Perſians*. *Tacitus* immediately left *Rome*, and, arriving in *Thrace*, where he was received by the army with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy imaginable, paſſed from thence over into *Aſia*, defeated the barbarians, and obliged them to return into their own country [e]. The following year the emperor entered upon his ſecond conſulſhip, having *Æmilianus* for his collegue; and, having paſſed the winter in *Cilicia*, was preparing to return to *Italy*, when he was, according to ſome writers, ſeized with a violent diſtemper, which, in a few days, put an end to his life; but, according to others, killed by his own ſoldiers [f]. He died at *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, or, as others write, at *Tiana* in *Cappadocia*, after a ſhort reign of about ſix months. Upon his death, his brother *Florianus*, whom he had appointed captain of the guards, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor, and was acknowleged in all the provinces of *Europe* and *Africa*; but the legions quartered in *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Palæſtine*, and *Egypt*, declared for *Probus*, whom *Tacitus* had appointed commander of all the forces in the eaſt. Hereupon a civil war was kindled in the bowels of the empire, while the barbarians were ready to invade it on all ſides. *Florianus* gained at firſt ſome advantages over his competitor; but, as the troops under his command were more addicted to *Probus* than to him, they began to mutiny; and, at the approach of *Probus*, who was reſolved to put the whole to the iſſue of a general engagement, fell upon their own leader, cut him in pieces, after he had reigned about two months, and joined *Probus*. This happened in the neighbourhood of *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*.

His death.

Year of the flood 2714.
Of Chriſt 276.
Of Rome 1024.

Florianus aſſumes the empire; but is murdered by his own men.

Probus proclaimed emperor.

THE death of *Florianus* was no ſooner known in *Europe* and *Africa*, than the armies every-where proclaimed *Probus* emperor, and the ſenate readily confirmed their election, ho-

[d] Tacit. vit. p. 231, 232. [e] ZONAR. p. 240. Zos. p. 662. [f] Tacit. vit. p. 230.

nouring

nouring the new emperor with the titles of *Auguſtus*, *father of his country*, *high pontif*, &c. and veſting him with the tribunitial and proconſular power; for they all entertained a great opinion of his juſtice, equity, moderation, &c. and looked upon him as a perſon in every reſpect qualified for the diſcharge of ſo great a truſt: and truly, if *Vopiſcus* is to be credited, he was one of the beſt and greateſt princes that ever ſwayed a ſceptre. That writer prefers him to *Trajan*, *Adrian*, *Antoninus*, *Alexander*, *Claudius*, nay, to *Auguſtus* himſelf. He was, ſays he, an excellent commander, an able ſtateſman, a friend to virtue, an enemy to vice, generous, affable, good-natured, and, in ſhort, endowed with every good quality commendable in a prince [g]. He was a native of *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*. His father, by name *Maximus*, was, in his youth, by profeſſion a gardener; but afterwards, liſting himſelf among the troops, he was raiſed to the poſt of tribune, and married a woman of rank, by whom he had one ſon, the preſent emperor, and a daughter, of whom we find no farther mention in hiſtory. *Probus* entered into the army, when very young; and, having diſtinguiſhed himſelf on many occaſions under *Valerian*, *Gallienus*, *Claudius*, and *Aurelian*, he was, by theſe princes, raiſed to the higheſt poſts of the army, and employed, always with ſucceſs, in the many wars which they waged with the barbarians [h]. He was about forty-four years old, according to the chronicle of *Alexandria*, when preferred to the empire. His election was no ſooner confirmed by the ſenate, than he left *Cilicia*, and returned to *Europe*.

His character.

Extraction and preferments.

He paſſed the winter in *Pannonia*, and, having there taken upon him his firſt conſulſhip, and named *M. Aurelius Paulinus* for his collegue, he ſet out in the ſpring for *Gaul*, where the *Franks* and other *German* nations had committed dreadful ravages. He is ſaid to have fought in that province many ſucceſsful battles, to have killed near four hundred thouſand of the barbarians, and to have obliged the reſt to quit the booty they had taken, and ſave themſelves by flight beyond the *Rhine*. Having thus reſtored *Gaul* to its former tranquillity, he paſſed the *Rhine* at the head of his victorious army, and made war upon the enemy in their own country, with greater ſucceſs than any of his predeceſſors had ever done (E).

He delivers Gaul from the barbarians, and reduces great part of Germany.

THE

[g] Prob. vit. p. 233, 234. 241.

[h] Ibid. p. 235—237.

(E) This appears from the account which he himſelf tranſmitted to the ſenate in the following letter: "I return thanks "to the immortal gods, conſcript "fathers, who have given manifeſt tokens of their approving "your choice in raiſing me to "the empire. *Germany*, that "wide and extenſive country, is "intirely

THE following year the emperor entered upon his ſecond conſulſhip, having *Lupus* for his collegue; and, early in the

" intirely ſubdued. Nine kings " of different nations have thrown " themſelves proſtrate at my feet, " or rather yours. All the bar- " barians now plow and ſow " for you, nay, even fight for " you. Return, therefore, thanks " to the gods for ſo ſignal a con- " queſt. Four hundred thouſand " of the enemy have been cut " in pieces; ſixteen thouſand have " been incorporated in our troops. " We have recovered ſixty great " cities which they had taken, " and delivered *Gaul* from the " yoke under which it groaned. " The crowns of gold, with " which the cities of *Gaul* have " preſented me, I have tranſ- " mitted to you, to be conſe- " crated, and, by your hands, " offered to the great *Jupiter*, " and to the other gods and god- " deſſes. We have not only re- " covered the booty which they " had taken, but enriched our- " ſelves with their ſpoils. The " fields of *Gaul* are plowed with " the cattle of the barbarians; " their ſheep are incloſed in our " folds; and our magazines are " filled with their corn: in ſhort, " we have left them nothing but " the bare ſoil. I have had ſome " thoughts of reducing *Germany* " to a *Roman* province; but the " republic, exhauſted with ſo " many wars, is not perhaps at " preſent in a condition to main- " tain the additional troops which " muſt be raiſed for that purpoſe " (3)." *Vopiſcus* adds, that he drove the enemy beyond the *Elb* and the *Necker*, and built a great many forts in the country lying between thoſe rivers and the *Rhine*, which he might have eaſily reduced to a *Roman* province; but did not think it adviſeable to burden the republic with new troops, which he muſt have raiſed, and left there, to keep thoſe warlike nations in awe. *Zoſimus* tells us, that one of the battles, which he fought with the *Logi*, a *German* nation, probably the ſame people whom *Tacitus* calls *Lyges*, laſted two days, the armies being parted only by night; that the victory inclined ſometimes to the *Romans*, and ſometimes to the *Germans*, who fought with incredible bravery; but that the former at length prevailed by the valour of *Probus*, and not only gave the enemy a total overthrow, but took their king, by name *Semnon*, priſoner, with his ſons, and the flower of their nobility; whom, however, the emperor afterwards ſet at liberty, upon their reſtoring to him all the booty and priſoners they had taken (4). The ſame writer adds, that, in another engagement with the *Burgundians* and *Vandals* on the banks of the *Rhine*, he took their king *Igillus* priſoner, with many others of thoſe two nations, whom he tranſplanted into *Britain*, where they proved very ſerviceable to the *Romans* upon all ſeditions and inſurrections (5). They ſettled, perhaps, in *Cambridgeſhire*; for *Gervaſus Tilburienſis* mentions an old *vallum* in that county, which he calls *Vandelſburg*, and ſays, it was the work of the *Vandals* (6).

(3) *Prob. vit. p.* 239. (4) *Zoſ. l.* i. *p.* 864. (5) *Idem ibid. p.* 865.
(6) *Vid. Camd. Britann. p.* 136. & *Buch. Belg. l.* vii. *p.* 218.

ſpring,

ſpring, ſet out from *Gaul*; and, bending his march through *Rhætia*, he arrived in *Illyricum*, whence the *Sarmatians*, who had made an irruption into that province, withdrew, upon the news of his approach, leaving their booty behind them. From *Illyricum* he purſued his march into *Thrace*, where he was met by deputies from all the *Gothic* nations, ſent by their reſpective ſtates and princes to ſue for peace, and court his friendſhip [i]. Having thus ſettled peace and tranquillity in all the provinces of *Europe*, he paſſed over into *Aſia*; and, entering *Iſauria*, which had revolted from *Rome*, as we have related above, after many dangerous conflicts with the *Iſaurian* robbers, and *Palfurius* their leader, whom he took, and put to death, he intirely reduced that country, tranſplanted the inhabitants into diſtant provinces, and divided *Iſauria* among his veterans, upon condition that they ſhould ſend their ſons, as ſoon as they attained the age of eighteen, to ſerve in the army, leſt, truſting to their rocks and mountains, they ſhould follow the example of the antient inhabitants, and turn robbers [k].

The Goths *ſue for peace.*

Iſauria *reduced.*

FROM *Iſauria* the emperor marched into *Syria*, where he entered upon his third conſulſhip, having *Paternus* for his colleague; and, early in the ſpring, led his army againſt the *Blemyes*, a barbarous nation, dwelling between *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*, who had made themſelves maſters of *Coptos* and *Ptolemais* in *Thebais*, and ſtruck terror into the neighbouring countries. *Probus* defeated them with great ſlaughter, recovered the above-mentioned cities, took a great number of the barbarians priſoners, and ſent them to *Rome*, where their extraordinary figure, ſays *Vopiſcus*, raiſed great admiration in the *Roman* people [l] (F). The king of *Perſia*, *Varranes* II. alarmed at the fame of the victories gained by *Probus* over ſo fierce and warlike a nation, ſent embaſſadors to him, with rich preſents, to ſue for peace; but the emperor, not ſatisfied with their propoſals, refuſed the preſents, and ſent back the deputies; which ſo terrified the king, that he concluded a peace with *Probus* upon his own terms [m]. The eaſtern provinces being thus ſettled in peace, the emperor returned to *Thrace*, where he allotted lands to one hundred thouſand *Baſtarnæ*, a *Scythian*

The Blemyes *defeated.*

The Perſians *ſue for peace.*

[i] Prob. vit. p. 239. [k] Ibid. [l] Ibid. [m] Ibid.

(F) *Pliny* had deſcribed them many years before, as a people without heads, and having their mouths and eyes in their breaſts (7). Some writers think, that the ſhortneſs of their necks gave riſe to this fable.

(7) *Plin. l.* v. *c.* 8.

nation,

nation, of whom we ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak hereafter. They all remained faithful to him; but the *Gepidæ*, *Juthungi*, and *Vandals*, to whom he allotted lands in the ſame province, revolted, while the emperor was engaged in domeſtic wars, which broke out the following year. From *Thrace* the emperor returned to *Rome*, and there triumphed over the *Germans* and *Blemyes* [n], and diverted the people, for ſeveral days together, with all ſorts of ſhews, combats, and entertainments.

Probus *triumphs.*

AND now no foreign nation daring to attempt an invaſion, peace reigned throughout the whole empire; but this general tranquillity was ſoon diſturbed by domeſtic broils, which firſt broke out in the eaſt, where *Sext. Julius Saturninus*, as he is ſtiled on the antient coins, was proclaimed emperor. He was, according to ſome, a native of *Mauritania*, according to others, of *Gaul*, and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in many wars; for he is ſaid to have reſtored tranquillity to *Gaul*, to have recovered *Africa* from the *Moors*, and appeaſed the diſturbances that had long prevailed in *Spain* [o]. The emperor *Aurelian* had appointed him commander of the troops quartered on the frontiers of the eaſtern provinces, and at the ſame time ordered him never to ſet foot in *Egypt*, fearing, ſays *Vopiſcus*, as he was well acquainted with the ambitious temper of the *Gauls*, and the ſtrange inclination of the *Egyptians* to novelty, leſt he might be prompted by them to aſſume the ſovereignty. Notwithſtanding this prohibition, *Saturninus* being led by his curioſity to viſit *Egypt*, he no ſooner appeared at *Alexandria*, than he was, by that turbulent and reſtleſs people, proclaimed emperor. He declined at firſt that dignity, and, quitting *Alexandria*, returned in great haſte to *Palæſtine*; but afterwards apprehending, that what had already happened might give *Probus* no ſmall umbrage, and occaſion his ruin, he ſuffered himſelf to be proclaimed emperor, ſhedding many tears amidſt the acclamations of the ſoldiery and populace [p]. *Zonaras* writes, that *Probus*, who had a great kindneſs for him, not believing he had revolted, cauſed the perſon to be puniſhed, who brought him the firſt news of his rebellion. He afterwards wrote ſeveral kind letters to him; but his ſoldiers threatening him with death, if he hearkened to, or complied with, the emperor's offers, he was forced to reject them. Hereupon *Probus* diſpatched ſome troops againſt them, which, being joined by others in the eaſt, engaged *Saturninus*, put him to flight, and obliged him to ſhelter himſelf in the citadel of *Apamea*, which they took by ſtorm, and put the whole

Saturninus *revolts.*

Year of the flood 2718. Of Chriſt 280. Of Rome 1028.

He is overcome and killed.

[n] Prob. vit. p. 240. [o] Saturn. vit. p. 244. Zos. p. 663. Goltz. p. 116. Birag. p. 309. [p] Sat. vit. p. 249.

gariſon, together with *Saturninus*, to the ſword. The emperor, who deſigned to pardon him, ſhewed no ſmall concern for his death [q].

THE following year, *Meſſala* and *Gratus* being conſuls, two uſurpers ſtarted up in *Gaul*, *Proculus* and *Bonoſus*. The former was a native of *Albingaunum*, now *Albenga*, ſubject to the republic of *Genoa*. His anceſtors had been famous robbers, and had, by their robberies, acquired immenſe wealth; for *Proculus* is ſaid to have armed two thouſand ſlaves of his own, when he revolted. In his youth he had been himſelf a robber; but, entering afterwards into the army, he had ſignalized himſelf by many noble exploits. He was tribune, and had the command of ſeveral legions, when he took upon him the title of emperor, prompted thereunto chiefly by his wife, called firſt *Viturgia*, and afterwards *Sampſo*, a woman of great ambition, and a manly courage; and by the inhabitants of *Lions*, who had been treated with great ſeverity by *Aurelian*, and apprehended the like treatment from *Probus*. He was proclaimed emperor at *Cologne*, and acknowleged, according to *Vopiſcus*, in *Narbonne Gaul*, *Britain*, and *Spain*. The ſame writer tells us, that he defeated the *Alemanni* in ſeveral battles; but was himſelf at laſt overcome by *Probus*, and forced to take refuge among the *Franks*, from whom he pretended to derive his origin. The *Franks* promiſed him their aſſiſtance; but, inſtead of performing their promiſe, they betrayed him to the emperor, by whom he was puniſhed according to his deſerts [r].

Proculus revolts.

Is betrayed by the Franks, and put to death.

BONOSUS, or, as he is ſtiled on the antient coins, *Q. Bonoſius*, was deſcended of a *Spaniſh* family, but born in *Britain*. His father kept a public ſchool, and taught children the firſt rudiments of the *Latin* tongue. The ſon entered early into the army, and raiſed himſelf, by degrees, from the low rank of a common ſoldier to the poſt of general, and was employed as ſuch to guard the frontiers of *Rhætia*; but, having ſuffered the *Germans* to ſurpriſe and burn the *Roman* fleet on the *Rhine*, his dread of being puniſhed for this neglect prompted him to aſſume the ſovereignty, and cauſe himſelf to be proclaimed emperor by the troops under his command. He maintained himſelf in that dignity longer than was expected, and fought ſeveral battles with *Probus*; but, being at length reduced to great ſtreights, he choſe rather to ſtrangle himſelf, than to fall into the hands of the conqueror (G).

Bonoſus *proclaimed emperor.*

Is overcome, and lays violent hands on himſelf.

THE

[q] Sat. vit. p. 249.

[r] Idem, p. 245—247.

(G) Authors obſerve of him, that he could drink as much as ten men, without being in the leaſt diſordered; and that, by drinking

THE following year the emperor entered upon his fourth conſulſhip, having *Tiberianus* for his collegue. The whole empire now enjoyed a profound tranquillity; all domeſtic troubles were happily appeaſed, and foreign enemies awed by the fame of *Probus*'s mighty atchievements. However, that the troops might not abandon themſelves to idleneſs, he took care to employ them in many uſeful works, ſaying, That, ſince they were maintained by the public, they ought either to fight or labour for the public. As *Hannibal* therefore, to find ſome employment for his ſoldiers, had formerly filled *Africa* with olive-trees planted by them, ſo *Probus*, for his valour ſtiled by many a ſecond *Hannibal*, employed his troops in planting vines on the hills of *Gaul*, *Pannonia*, and *Mœſia*, allowing, ſays *Vopiſcus*, the *Gauls*, *Pannonians*, *Spaniards*, and *Britons*, full liberty to cultivate as many vineyards as they pleaſed; which had been denied them ever ſince the time of *Domitian* [s]. The emperor *Julian* writes, that *Probus*, during his ſhort reign, either rebuilt or repaired ſeventy cities [t]. As the city of *Sirmium*, the place of his nativity, ſtood in a low marſhy ground, he employed great numbers of his ſoldiers in digging a canal to convey the waters into the ſea. This

How Probus *employed his ſoldiers in time of peace.*

[s] Prob. vit. p. 240. [t] JUL. Cæſ. p. 17.

drinking with the embaſſadors of the barbarians, he often diſcovered the ſecrets with which they were intruſted. *Vopiſcus* tells us, that the emperor *Aurelian* married to him a princeſs of the royal blood of the *Goths*, by name *Hunila*, whom he had taken priſoner, that *Bonoſus* might, by her means, become acquainted with the great men among the *Goths*, and diſcover, in drinking with them, their ſecret views and de ſigns (8). *Hunila* was a woman of great wit, beauty, and virtue; and therefore *Probus*, upon the death of her huſband, not only ſpared her, and the two ſons ſhe had by *Bonoſus*, but ſettled an annual penſion upon the mother, and ſuffered the children to enjoy their paternal eſtate (9). *Zoſimus* (1) and *Zonaras* (2) ſpeak of the revolt of the governor of *Britain*, whom they do not name; and tell us, that the emperor complaining of him to a *Moor*, named *Victorinus*, upon whoſe recommendation he had preferred him to that government, the *Moor* begged and obtained leave to go into *Britain*, and try whether he could bring back his friend to a ſenſe of his duty. Upon his arrival, he was received by the uſurper with great demonſtrations of kindneſs; which he requited by murdering his old friend in the night-time. His death put an end to the revolt in *Britain*. We are not told whether or no *Probus* approved of this treachery.

(8) *Bonoſ. vit. p.* 247. (9) *Ibid.* (1) *Zoſ. l.* i. *p.* 663.
(2) *Zonar. p.* 246.

incenſed

incenſed them againſt him, and their rage was heightened by the apprehenſion they were under of being ſoon diſbanded; for the emperor had ſaid, That he hoped in a ſhort time there would be no occaſion for ſoldiers or armies. This they could not bear; and therefore the following year, when *Probus* was conſul the fifth time with *Victorinus*, they attacked him with great fury, as he was marching from one town in *Illyricum* to another. The emperor had time to retire into an iron tower of an extraordinary height, which he himſelf had built, to obſerve from thence the ſoldiers, while they were at work. But thither the incenſed multitude purſued him, and, having eaſily ſtormed the place, as it was defended by the prince alone, diſpatched him with many wounds, after he had lived fifty, and reigned ſix years, and four months (H). He was, without all doubt, one of the beſt, as well as of the greateſt princes, that ever reigned at *Rome* [u]. After his death, his family withdrew from *Rome*, probably not to give umbrage to his ſucceſſors, and ſettled in the neighbourhood of *Verona* [w]. As for the few writers who flouriſhed in his reign, we refer the reader to our note (I).

He is murdered by the mutinous ſoldiery.

UPON

[u] Prob. vit. p. 241. [w] Ibid.

(H) His death is aſcribed by many to *Carus*, who ſucceeded him in the empire, and was then captain of the guards; but *Vopiſcus* endeavours to clear him from that imputation. The whole army raiſed a ſtately monument to the honour of the deceaſed prince, with the following epitaph: *Here lies the emperor* Probus, *whoſe life and manners anſwered his name. He ſubdued all the barbarous nations, and conquered the tyrants who ſtarted up in his time.* The loſs of ſo good a prince was greatly lamented, not only by the ſenate and people of *Rome*, but by the barbarians themſelves, who dreaded his valour, and revered his probity, clemency, and juſtice. His ſucceſſors honoured his memory with all poſſible marks of reſpect and eſteem, ranking him among the gods, conſecrating temples to his name, celebrating with great pomp his anniverſary, *&c.*

(I) Under *Probus* flouriſhed *Turdulus Gallicanus*, who wrote a kind of journal, often quoted by *Vopiſcus* in his life of *Probus*, who ſtiles the author of it a man of honour and ſincerity (3). He likewiſe cites *M. Salvidienus*, from whom he copied the ſpeech made by *Saturninus*, when he put on the purple, and aſſumed the title of emperor (4); which prompts us to believe, that *Salvidienus* wrote the hiſtory of that uſurper. *Oneſimus* publiſhed the life of *Probus*, done, according to *Vopiſcus*, with great exactneſs (5), and likewiſe that of the emperor *Carus* (6). *Voſſius* ranks them all three among the *Latin*

(3) *Prob. vit. p.* 233. *p.* 246. *& Car. vit. p.* 250. (4) *Saturn. vit. p.* 245. (5) *Bonoſ. vit.* (6) *Idem ibid.*

hiſto-

Carus *proclaimed emperor.*

Year of the flood 2720. Of Chriſt 282. Of Rome 1030.

UPON the death of *Probus*, *Carus*, then captain of the prætorian guards, was, by the unanimous conſent of the army, raiſed to the empire, as a perſon in every reſpect well qualified to ſucceed ſo good a prince, ſo great a warrior. The ſenate were well pleaſed with the election of *Carus*; but, dreading the vicious and cruel temper of his ſon *Carinus*, were unwilling to confirm the choice of the ſoldiery. However, apprehending the power of the army, and deſirous to maintain the peace and tranquillity eſtabliſhed by *Probus*, they at laſt acknowleged *Carus*, and conferred upon him the uſual titles and honours [x]. Of his family and anceſtors we know but very little. Some ſay, that he was by birth a *Roman*, but by deſcent an *Illyrican*; others, that he was born in *Illyricum*, but of *Carthaginian* parents. In a journal quoted by *Vopiſcus*, he is ſtiled a native of *Milan* [y]. The two *Victors*, *Eutropius*, and ſeveral others, will have him to have been born in *Narbonne*. The emperor himſelf pretended, that his anceſtors were originally *Romans* [z]. He raiſed himſelf, by degrees, to the chief employments in the ſtate, both civil and military. He had been conſul; for the conſulſhip, which he took after his acceſſion to the empire, is called his ſecond conſulſhip. *Probus*, after having employed him in moſt of his expeditions, appointed him captain of the guards, in which office he gained the affections of the ſoldiers to ſuch a degree, that, upon the death of *Probus*, they all agreed to raiſe him to the empire in his room. That prince entertained a mighty opinion of the prudence, juſtice, and integrity of *Carus*; as appears from a letter quoted by *Vopiſcus*, which he wrote to the ſenate in his behalf, deſiring them to reward his eminent ſervices, by erecting to him an equeſtrian ſtatue, and building him an houſe at the public charge, for which the emperor himſelf promiſed to ſupply the neceſſary marble [a].

His extraction and preferments.

[x] Car. vit. p. 243. [y] Ibid. [z] Ibid. p. 249.
[a] Ibid. p. 242.

hiſtorians (7); and mentions a *Greek* hiſtorian, by name *Onaſimus*, a native of *Sparta* or *Cyprus*, who lived, according to *Suidas*, under *Conſtantine*, and was both a ſophiſt and hiſtorian. Perhaps *Oneſimus* and *Onaſimus* were one and the ſame perſon, there having paſſed but twenty-four years between *Probus* and *Conſtantine*. *Suidas* aſcribes to *Onaſimus* ſeveral philological and other works (8). About the ſame time flouriſhed another ſophiſt, named likewiſe *Onaſimus*; but who was a native of *Athens* (9).

(7) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* ii. *c.* 4. *p.* 184. (8) *Suid. p.* 523. (9) *Idem ibid.*

CARUS

CARUS was no ſooner ſettled in the empire, than he gave the title of *Cæſar* to his two ſons *Carinus* and *Numerianus*, of whom the former was a youth intirely abandoned to all manner of wickedneſs, and the latter endowed with every good quality requiſite in a prince. Some writers pretend, that at the ſame time he declared them his partners in the empire, giving them equal power and authority with himſelf; but, on the medals of this year 282. the firſt of *Carus*'s reign, his two ſons are only ſtiled *Cæſars* [b]. The *Sarmatians* no ſooner heard of the death of *Probus*, than they broke into *Illyricum* and *Thrace*, over-ran thoſe countries, and threatened *Italy* itſelf. Hereupon *Carus*, drawing together his forces, marched againſt the barbarians; and coming, after ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, to a general engagement with them, cut ſixteen thouſand of them in pieces, took twenty thouſand priſoners, and obliged the reſt to abandon the *Roman* dominions, and retire into their own country; whither he would have purſued them, had he not been informed, that the *Perſians* were ready to invade the eaſtern provinces with a mighty army, under the conduct of their king *Varranes* II. a warlike prince, who had lately ſignalized himſelf againſt the *Segetani*, and intirely reduced that brave and powerful people. Upon this intelligence, *Carus*, committing the care of the weſtern provinces to his eldeſt ſon *Carinus*, and taking with him *Numerianus*, left *Thrace*, and, croſſing over into *Aſia*, marched ſtrait to *Antioch*, and thence into *Meſopotamia*; which the *Perſians*, who, it ſeems, had already ſeized that province, abandoned at his approach. From *Meſopotamia* he advanced into *Perſia*; laid waſte the country far and wide; and, meeting with no oppoſition, as the *Perſians* were then engaged in a civil war, he beſieged and took the famous cities of *Seleucia* and *Cteſiphon*, with *Coche*, which was a place of great ſtrength on the other ſide the *Tigris*, and, as it were, the citadel of *Cteſiphon* [c]. For theſe conqueſts he took the ſurname of *Perſicus*, which we read on moſt of his coins [d]. He was bent upon utterly ruining the *Perſian* monarchy, and would, in all likelihood, have ſucceeded in that great deſign, the *Perſians* being then divided among themſelves, had he not been prevented by death, which overtook him in the neighbourhood of *Cteſiphon*, while he was preparing to purſue his conqueſts beyond that city, which the *Romans*, as was pretended, were

He creates his two ſons Cæſars.

Defeats the Sarmatians.

Gains great advantages over the Perſians, *and takes* Seleucia *and* Cteſiphon.

His death.

[b] BIRAG. p. 446. [c] Car. vit. p. 250. GREG. NAZ. orat. iv. p. 115. [d] BIRAG. p. 419. SPANH. l. v. p. 419.

by an antient oracle forbidden to do (K). He reigned, according to the moſt probable opinion, a year, and four months. He was conſul when he died, and had his ſon *Carinus* for his collegue in that dignity.

Numerianus *proclaimed emperor.*

UPON the death of *Carus*, his ſon *Numerianus* was immediately ſaluted by the whole army with the title of emperor. As to his other ſon, *Carinus*, he was then in *Gaul*, and had been raiſed by his father to the ſovereignty before he ſet out for the *Perſian* war. *Numerianus*, grieved beyond expreſſion for the death of his father, broke up his camp, and began to retire. As his eyes, weakened with the great quantity of tears he had ſhed, could not bear the light, he cauſed himſelf to be carried in a cloſe litter. *Arrius Aper*, his father-in-law, and captain of the guards, who had free acceſs to

He is murdered.

him, laid hold of that opportunity to murder him privately, with a deſign to raiſe himſelf to the empire. The body of the deceaſed prince he left in the litter, telling the ſoldiers, who wanted to ſee their emperor, that he could not endure the air, and ſtriving in the mean time to gain them over to

(K) *Junius Calpurnius*, one of the emperor's ſecretaries, gave the following account of his death, in a letter which he wrote to the governor of *Rome*: "While "*Carus*, our truly dear prince, "lay ſick in his tent, a violent "ſtorm broke out, attended with "dreadful flaſhes of lightning, "and claps of thunder. Day "was all on a ſudden turned into "night, and the air darkened to "ſuch a degree, that we could "not diſcern one another. While "we were under the utmoſt "conſternation, frightened and "diſmayed, after a clap of thun-"der more loud and terrible "than all the reſt, we heard one "cry out, *The emperor is dead.* "Soon after, his chamberlains, "diſtracted with grief, ſet fire "to his tent; which gave riſe "to the report, that he was "killed with lightning; but it "is certain, that he died of his "illneſs." Thus one of his ſecretaries, whoſe letter *Vopiſcus* produces, to confute thoſe who aſcribed the emperor's death to divine vengeance, for his attempting to extend his conqueſts beyond *Cteſiphon* (1). However, the two *Victors*, *Eutropius*, *Rufus*, *Feſtus*, *Apollinaris*, *Sidonius*, St. *Jerom*, *Euſebius*, *Georgius Syncellus*, and *Zonaras*, write, that he was killed, and his tent burnt, with lightning. He had begun the ſecond year of his reign, and his death happened between the eighth of *December*, of this year 283. and the twelfth of *January*, of the year enſuing; for his name is prefixed to all the laws that were publiſhed till the eighth of *December*, and thoſe of *Carinus* and *Numerianus* to a law dated the twelfth of *January*, of the year 284 (2).

(1) *Car. vit. p.* 256. (2) *Cypr. an. p.* 45. *Cod. Juſt. l.* v. *tit.* 71. *leg.* 7. *p.* 509. *l.* viii. *tit.* 56. *leg.* 3. *p.* 804. *Noriſ. de Dioclef. c.* 1. *p.* 9.

his

his own intereſt. The dead body was thus carried three days; but, as it began in the end to be offenſive to the ſmell, the crime was diſcovered ſooner than *Aper* expected, and he immediately ſeized, no one doubting but he had been the author of the murder.

UPON the death of *Numerianus*, the army with one voice proclaimed *Diocleſian* emperor. Such was the unhappy end of *Numerianus*, after he had reigned about eight months. He was killed near *Heraclea* in *Thrace*, as he was leading his army back into *Italy*. All the antients ſpeak of him as a prince endowed with every good quality becoming a perſon of his rank (L). Some writers flouriſhed in his time, of whom in our note (M).

Diocleſian *raiſed to the empire.* Year of the flood 2724. Of Chriſt 284. Of Rome 1032.

DIOCLE-

(L) He was an excellent orator, and is ſaid to have once ſent ſuch an eloquent ſpeech to the ſenate, that a ſtatue was decreed him, to be ſet up in the *Ulpian* library, with this inſcription, *To* Numerianus Cæſar, *the moſt eloquent orator of his age.* In poetry he far ſurpaſſed all the writers of his time, and left ſeveral pieces behind him, both in verſe and proſe, which were mightily extolled by the learned (3). He had often declamed in public, and it was probably of him that *Calphurnius*, a celebrated poet of thoſe times, ſaid, That he diverted himſelf with pleading, while he was ſtill in his mother's arms (4); that is, when he was very young. Both he and his father *Carus* were ranked among the gods, had temples and divine honours decreed them, *&c.* It appears from ſome medals, that the latter had impiouſly aſſumed the title of god before his death (5).

(M) *Vopiſcus* tells us, that the life of *Carus* and his children was written before the year 300. by *Fabius Cerilianus*, whoſe diligence and exactneſs he commends (†); and that of *Carinus* in particular, by *Fulvius Aſprianus*, whoſe ſcrupulous exactneſs, and too great care to omit nothing, rendered his work extremely tedious (6). *Aurelius Apollinaris* likewiſe wrote the life of *Carus*, probably in iambics; for he was a poet, and is ſaid to have taken delight in that kind of verſe (7). *Voſſius* ranks theſe three among the *Latin* writers (8). A few eclogues, and part of a poem on the chace, by *M. Olympius Nemeſianus*, have reached our times. He likewiſe wrote ſome pieces on fiſhing and navigation, and was highly eſteemed in thoſe days (9). He is ſuppoſed to have been a native of *Carthage*, where his works, in the time of *Hincmar*, were publicly read in the ſchools (1). He inſcribed his poem on the chace to *Carinus* and *Numerianus*, after the death of their father; that is, after the year 284. He had not yet, at that

(3) *Num. vit. p.* 251. (4) *Calp. eclog.* i. *ver.* 45. (5) *Spank. l.* v. *p.* 419. (†) *Car. vit. p.* 249, 250. (6) *Ibid. p.* 254. (7) *Ibid. p.* 251. (8) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* ii. *c.* 4. *p.* 184. (9) *Nemeſ. p.* 508, 511. *Car. vit. p.* 251. (1) *Voſſ. poet. Lat. p.* 53.

His extraction, preferments, &c.

DIOCLESIAN was deſcended of a mean and obſcure family in *Dalmatia*, being, according to ſome, the ſon of a notary; and of a ſlave, according to others: nay, *Victor* the younger tells us, that he was himſelf, in his youth, ſlave to a ſenator, named *Anulinus*, who afterwards gave him his liberty [e]. The name, both of his mother, and the place of his birth, was *Dioclea*; whence he was called *Diocles* till his acceſſion to the empire, when he gave his name a *Latin* ſound and termination, calling himſelf *Diocleſianus* [f]. He entered early into the army, and, by degrees, raiſed himſelf to the firſt military employments (N). *Diocleſian* ſerved with great credit under *Probus*, who gave him the command of the troops quartered in *Mœſia* [g]. He attended *Carus* in his expedition againſt the *Perſians*, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in that war. *Syncellus* tells us, that he was raiſed by that prince to the conſulſhip [h]. He had, at the time of *Numerianus*'s death, the command of the guards that attended the emperor's perſon, and were ſuperior in rank to the prætorian guards, as we have obſerved above [i]. He was a great maſter of civil affairs, prompt at foreſeeing events, dextrous at concerting ſchemes, naturally inclined to violent meaſures, but at the ſame time maſter of his temper; an enemy to all uſeleſs expences, and a great encourager of learning, though from his youth he had been brought up in the camp, and had never

[e] VICT. epit. p. 542. [f] Idem ibid. [g] ZONAR. tom. ii. p. 243. [h] SYNCEL. p. 387. [i] See before, p. 299.

time, been at court, nor ſeen *Rome* (2). Four other eclogues have reached our times, ſuppoſed to have been written by *T. Calphurnius*, or *Calpurnius*, a native of *Sicily*, and to have been inſcribed to *Nemeſianus*. In the firſt mention is made of declamations made by a prince, ſuppoſed to be *Numerianus*, almoſt in his infancy (3). *Scaliger* takes the ſports that were exhibited by *Carinus* and *Numerianus* to be the ſubject of the laſt eclogue (4). Perhaps *Junius Calpurnius*, ſecretary to *Carus*, and the above-mentioned poet, were one and the ſame perſon.

(N) We are told, that, while he yet ſerved in an inferior poſt, a woman, by profeſſion a *Druid*, in whoſe houſe he lodged, upbraiding him with covetouſneſs, he anſwered her in jeſt, *I ſhall be more generous when I am emperor. You are joking*, Diocles, replied the *Druid*; *but I tell you in good earneſt, that you will attain the empire after you have killed a boar.* This is ſuppoſed to have happened in the city of *Tongres*, in the preſent biſhoprick of *Liege* (5).

(2) *Nemeſ. cyn. ver.* 64. *p.* 509, *& ver.* 77. 81. (3) *Calpur. p.* 501. (4) *Scalig. in Euſeb. chron. p.* 253. (5) *Car. vit. p.* 252.

 applied

applied himſelf to any ſtudy but that of the military art, in the knowlege of which he was equal to the famous commanders of antient times [k]. *Lactantius* charges him with cowardice, and ſays, that he avoided, as much as he well could, expoſing his perſon to dangers [l]. He was, according to *Eutropius*, naturally covetous, and bent upon amaſſing riches by any means whatever [m]. By his wife *Priſia* he had a daughter, named *Galeria Valeria*, who was married to *Maximinus Galerius*; but proved barren [n] (O).

DIOCLESIAN, being, by the unanimous conſent of the army, proclaimed emperor, in the manner we have related above, aſcended the tribunal; and, after having harangued the ſoldiers, and ſolemnly declared, upon his oath, that he had been no-way acceſſory or privy to the death of *Numerianus*, he cauſed *Aper* to be brought before him, reproached him in bitter terms with the murder of his prince and ſon-in-law, and then, deſcending from the tribunal, drew his ſword, and buried it in his breaſt, ſaying, *You ſhall have the honour*, Aper, *to fall by an illuſtrious hand.* The new emperor would not have begun his reign with an action that ſavoured of cruelty, had it not been to fulfil the above-mentioned prophecy of the *Druid*, the word *aper* ſignifying in the *Latin* tongue a boar; whence, in ſeeing *Aper* fall, he cried out, *I have at length killed the fatal boar* (P). *Dioclesian* was proclaimed emperor at *Chalcedon*, on the ſeventeenth of *September*, of the year 284. which epoch is the more remarkable, as it is the beginning of a new æra, called, *The æra of* Dioclesian, and ſometimes, *The æra of martyrs*, which for many ages obtained in the church, and is ſtill in uſe amongſt the *Cophts* in *Egypt*, the *Abyſſines*, and ſome other *African* nations.

He puts Aper *to death.*

The æra of Diocleſian.

[k] Prob. vit. p. 241. Macrin. vit. p. 96. Carin. vit. p. 251.
[l] LACT. perſecut. c. 7. & 9. [m] EUTROP. p. 586. [n] LACT. ibid. p. 44. BIRAG. p. 444.

(O) Both the mother and daughter favoured, and, according to *Lactantius*, once profeſſed, the Chriſtian religion; for that writer reckons them among the firſt, who, terrified with the menaces of *Dioclesian*, defiled themſelves with impure ſacrifices (6).

(P) *Vopiſcus* tells us, that, mindful of the prediction, he ſtrove always in hunting to kill the boars with his own hand; and adds, that, when he ſaw *Aurelian*, *Tacitus*, *Probus*, *Carus*, and his two ſons, raiſed to the empire before him, he uſed pleaſantly to ſay before *Maximian*, and our hiſtorian's grandfather (for to theſe two alone he imparted the prophecy), *That he killed, but others enjoyed, the boar* (7).

(6) *Lact. perſecut. c.* 15. *p.* 12, 13. (7) *Car. vit. p.* 252.

tions. The first year of this æra begins with the *Egyptian* year, on the twenty-ninth of *August*, of 284 [o].

DIOCLESIAN made his public entry into *Nicomedia* on the twenty-seventh of *September*, of this year; and spent the remaining months in making the necessary preparations to oppose *Carinus*, who, hearing of his brother's death, and the assumption of *Diocletian*, had left *Gaul*, and was hastening, at the head of a powerful army, into *Illyricum*. The following year *Carinus* took upon him his third consulship, having *Aristobulus*, his captain of the guards, for his collegue; and, arriving in *Venetia*, overcame there and slew one *Julianus*, governor of that province, who had caused himself to be proclaimed emperor [p]. Elated with this victory, he advanced into *Illyricum*, where he fought several battles with *Diocletian*, whom he intirely defeated in a general engagement near *Margum*, a city on the *Danube* in *Upper Mœsia*; but, while he was pursuing the enemy, he was killed by some of his own men, stirred up against him by a tribune, whose wife he had debauched. Thus *Aurelius Victor* [q]. But *Eutropius* writes, that he was betrayed by his own army, and killed by *Diocletian* [r]. Be that as it will, *Diocletian*, seeing himself, by the death of his rival, become sole master of the empire, marched to *Rome*; and, having established his authority there, set out soon after for *Germany*, where he gained several advantages over the *Alemanni*, who had made an irruption into *Gaul*. The same year his generals fought with success against the inhabitants of *Britain*, who, it seems, had attempted to shake off the yoke. For these victories he assumed the surnames of *Germanicus* and *Britannicus*, as appears from an inscription dated the second year of his reign [s]. From *Germany* he returned through *Illyricum* into the East; for he was at *Sirmium* on the first day of the following year [t], and at *Nicomedia* on the twenty-first of *January* [u]. The next consuls were *Junius Maximus* the second time, and *Vettius Aquilinus*.

The death of Carinus.

Diocletian *takes* Maximian *for his partner in the empire.*

THIS year *Diocletian* took *Maximian*, stiled on the antient coins *M. Aurelius Valerius Maximianus*, for his collegue, and partner in the empire. *Maximian* was born of obscure parents, in a village near *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*; but, entering early into the army, had signalized himself by many noble exploits, and was reckoned one of the best commanders of his time. All the antients paint him as a man of a most

[o] EUTYCH. p. 585. AUR. VICT. p. 524. [p] AUR. VICT. epit. p. 524. [q] Idem ibid. [r] EUTROP. p. 585. [s] NORIS. de Diocles. num. c. 4. p. 19, 20. [t] Cod. Justin. l. vi. tit. 21. leg. 6. p. 331. [u] Idem, tit. 9. leg. 3. p. 530.

cruel

cruel and ſavage temper, and addicted to all manner of wickedneſs; but, at the ſame time, extol his courage, his experience in military affairs, and his inviolable attachment to *Dioclesian*, with whom he had lived many years in great friendſhip. The emperor, therefore, who had no iſſue male, and repoſed an intire confidence in *Maximian*, choſe him for his partner in the empire, veſted him with the tribunitial and proconſular power, and honoured him with the title of *Auguſtus* (Q). *Aurelius Victor* tells us, that *Dioclesian* was induced to take *Maximian* for his partner in the empire, chiefly by the diſturbances which happened this year in *Gaul*, where two commanders, *Aulus Pomponius Ælianus*, and *Cn. Salvius Amandus*, having aſſembled a great number of vagabonds, robbers, and peaſants, cauſed themſelves to be proclaimed emperors.

A rebellion in Gaul ſuppreſſed by Maximian.

MAXIMIAN, leaving *Dioclesian* in *Nicomedia*, haſtened into *Gaul*; and there, with the troops quartered in that province, defeated the rebels, and reſtored the province to its former tranquillity [w] (R). While *Maximian* was employed againſt

[w] AUR. VICT. p. 524.

(Q) Some authors write, that *Dioclesian* not only took him for his collegue in the ſovereignty, but divided the empire with him, reſerving to himſelf the eaſtern provinces, and leaving to *Maximian*, *Italy*, *Africa*, *Spain*, and the reſt of the weſtern countries (8). *Maximian* had by his wife *Galeria Valeria Eutropia*, by birth a *Syrian*, *Maxentius*, who uſurped the empire at *Rome*, and *Fauſta*, the wife of *Conſtantine the Great*. *Maxentius* was, by ſome, thought to have been a ſuppoſititious child (9). *Eutropia* had, by a former husband, a daughter, ſtiled on the antient coins *Flavia Maximiana Theodora*, whom *Maximian* married to *Conſtantius Chlorus* (1), of whom hereafter.

(R) The revolted peaſants were called *Bacaudæ*, or *Bagaudæ*, the etymology of which appellation has puzzled the beſt antiquaries. *S. Maure des Foſſes*, about three ſhort miles from *Paris*, was formerly called *the caſtle of the* Bagaudæ, being built, according to a tradition which obtained in the ſeventh century, by *Julius Cæſar*, in the peninſula formed by the *Marne*, and fortified with a rampart and ditches, which defended the entry left open by the river. The *Bagaudæ* are ſaid to have held out there a long time againſt *Maximian*, who at length made himſelf maſter of the caſtle, leveled it with the ground, and filled up the ditches; which, however, gave to the place its preſent name (2).

(8) *Noriſ. de Dioclef. num. Lactan. perſec. c.* 8. *p.* 8. *Pagi, p.* 157. (9) *Vict. epit. p.* 542. *Julian. orat.* i. *p.* 9. (1) *Eutrop. p.* 585. (2) *Vide Du Cange gloſſar. med. & infim. Latinitat. p.* 661, 662.

the rebels in *Gaul*, *Diocleſian* was making great preparations in the Eaſt, in order to recover *Meſopotamia* from the *Perſians*, who, after the death of *Carinus*, had ſeized that province. But *Varranes* II. at that time king of *Perſia*, choſe rather to reſtore what he had taken from the *Romans*, than to engage in a war, which, he apprehended, would prove long and dangerous [p]. Mention is made of ſome advantages gained this year by *Diocleſian* over the *Saracens* [y]. He was the laſt day of this year at *Tiberias* in *Palæſtine*, as appears from the date of ſome laws in the code [z]. The following year 287. *Diocleſian* entered upon his third conſulſhip, and *Maximian* upon his firſt. The former from *Palæſtine* paſſed into *Pannonia*, as appears from the date of ſeveral laws enacted this year [a]; but what called him into that province, or what he performed there, we are no-where told. As for *Maximian*, he was attacked in *Gaul* by the *Alemanni*, the *Burgundians*, the *Heruli*, whom *Bucherius* places on the coaſts of the *Baltic* ſea, and by ſeveral other barbarous nations; who were all overcome by *Maximian*, and deſtroyed, either by the ſword, or by famine. *Mamertinus*, in his panegyric upon this prince, tells us, perhaps not without ſome exaggeration, that of ſuch an immenſe multitude, not one was left alive to carry back the news of their overthrow [b].

He utterly defeats ſeveral German *nations.*

THE ſame year, *Carauſius*, a native of *Gaul*, having, by *Maximian*'s orders, built a fleet at *Boulogne*, gained great advantages over the *Franks* and *Saxons*, who began to infeſt the ſeas with piracies; and, in ſeveral engagements by land, made a dreadful havock of the *German* nations that had broke into *Celtic Gaul*. However, as he kept, and applied to his own uſe, the booty which he had taken from the barbarians, inſtead of returning it to the proprietors, *Maximian* reſolved to put him to death; but *Carauſius*, having timely notice of his deſign, paſſed over into *Britain* with the fleet under his command; and there taking upon him the title of emperor, was acknowleged by all the troops quartered in that iſland [c]. He afterwards cauſed a great number of veſſels to be built, levied new forces, called the barbarians from the continent to his aſſiſtance, and, by inſtructing them how to work their ſhips, and fight by ſea, maintained himſelf a long time in poſſeſſion of the iſland, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of *Maximian*.

Carauſius *revolts, and ſeizes* Britain.

[x] Panegyr. orat. x. p. 125—132. [y] Panegyr. p. 132. [z] Cod. Juſt. l. iv. tit. 40. leg. 3. p. 311. [a] Cod. Juſt. l. v. tit. 42. leg. 3. p. 487. [b] Panegyr. 10. p. 125. [c] EUTROP. p. 585. AUR. VICT. p. 524. Panegyr. 8. p. 108.

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THE following year *Maximian* was conſul the ſecond time, with *Januarius*. *Mamertinus*, his panegyriſt, tells us, that on the firſt day of his conſulſhip; news being brought to *Treves*, where he then was, that the barbarians had made an irruption into *Gaul*, and were but a ſmall diſtance from that city, he immediately quitted his conſular robes, put on his armour, and, mounting his horſe, marched againſt the enemy, cut moſt of them in pieces, and the ſame day re-entered *Treves* in triumph [d]. Soon after, he croſſed the *Rhine*; and, entering *Germany*, laid waſte the enemy's country, took a great number of captives, and returned to *Gaul* loaded with booty [e]. Theſe exploits ſtruck ſuch terror into the *Franks*, that two of their kings, *Atec* and *Genobaud*, ſubmitted to him, deſiring him to confirm them in their reſpective kingdoms [f]. From an antient inſcription it appears, that both *Dioclesian* and *Maximian* took the ſurnames of *Francicus*, *Alemannicus*, and *Germanicus* [g]. *Mamertinus* ſpeaks of ſome victories gained by *Maximian*'s generals over a *fickle and deceitful nation*, meaning, no doubt, the *Franks*; for ſuch was, at leaſt in thoſe times, the character of that people [h]. *Dioclesian* likewiſe entered *Germany* this year on the ſide of *Rhætia*, and is ſaid to have extended the bounds of the empire to the ſprings of the *Danube* [i].

Year of the flood 2728. Of Chriſt 288. Of Rome 1086.

Maximian *defeats the barbarians a ſecond time. Gains great advantages over the* Franks.

THE next year *Baſſus* being conſul the ſecond time, with *Quintianus*, *Claudius Mamertinus* pronounced his famous panegyric on the emperor *Maximian* in the city of *Treves*, as is commonly believed, the emperor himſelf being preſent. As he was then aſſembling on the coaſt of *Gaul* the ſhips which he had cauſed to be built in ſeveral parts, with a deſign to attack *Carauſius* in *Britain*, his panegyriſt promiſes him certain victory over that rebel [k]. But it happened quite otherwiſe; for *Carauſius*'s men, who had been trained to the ſea-ſervice, eaſily put to flight thoſe who were ſent againſt them, diſperſed the emperor's fleet, and drove them on the coaſt of *Gaul*, where moſt of them were daſhed in pieces. *Maximian*, to cover the diſgrace of this defeat, gave out, that the ſea had not proved favourable to him, and that he only put off the war to a more convenient ſeaſon. But, in the mean time, Britain he began a treaty with *Carauſius*, wherein it was concluded, *given up* that he ſhould enjoy the government of *Britain*, as the more *to* Carauproper perſon, on account of his ſkill in ſea-affairs, to defend ſius.

[d] Panegyr. p. 125. [e] Ibid. p. 226. [f] VALES. rer. Francic. l. i. p. 11, 12. [g] Idem ibid. [h] Paneg. 10. p. 127. [i] Idem, p. 126. [k] Idem, p. 128.

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the iſland againſt the invaſions of the barbarians [l] (S). Thus was *Britain*, by treaty, given up to *Carauſius*, who governed it, with the title of emperor, for the ſpace of ſix or ſeven years, reckoning from this treaty, or, what ſeems moſt probable, from the time he firſt ſeized it. Our authors tell us, that he repaired and fortified the wall of *Severus*, and gained ſome advantages over the barbarians [m]. The ſame year, *Dioclesian defeats the Sarmatians.* *Dioclesian* gained a complete victory over the *Sarmatians*, the *Vithungæ*, or, rather, *Juthungæ*, and the *Quadi* [n]. *Eumenius* writes, that the whole nation of the *Sarmatians* was cut off; and the province of *Dacia*, which they had ſeized, reunited to the empire [o]. For theſe victories, *Dioclesian* aſſumed the ſurname of *Sarmaticus*, as appears from ſeveral antient coins and inſcriptions [p].

THE next conſuls were *Dioclesian* the fourth time, and *Maximian* the third. The former gained this year ſome conſiderable advantages over the *Saracens* [q]; and then, leaving the eaſtern provinces, returned to *Illyricum*, and, from *Illyricum*, entered *Italy* by the *Alpes Juliæ* in the depth of winter. *Maximian* at the ſame time left *Gaul*; and, paſſing the *The two emperors meet at* Milan. *Alpes Cottiæ*, met *Dioclesian* at *Milan*; where the two emperors held ſeveral private conferences, the ſubject whereof is not mentioned by hiſtorians, and then returned to their reſpective armies (for they came attended only by a ſmall guard); but were received in all the cities through which they paſſed, with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy imaginable. The following year, *Tiberianus*, and *Dio*, the ſon, or rather grandſon, as is conjectured, of the celebrated hiſtorian, being conſuls, a bloody war broke out among the barbarians, both in the North, and in *Africa*. The *Goths*, having overcome the *Burgundians* dwelling on the banks of the *Danube*, were intent upon utterly extirpating that rival nation; but the *Burgundians* were powerfully ſupported by the *Alani*, and the *Tervingæ*. Another *Gothic* nation, entering into a confederacy wich the *Taifalæ*, made war upon the *Vandals*, and the *Gapidæ*. In *Africa* the *Blemyes* were at war with the

[l] EUTROP. p. 586. AUR. VICT. p. 525. [m] USSER. rer. Brit. p. 586. ALFORD. annal. Brit. p. 285. [n] Paneg. 11. p. 132, 133. [o] Paneg. 8. p. 105. 107. [p] NORIS. de Dioclef. num. c. 4. p. 23. BIRAG. p. 426. [q] Paneg. 11. p. 132.

(S) This agreement is marked on all *Carauſius*'s coins, which repreſent two emperors ſhaking hands, with this legend, *Concordia Augg* (3).

(3) *Noriſ. de Dioclef. num. c. 4. p. 22, 23.*

Ethio-

Ethiopians, and the *Moors* were engaged in a civil war. Neither was *Perſia* exempt from civil diſturbances, raiſed by *Hormiſda*, who, revolting from his brother *Varranes* II. endeavoured to drive him from the throne, and ſeize it for himſelf, being ſupported in his unjuſt pretenſions by ſeveral *Perſian* lords, and ſome foreign nations [r].

THE barbarians being thus diverted from making inroads into the empire, all the provinces ſubject to *Rome* enjoyed this year a profound tranquillity, which, however, was but ſhort-lived; for the following year, 292. when *Annibalianus* and *Aſclepiodotus* were conſuls, the empire was in great danger of being torn in pieces by foreign as well as domeſtic enemies. Not to mention *Carauſius*, who ſtill held *Britain*, the *Perſians*, delivered from their inteſtine broils, broke into *Meſopotamia*, and threatened *Syria*. The *Quinquegentiani*, perhaps ſo called, becauſe they were *quinque gentes*, that is, *five nations*, joined in confederacy againſt the *Romans*, over-ran *Africa*; *M. Aurelius Julianus* revolted in *Italy*, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor; the ſame title was aſſumed at *Alexandria* in *Egypt* by *Achilleus*, ſtiled on his coins *L. Epidius Achilleus* [s]. The two emperors, alarmed at the danger which threatened the empire, and not thinking themſelves alone able to oppoſe ſo many enemies at once, reſolved to ſtrengthen their intereſt with the aſſiſtance of others, and to name each of them a *Cæſar*, who ſhould ſucceed them in the empire, and, jointly with them, defend the *Roman* dominions both againſt foreign invaders, and domeſtic uſurpers. Purſuant to this reſolution and agreement, *Dioclefian* choſe *Maximinus Galerius*; and *Maximian*, *Conſtantius*, ſurnamed *Chlorus*; who were each of them veſted with the tribunitial and proconſular power, and honoured with the titles of *emperor*, *father of their country*, *high pontif*, &c. which had hitherto been peculiar to the ſovereign [t]. The two emperors, the better to cement the union between them and their *Cæſars*, obliged them to put away their wives, and marry others; upon which *Conſtantius* married *Theodora*, daughter-in law to *Maximian*; and *Galerius*, *Valeria*, the daughter of *Dioclefian* [u] (T).

The empire threatened on all ſides.

The two emperors chooſe two Cæſars.

AFTER

[r] Paneg. II. p. 131—137. [s] AUR. VICT. epit. p. 524. EUTROP. p. 585. BIRAG. p. 430, GOLTZ. p. 122. [t] EUTROP. p. 585. AUR. VICT. p. 524. GRUT. p. 166. EUSEB. l. viii. c. 17. p. 315. [u] VICT. ibid. EUTROP. p 586.

(T) Some authors write, that both the *Cæſars* were named by *Dioclefian*, and by him inſtated in that dignity with great ſolemnity the firſt day of *March* of this year 292. on a riſing ground,

The empire divided into four parts.

AFTER the nomination of the two *Cæſars*, the empire was divided into four parts: *Dioclesian* choſe for himſelf the countries beyond the *Ægæan* ſea; *Thrace* and *Illyricum* were allotted to *Galerius*; *Italy* and *Africa*, with the adjacent iſlands, to *Maximian*; and *Gaul*, *Britain*, and *Spain*, with *Mauritania Tingitana*, to *Conſtantius*.

Year of the flood 2732. Of Chriſt 292. Of Rome 1090.

EACH of theſe princes governed the provinces that fell to their ſhare with an abſolute ſway; but the other three paid great deference to *Dioclesian*, acknowleging themſelves indebted to him for the power they enjoyed, and looking upon him as their common father. An intire union and concord reigned among them, each of them carefully avoiding to aſſume any ſuperiority over the reſt, or to give the leaſt motive of jealouſy or umbrage to his collegues [w]. From this time forward, the empire continued almoſt conſtantly divided; but, at the ſame time, each emperor was looked upon as maſter of the whole. Hence, to the laws, which any of them enacted, were always prefixed the names of his collegues; and likewiſe to all the requeſts and petitions that were preſented to them. This multiplicity of princes was attended with great inconveniences, and is therefore much exclaimed againſt by *Lactantius*, who aſcribes it to the cowardice of *Dioclesian*, unwilling to expoſe his own perſon to danger [x]. As each of the four ſovereigns would have as many officers, both civil and military, and the ſame number of forces, as had been maintained by the ſtate when governed only by one emperor, there were more ſoldiers to pay, than people to ſupply the neceſſary ſums. Hence the taxes and impoſts were increaſed beyond meaſure, the inhabitants in the ſeveral provinces reduced to beggary, the lands left untilled for want of hands, *&c.* In proportion as the people grew leſs able to pay the heavy taxes laid upon them, the number of the officers was increaſed to exact them by force. Thus was the empire greatly weakened, and almoſt quite ruined [y]. *Italy* itſelf, which had hitherto only ſupplied with proviſions the court, and the troops attending it, was obliged to pay the ſame tri-

The evils attending this diviſion.

[w] EUSEB. l. viii. c. 17. p. 315 VICT. p. 524. [x] LACT. perſ. c. 7. p. 6. [y] Idem, p. 6——8.

ground, about three miles from *Nicomedia*, where a pillar was afterwards erected, with a ſtatue conſecrated to *Jupiter* (4). But moſt writers ſuppoſe *Galerius* to have been choſen by *Dioclesian*, and *Conſtantius* by *Maximian*; and all agree, that *Galerius* was adopted by the former, and *Conſtantius* by the latter.

(4) *Lact. perſ. c.* 19. *p.* 18. *Chron. Alex. p.* 640.

bute

bute as the provinces; which reduced it, in proceſs of time, to a deplorable condition [z].

GALERIUS, whom *Dioclesian* named to the dignity of *Cæſar*, is ſtiled on moſt of his coins, *Caius Galerius Valerius Maximianus*. He was born in a village near *Sardica*, the metropolis of *New Dacia*; his mother, by name *Romula*, having retired thither from *Old Dacia*, or *Dacia* beyond the *Danube*, while that country was over-run by the *Carpi*. *Galerius*, in honour of his mother, gave afterwards the name of *Romulianum* to the place of his nativity [a]. As *Romula* was a profeſſed enemy to the Chriſtians, ſhe inſpired her ſon with the ſame hatred to them; which chiefly gave riſe to the bloody perſecution, which broke out in the latter end of *Dioclesian*'s reign. *Galerius* was deſcended of an obſcure family; for both he, and his ſiſter's ſon *Maximinus*, whom he afterwards created *Cæſar*, are ſaid to have been in their youth cow-herds; whence *Galerius* was nick-named *Armentarius*, from the *Latin* word *armentum*, ſignifying a drove of cattle. He was a perſon altogether illiterate; but nevertheleſs raiſed himſelf, from the mean condition of a common ſoldier, to the chief poſts in the army, having given ſignal proofs of his valour and conduct under the emperors *Aurelian* and *Probus* [b] (U). He had no children by *Valeria*, the daughter of *Dioclesian*; but a ſon, named *Candidianus*, by a concubine, and a daughter by his former wife, who was married to *Maxentius*, the ſon of *Maximian* [c]. Of *Conſtantius*, the other *Cæſar*, we ſhall ſpeak in a more proper place. *Galerius* was no ſooner created *Cæſar*, than he marched, with all the troops he could

Birth, education, preferments, &c. of Galerius Cæſar.

[z] AUR. VICT. p. 524. [a] Idem ibid. EUTROP. p. 581.
[b] VICT. epit. p. 543. [c] LACT. perſ. p. 401. 44. 19. 16.

(U) *Lactantius* reckons him amongſt the worſt emperors, and ſpeaks of him as one abandoned to all manner of wickedneſs, naturally inclined to cruelty, and a declared enemy to learning, and men of letters (5). The ſame writer adds, that in his words, in his actions, and even in his countenance, there was ſomething ſhocking and offenſive, apt to inſpire thoſe who approached him, rather with terror and averſion, than with eſteem or affection. *Aurelius Victor*, who ſeems to have been no-way prejudiced againſt him, owns, that he was naturally of a fierce and ſavage temper, and that his ruſtic, haughty, and diſobliging behaviour, drowned all his good qualities; for, according to that writer, he had excellent natural parts, and would have made a good figure on the throne, had the gifts of nature been improved by a polite and liberal education (6).

(5) *Lact. perſ. c.* 9. *p.* 8. (6) *Aur. Vict. p.* 526.

aſſemble,

assemble, against the barbarians in the neighbourhood of the *Danube* and *Illyricum*; but performed nothing, either in this, or the three following years, against the enemies of *Rome*, which historians have judged worth transmitting to posterity. He caused several large forests to be grubbed up in *Lower Pannonia*, and a lake to be discharged into the *Danube*; by which means he gained a new province, which, from his wife's name, he stiled *Valeria*, lying between the *Danube* and the *Draw*, and known in future ages by the name of *Pannonia Secunda*. The chief cities of this new province were, *Mursa*, *Aquincum*, and *Valeria*[d]. *Maximian* passed, this year, over into *Africa*; where he gained a complete victory over the *Quinquegentiani*, and reduced *Julianus* (who had taken upon him the title of emperor in *Italy*, as we have hinted above, and afterwards crossed over into *Africa*) to such straights, that he stabbed himself with his own sword[e].

Pannonia Secunda, *a new province.*

CONSTANTIUS was no sooner vested with his new dignity, than he hastened into *Gaul*; and, arriving at *Gesforiacum*, now *Boulogne*, which was held by the troops of *Carausius*, invested the place, and blocked up the haven with huge beams driven into the ground at the entrance, and heaps of great stones like a rampart. The garison, being by this means prevented from returning into *Britain*, and deprived of all hopes of relief, submitted to *Constantius*, and were incorporated among his troops. The mole, which had continued firm for several days, was quite disjointed by the first tide after the surrender of the city, and broken to pieces[f]. *Constantius*, notwithstanding the reduction of that important place, did not yet attempt the recovery of *Britain*, not thinking himself furnished with a sufficient number of ships for so great an undertaking. Where *Diocletian* was this year, or what he performed, we are no-where told. The following year, *Diocletian* being consul the fifth time, and *Maximian* the fourth, *Carausius* was treacherously murdered by *Allectus*, his bosom-friend, and prime minister; who thereupon usurped the government, and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor[g]. *Constantius*, while his fleet was preparing in the ports on the ocean for the *British* expedition, cleared *Batavia* of the *Franks*, who had seized on that country; and transplanted them, with their wives and children, into other parts of the empire, destitute of inhabitants, obliging them to till the

Constantius *takes* Gesforiacum.

Carausius *murdered by* Allectus, *who assumes the government of* Britain.

[d] AUR. VICT. p. 525, 526. BAUDRAN. p. 303. [e] AUR. VICT. ibid. [f] Panegyr. 7, 8. p. 93, 105. [g] AUR. VICT. p. 525. EUTROP. p. 586. Panegyr. 8. p. 108.

ground,

ground, to pay tribute, and to ſupply, when required, a certain number of troops[h] (W).

Constantius *drives the* Franks *out of* Batavia.

THE following year, when *Conſtantius* and *Galerius* were conſuls, two ſtrong caſtles were built by the latter on the *Danube*, in the country of the *Sarmatians*; the one over-againſt *Acincum*, or *Aquincum*, now *Strigonium*, or *Gran*, in *Lower Hungary*; the other oppoſite to *Bononia*, which ſtood between the *Draw* and *Save*, and is at preſent known by the name of *Bonmoſter*. From the date of ſeveral laws, publiſhed this and the preceding year, it appears, that *Diocleſian* ſpent them both in *Illyricum* and *Thrace*; which provinces belonged to *Galerius*, whom perhaps he was come to aſſiſt againſt the barbarians on the other ſide the *Danube*: in the ſame manner we ſhall ſee *Maximian* enter *Gaul* to defend that province againſt the incurſions of the barbarians, while *Conſtantius* drove the barbarians out of the *Roman* territories, but built many forts on the frontiers, to prevent their making new irruptions; by which means the inhabitants long enjoyed a profound tranquillity (7). It was probably on account of his victories over the *Franks*, that *Conſtantius* aſſumed the title of *Germanicus*, which is given him in an inſcription of the following year, 194. quoted by *Lactantius* (8). *Eumenius*, the panegyriſt, tells us, that *Conſtantius* performed many remarkable exploits before he attempted the reduction of *Britain*; that he utterly exterminated ſeveral barbarous nations, extended the limits of the empire, reſtored many provinces, pillaged and laid waſte *Germany* from the *Rhine* to the *Danube*, and took the king of a very fierce and warlike nation priſoner (9) He reſtored to its antient ſplendor the city of *Auguſtodunum*, now *Autun*, which had been almoſt utterly ruined in the year 269. by *Tetricus*, for having revolted from him, and invited the emperor *Claudius* into *Gaul*. The temples, baths, and other public edifices, nay, even moſt of the houſes belonging to private perſons, were, at an immenſe charge, rebuilt by *Conſtantius*, who moreover embelliſhed the city, in regard of its attachment to *Claudius*, his great-uncle, with magnificent aqueducts, ſupplied it with plenty of water, tranſplanted thither the moſt conſpicuous families in the other provinces, prevailed upon the famous orator *Eumenius*, who was himſelf a native of the place, to take upon him the charge of educating and inſtructing their youth, and, in ſhort, did all that lay in his power to raiſe *Autun* above all the other cities of *Gaul* (1).

[h] Panegyr. 1. 3. 7. 8. p. 3. 47. 93. 104. 106, 107.

(W) The emperor *Julian* tells us, that *Maximian* and *Conſtantius* not only drove the barbarians out of the *Roman* territories, but built many forts on the frontiers, to prevent their making new irruptions; by which means the inhabitants long enjoyed a profound tranquillity (7). It was probably on account of his victories over the *Franks*, that *Conſtantius* aſſumed the title of *Germanicus*, which is given him in an inſcription of the following year, 194. quoted by *Lactantius* (8). *Eumenius*, the panegyriſt, tells us, that *Conſtantius* performed many remarkable exploits before he attempted the reduction of *Britain*; that he utterly exterminated ſeveral barbarous nations, extended the limits of the empire, reſtored many provinces, pillaged and laid waſte *Germany* from the *Rhine* to the *Danube*, and took the king of a very fierce and warlike nation priſoner (9) He reſtored to its antient ſplendor the city of *Auguſtodunum*, now *Autun*, which had been almoſt utterly ruined in the year 269. by *Tetricus*, for having revolted from him, and invited the emperor *Claudius* into *Gaul*. The temples, baths, and other public edifices, nay, even moſt of the houſes belonging to private perſons, were, at an immenſe charge, rebuilt by *Conſtantius*, who moreover embelliſhed the city, in regard of its attachment to *Claudius*, his great-uncle, with magnificent aqueducts, ſupplied it with plenty of water, tranſplanted thither the moſt conſpicuous families in the other provinces, prevailed upon the famous orator *Eumenius*, who was himſelf a native of the place, to take upon him the charge of educating and inſtructing their youth, and, in ſhort, did all that lay in his power to raiſe *Autun* above all the other cities of *Gaul* (1).

(7) *Julian.* p. 12. p. 103. 107. (8) *Lact. perſ.* p. 356. (1) *Paneg.* 6. 8, 9. p. 85. 112. 114. (9) *Paneg.* 8.

tius

tius was employed in *Britain*. The next conſuls were *Tyſcus* and *Annulinus*. This year the *Carpi*, after having long maintained themſelves in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of the *Roman* emperors, were at length intirely reduced by *Galerius*, and by *Dioclefian* tranſplanted into the territories of the empire, chiefly into *Pannonia* [i] (X). The following year, 296. *Dioclefian* being conſul the ſixth time, and *Conſtantius* the ſecond, the latter, after three years preparations, undertook at length the reduction of *Britain*. But of the ſucceſs that attended him in that expedition, we ſhall ſpeak at large in the hiſtory of *Britain*.

The Carpi *intirely ſubdued.*

Conſtantius *invades* Britain.

CONSTANTIUS, having ſettled affairs in *Britain*, returned to *Gaul*; and, tranſplanting great numbers of *Franks* into that province, peopled with them the countries of *Amiens*, *Beauvois*, *Troies*, and *Langres*, almoſt quite deſtitute of inhabitants, obliging the new-comers to cultivate the lands, to pay the uſual tributes, and ſupply the *Roman* armies with a certain number of troops [k]. The ſame year, *Dioclefian* recovered *Egypt* from *Achilleus*, who had cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor, and held that province, according to his coins, for the ſpace of near ſix years [l]. *Dioclefian* marched againſt him this year in perſon, overcame him without much trouble, and puniſhed him according to his deſerts (Y).

Part of Gaul *peopled by the* Franks.

Achilleus *overcome, and* Egypt *reduced, by* Diocleſian.

THE

[i] Paneg. 8. p. 105. 107. JORN. rer. Goth. c. 16. p. 634. AUR. VICT. p. 525. EUTROP. p. 586. AMMIAN. l. xxviii. p. 357. [k] VALES. rer. Franc. l. i. p. 15. BUCH. Belg. p. 227. Panegyr. 7. p. 93. [l] GOLTZ. p. 121. BIRAG. p. 430.

(X) From an inſcription of this year, we learn, that the emperors cauſed the walls of *Vitodurum*, now *Wintherthur*, in the canton of *Zurich*, between *Zurich* and *Conſtance*, to be rebuilt. *Aurelius Proculus*, who commanded in the country of the *Sequani*, had the ſuperintendency of the work. In that inſcription, *Dioclefian* is ſtiled *imperator* the tenth time, and *Maximian* the eighth (2).

(Y) Thus *Aurelius Victor* (3). But *Eutropius* writes, that he ſuſtained an eight months ſiege in *Alexandria* (4); and *Euſebius*, that great numbers were killed on both ſides, during the ſiege (5). *Dioclefian* not only puniſhed with death the ringleaders of the revolt, but filled *Egypt* with murders and proſcriptions (6); and even gave up, according to *Oroſius* (7), the city of *Alexandria* to be plundered by his greedy and

(2) *Gruter. p.* 166. *Valeſ. not. Gall. p.* 615. *Ferrar. de ant. Italic. p.* 332.
(3) *Aur. Vict. p.* 525. (4) *Eutrop. p.* 586. (5) *Euſeb. chron.* (6) *Eutrop. p.* 586. *Johann. Antioch. p.* 834. (7) *Oroſ. l.* vii. *c.* 25. *p.* 215.

enraged

THE next conſuls were *Maximianus* the fifth time, and *Galerius* the ſecond. The former, quitting *Gaul* upon the return of *Conſtantius* from *Britain*, croſſed over into *Africa*, cut in pieces the armies of the rebellious *Moors*, beſieged their caſtles and ſtrong-holds, drove them from their mountains and rocks, which they had hitherto deemed impregnable; and, having obliged them to deliver up their arms, and ſurrender at diſcretion, tranſplanted them into other countries [m]. The ſame year,

The Moors *ſubdued by* Maximian.

Year of the flood 2737. Of Chriſt 297. Of Rome 1095.

[m] Panegyr. 8. p. 105—108.

enraged ſoldiery. If what theſe authors write be true, we leave our readers to judge of the ſincerity of *Eumenius*, who tells us, that *Dioclefian*, by his extraordinary clemency, reſtored tranquillity to *Egypt* (8). Some writers obſerve, that he made a ſtrict ſearch after all the books of chemiſtry written formerly by the *Egyptians*, and cauſed them all to be publicly burnt, leſt the *Egyptians*, enriched by that art, ſhould be tempted to ſhake off the yoke anew (9). *Conſtantine*, the ſon of *Conſtantius*, attended *Dioclefian* in this war; for *Euſebius* tells us, that he ſaw him as he paſſed with the emperor thro' *Palæſtine* (1). The cities of *Coptos* and *Buſiris* in *Thebais*, having ſided in this war with *Achilleus*, were by *Dioclefian* utterly ruined (2). *Zonaras* ſuppoſes theſe cities to have been deſtroyed by *Dioclefian*, ſome time before the revolt of *Achilleus*, for having attempted to ſhake off the *Roman* yoke (3). *Eumenius* tells us, that the victories gained by *Dioclefian* in *Egypt* ſtruck terror into the *Indians* and *Ethiopians* (4). However, the emperor was ſo far from taking any advantage of that conſternation, and extending the limits of the empire on that ſide, that, on the contrary, he entered into a treaty with the *Nubians*, who uſed to make frequent inroads into the adjoining territory of *Oaſis*, yielding to them a large country, as much, ſays *Procopius*, as a traveler could go through in ſeven days, on condition that they prevented the *Blemyes*, and other barbarians, from breaking into *Egypt* on the ſide of *Ethiopia*. The ſame writer adds, that *Dioclefian* cauſed a caſtle to be built in an iſland formed by the *Nile* in the neighbourhood of *Elephantis*, and a temple, in which ſacrifices were offered, both by the *Roman* and *Nubian* prieſts, for the proſperity of both nations. By this means the emperor hoped to eſtabliſh a good underſtanding between the *Romans* and thoſe barbarians; and therefore called the caſtle *Philas*, that is, *friendſhip*. But neither the country he yielded to them, nor the penſion which he engaged to pay yearly both to them and the *Blemyes*, and which was ſtill paid in the time of *Juſ-*

(8) *Panegyr.* 9. *p.* 121. (9) *Suid. p.* 741. *Johann. Antioch. p.* 834. (1) *Euſeb. vit. Conſtant. l.* i. *c.* 19. *p.* 417. (2) *Theoph. chronograph. p.* 4. 6. (3) *Zonar. p.* 243. (4) *Panegyr.* 8. *p.* 105.

year, *Narſes* king of *Perſia*, emulating the glory of *Sapor*, who had defeated the *Roman* armies, and taken the emperor himſelf priſoner, entered *Armenia* at the head of a mighty army; and, having without much trouble reduced that kingdom, advanced into *Meſopotamia*. *Dioclefian*, mindful of the misfortune that had befallen the unhappy *Valerian*, inſtead of marching againſt him in perſon, withdrew into *Egypt*, committing the whole management of that dangerous war to *Galerius*, whom he injoined to leave *Illyricum* forthwith, and haſten into *Meſopotamia*, to oppoſe there the attempts of the *Perſian* monarch. *Galerius* obeyed, flew to *Meſopotamia*, and, meeting the *Perſians* between *Callinicum* and *Carrhæ*, engaged their numerous army with the few troops he had with him. The battle laſted ſome hours; but in the end the *Romans*, overpowered with numbers, were forced to give ground, and ſave themſelves by flight. *Galerius* haſtened to *Dioclefian*, to give him, by word of mouth, an account of the diſaſter, and adviſe with him about the moſt proper meaſures to prevent the evil conſequences that might attend it. The emperor, who, at his arrival, was taking the air in the fields, received him with the greateſt contempt imaginable, and ſuffered him, attired as he was with the purple, to walk one, or, as others write, ſeveral miles by his chariot [n]. This affront, inſtead of diſheartening him, inſpired him with an eager deſire of wiping off the diſgrace of his late overthrow. Having therefore, with much difficulty, obtained leave of *Dioclefian* to raiſe a new army, he aſſembled all the troops in *Illyricum* and *Mœſia*, made new levies, and in a ſhort time returned with a conſiderable army, and entered *Armenia*. All authors agree, that *Galerius*, in this war, performed whatever could be expected from a brave ſoldier, and experienced commander: he even went in perſon, attended only by two horſemen, to reconnoitre the enemy, paſſing himſelf upon thoſe who ſtopped him, for a deputy ſent by the *Roman* emperor to the *Perſian* monarch.

Galerius *defeated by* Narſes *king of* Perſia.

HAVING thus viewed the enemy's camp and works, he attacked them ſo ſeaſonably, and conducted the whole action with ſuch prudence and addreſs, that only with twenty-five thouſand men he forced their intrenchments, though defended

Narſes *utterly defeated in a ſecond battle by* Galerius.

[n] AUR. VICT. p. 525. JUL. orat. i. p. 31. AMMIAN. l xiv. p. 27.

tinian, were ſufficient to reſtrain them from making inroads into the empire, when not awed by the *Roman* troops (5).

(5) *Procop. bell. Perſ. c.* 19. *p.* 59. *Olympiodor. p.* 13.

by

by an innumerable multitude, cut above twenty thouſand of them in pieces, took an immenſe booty, and an incredible number of priſoners, among whom were the king's wives, ſiſters, and children both ſons and daughters, and a great many perſons of the firſt rank [o]. *Galerius* treated the princeſſes with great reſpect, and would not ſuffer the leaſt affront to be offered to them; which ſeemed ſo ſurpriſing to the *Perſians*, that they owned themſelves as much inferior to the *Romans* in chaſtity as in valour [p]. *Eutropius* tells us, that *Licinius*, afterwards emperor, ſignalized himſelf on this occaſion [q]. *Narſes*, who was preſent at this battle, and, according to *Zonaras*, wounded in the beginning of the engagement, fled with the reſt, and took ſhelter in the moſt remote deſerts of his kingdom; whence he ſent *Apharban*, one of his chief favourites, to conclude a peace with the *Romans* upon any terms. *The Perſians ſue for peace*; treated the conqueror not to deſtroy the *Perſian* empire, but to uſe his victory with moderation; which, he ſaid, would gain him greater reputation and fame, than the victory itſelf. As for the conditions of the peace, he left them intirely to him; and only begged in his maſter's name, that, mindful of the generoſity which in all ages had been peculiar to the *Romans*, he would add to the obligations which he already owed him for treating his wives and children with ſuch humanity, that of reſtoring them to their former condition. *Galerius* anſwered him, that it ill became the *Perſians* to expect moderation in others, after they had in ſuch an enormous manner, as was known to the whole world, abuſed their victory in treating their illuſtrious captive *Valerian* like the meaneſt of ſlaves, nay, worſe than their beaſts of burden. However, as it is beneath a *Roman*, added he, to retaliate ſuch indignities, and we are taught to ſpare thoſe who ſubmit, and humble ſuch as oppoſe us, let your maſter know, that he may perhaps ſoon have the pleaſure of ſeeing the perſons who are ſo dear to him [r].

GALERIUS, having diſmiſſed the *Perſian* embaſſador, hastened to *Dioclefian*, who received him at *Niſibis* in *Meſopotamia* with all poſſible marks of honour and eſteem. They held ſeveral conferences, the ſubject of which was, whether or no they ſhould conclude a peace with the *Perſians*, and upon what terms. We are told, that they might have eaſily reduced *Perſia* to a *Roman* province, but that *Dioclefian* did not

[o] EUTROP. p. 586. FESTUS, p. 553. LACT. perſec. c. 9. p. 8. AMMIAN. l. xxiii. p. 245. ZONAR. p. 244. [p] PETR. PATRIC. in excerpt. de legat. p. 26, & 30. [q] EUTROP. ibid. [r] Idem ibid. PETR. PATRIC. legat. p. 26.

approve of it, for reaſons, ſays *Aurelius Victor*, unknown to us [s]. *Sicorius Probus*, one of *Galerius*'s ſecretaries, was therefore diſpatched to *Narſes*, who received him with great demonſtrations of kindneſs and eſteem, and ſoon after admitted him to an audience on the banks of the *Aſprudis* in *Media*, in the preſence only of *Apharban*, and two others. The terms propoſed by *Probus* were, that *Narſes* ſhould yield to the *Romans* the five following provinces, *Intelene*, *Sophene*, *Arzacene*, *Carduene*, and *Zabdicene*; that the *Tigris* ſhould be the boundary between the two empires; that *Niſibis* ſhould be a common empory to both nations; that the limits of *Armenia* ſhould be extended to the caſtle of *Zintha* on the confines of *Media*; and, laſtly, that the king of *Iberia* ſhould receive the crown at the hands of the *Roman* emperor. *Narſes* excepted againſt the article relating to *Niſibis*, but complied with the reſt. Whereupon a peace was concluded, and the *Perſian* king's wives and children ſent back to him [t]. This peace proved very advantageous to the *Romans*, and laſted forty years, till the *Perſians*, deſirous to recover the provinces they had yielded, broke it in the latter end of *Conſtantine*'s reign (Z).

which is granted them, upon their yielding five provinces to the Romans.

FOR theſe conqueſts, *Galerius* aſſumed the pompous titles of *Perſicus*, *Armeniacus*, *Medicus*, and *Adiabenicus*, as if he had ſubdued all theſe nations; and became ſo elated with his victory, that *Diocleſian* began to take umbrage at his haughty behaviour, imagining, that he would not be much longer ſatisfied with the bare title of *Cæſar* [u]. The following year, *Anicius Fauſtus* being conſul the ſecond time with *Severus Gallus*, *Diocleſian* built ſeveral forts and caſtles on the frontiers of the empire towards *Perſia*; and ſurrounded with high walls, and ſtrong towers, the caſtle of *Cercuſium* in *Meſopotamia*, at the confluence of the *Aboras* and the *Euphrates* [w]. The next conſuls were, *Diocleſian* the ſeventh time, and *Maximian* the ſixth. This year the *Marcomanni* and *Baſtarnæ* re-

Galerius *elated with his victory.*

[s] AUR. VICT. p. 525. [t] PETR. PATRIC. legat. p. 29. [u] EUSEB. l. viii. c. 17. LACT. perſ. c. 9. p. 9. AUR. VICT. p. 525. [w] Panegyr. p. 121. GRUT. p. 166, 167. AMMIAN. l. xxix. p. 359.

(Z) The above-mentioned provinces lay towards the ſprings of the *Tigris*, and on the *Roman* ſide of that river; but were by the *Romans* commonly called the provinces beyond the *Tigris*, becauſe they had been ſo called by the *Perſians*. Inſtead of *Intelene* and *Sophene*, we read in *Ammianus Marcellinus Moxoene* and *Rehimene*: as to the names of the other three, there is no diſagreement among authors.

ceived

ceived a great overthrow, and great numbers of their captives were tranſplanted into the *Roman* territories[x]. From ſeveral laws it appears, that *Dioclesian* was this year, in the months of *January*, *February*, *April*, and *November*, at *Sirmium*, and on the fifth of *June* at *Philippopolis* in *Thrace*[y]. The following year, when *Conſtantius* and *Galerius* were conſuls the third time, is quite barren of events.

THE next conſuls were, *Titianus* the ſecond time, and *Nepotianus*, whom *Onuphrius* takes to be the father of *Flavius Popilius Nepotianus*, who uſurped the empire fifty years after[z]. This year *Conſtantius* gained a remarkable victory over the *Alemanni*, who, coming upon him unexpectedly, while he had but a ſmall body of troops with him, obliged him to retire, and ſhelter himſelf within the walls of *Langres*. But his army arriving a few hours after he had entered the city, he marched out at the head of the detachment he had with him, joined his other forces, and, falling upon the enemy, cut ſixty thouſand of them in pieces[a] (A). *Dioclesian* was, as appears from the code[b], on the fourth of *July*, at *Antioch* in *Syria*. The following year, when *Conſtantius* and *Galerius* were conſuls the fourth time, a great dearth prevailed in moſt provinces of the empire, occaſioned, ſays *Lactantius*[c], by the avariciouſneſs of *Dioclesian*, who, to obviate that evil, fixed the prices of all ſorts of neceſſary proviſions; but, the rates being too low, the traders, inſtead of expoſing to ſale, concealed their commodities: by which means the dearth was changed into a famine, which raged till the merchants were allowed to ſell their commodities at their own prices (B). *Dioclesian* ſeems to

Conſtantius *gains a ſignal victory over the* Alemanni.

Year of the flood 2741. Of Chriſt 301. Of Rome 1099.

A great dearth in moſt provinces of the empire.

[x] AUR. VICTOR, p. 525. EUTROP. p. 586. [y] Cod. Juſt. l. ii. tit. 13. leg. 17. p. 201, &c. [z] ONUPH. p. 261. [a] ZONAR. p. 244. THEOPHAN. chronog. p. 5. Panegyr. 7. p. 93. [b] Cod. Juſt. l. ii. tit. 28. leg. 25. p. 268. [c] LACT. perſ. c. 7. p. 362.

(A) *Eumenius* mentions another victory gained this year by *Conſtantius* in the plains of *Vindoniſſa*, now *Vindiſch*, in the canton of *Bern*, near the confluence of the *Aar* and the *Ruſs* (6). The ſame writer tells us, that a numerous army, conſiſting of different *German* nations, having rendezvouſed in an iſland in the *Rhine*, while that river was frozen over, were by a ſudden thaw ſhut up there, and obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion to the *Romans*, who kept them blocked up with their fleet (7).

(B) The ſame thing happened in the reign of *Julian* ſurnamed *the Apoſtate*. We read in the chronicle of *Alexandria*, that

(6) *Panegyr.* 7. *p.* 92. *Baudr. p.* 31. (7) *Panegyr. ibid.*

to have paſſed this year partly in *Syria*, and partly at *Nicomedia* in *Bithynia*, with *Galerius* [d]. The next year *Dioclesian* entered upon his eighth, and *Maximian* upon his ſeventh conſulſhip. *Dioclesian* and *Galerius* paſſed the winter at *Nicomedia* in *Bithynia*, in conſultations, not about the means of extending the empire, and ſecuring it againſt the incurſions of the barbarians, but concerning the moſt effectual methods of utterly extirpating the Chriſtian religion, to which *Galerius* had imbibed, from his infancy, an irreconcileable hatred. He found means to inſpire *Dioclesian* with the ſame fury, and, as we may call it, madneſs; the effect of which was the moſt bloody and dreadful perſecution the church had yet ſuffered (C).

The tenth general perſecution.

ABOUT

[d] Cod. p. 240. 243.

Dioclesian gave this year to that city the *military bread* (8): what is meant thereby, we are not told. *Procopius* writes, that *Dioclesian* ordered two millions of buſhels of corn to be yearly diſtributed among the inhabitants of that populous metropolis (9). Before the reign of *Dioclesian*, corn was given monthly to old and diſabled perſons; and, in the reign of *Conſtantine*, to the eccleſiaſtics (1).

(C) This perſecution, which was the tenth and laſt general one, broke out on the twenty-third of *February* of this year 303. the nineteenth of *Dioclesian*'s reign, and raged ten whole years with a fury hardly to be expreſſed, the Chriſtians being every-where, without diſtinction of ſex, age, or condition, dragged to execution, and tortured with the moſt exquiſite torments rage, cruelty, and hatred, could invent. Such numbers of Chriſtians ſuffered death in all the provinces of the empire, that the tyrants, imagining they had compaſſed their wicked intent, and intirely aboliſhed Chriſtianity, told the world in a pompous, but lying inſcription, that they had extinguiſhed the Chriſtian name and ſuperſtition, and every-where reſtored the worſhip of the gods to its former purity and luſtre. But the church triumphed over all the powers and artifices of men, and, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of tyranny, prevailed a few years after in the very metropolis of idolatry and ſuperſtition. During this perſecution, *Albanus Verolamienſis*, *Julius*, *Aaron*, a citizen of *Iſca Legionum*, now *Exeter*, and other champions of the faith, almoſt without number, ſuffered martyrdom in *Britain*. But to give an account of their ſufferings, of their truly heroic firmneſs, and unſhaken conſtancy, would be entrenching on the province of the eccleſiaſtic writers. Happy and glorious had hitherto been the reign of *Dioclesian*; but he no ſooner began to imbrue his hands in the blood of the righteous, ſays *Euſebius*, than he felt

(8) *Chron. Alex. p.* 644. (9) *Procop. arcan. hiſt. c.* 26. *p.* 77. (1) *Euſeb. l.* vii. *c.* 21. *p.* 267. *Evagr. p.* 68. *Atharapol. p.* 737.

the

ABOUT this time, one *Eugenius* assumed the title of emperor in *Syria*. He commanded five hundred men in *Seleucia*, who, being employed in the day-time in cleansing the harbour of that city, and in the night in baking their own bread, to deliver themselves from that insupportable drudgery, agreed to revolt, and proclaim their leader emperor. *Eugenius*, who expected nothing less, refused at first the dignity offered him; but was at length prevailed upon, through fear, to accept it; for they threatened him with present death, if he refused to second their designs. Being therefore arrayed with a purple robe taken from the statue of one of the gods, he led his men strait to *Antioch*; which city he reached the same day in the close of the evening, and entered it without opposition, as there was no garison in the place, and the inhabitants were quite unapprised of his revolt; but, when he began to act as emperor, the whole city rose, and, falling upon the rebels, for the most part intoxicated with wine, with such arms as chance presented, killed them all to a man before midnight. Thus the empire of *Eugenius* began and ended the same day [e]. *Eugenius proclaimed emperor by a few soldiers; who are all cut in pieces.*

[e] LIBAN. orat. xiv. p. 399. & orat. xv. p. 410, 411.

the effects of divine vengeance in the many calamities which soon overtook him (2). A few days after the issuing of the first edicts against the Christians, a fire broke out in the palace at *Nicomedia*, where *Diocletian* and *Galerius* were lodged, and reduced part of it to ashes (3). *Eusebius* writes, that he could never know how that accident happened (4). *Constantine*, who was on the spot, ascribes it to lightning (5); and *Lactantius* assures us, that *Galerius* caused fire to be privately set to the palace, that he might lay the blame of it upon the Christians, and by that means incense *Diocletian* still more against them, which he did accordingly (6). *Constantine* tells us (7), that *Diocletian* was so disturbed with this accident, that thenceforth he constantly imagined he saw lightning falling from heaven; which was in effect the beginning of that phrensy, which by *Lactantius* and *Eusebius* is ascribed to the malady, of which we shall speak presently. *Diocletian*'s terror and dismay were greatly increased by a second fire, which broke out in the palace fifteen days after the first, but was stopped before it had done any great mischief. However, it had the effect which was intended by the author of it, *Galerius*; for *Diocletian*, ascribing it to the Christians, resolved to keep no measures with them; and *Galerius*, the more to exasperate him against them, withdrew from *Nicomedia* the same day, saying, that he was afraid of being burnt alive by the Christians (8).

(2) *Euseb. l.* viii. *c.* 13. *p.* 308. (3) *Lact. pers. c.* 14. *p.* 12. *Euseb. l.* viii. *c.* 6. *p.* 297. (4) *Idem ibid.* (5) *Const. orat. ad sanct. cœtum.* (6) *Lact. pers. c.* 14. *p.* 12. (7) *Constant. ibid.* (8) *Lact. ibid. Euseb. de martyr. Palæst. c.* 2. *p.* 320.

The cruelty of Diocleſian *to the* Antiochians.

Dioclesian ought rather to have rewarded than puniſhed the *Antiochians*; but on this occaſion he betrayed that cruelty which was natural to him; for, without any tryal, without paying any regard to the uſual forms of law, he commanded the chief magiſtrates of *Antioch* and *Seleucia* to be publicly executed, as if they had been all privy to the conſpiracy; which rendered him ſo odious to the *Syrians*, that they could not, without horror, hear his name mentioned ninety years after [f] (D).

Diocleſian *triumphs, and leaves* Rome.

TOWARDS the cloſe of the year, *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*, with their two *Cæſars*, *Conſtantius* and *Galerius*, repaired to *Rome*; and there enjoyed the honour of a triumph, which the ſenate had long ſince decreed them, and their many victories and conqueſts well deſerved. As *Dioclesian*, both in his triumph, and the ſports that followed it, ſhewed greater œconomy than was pleaſing to the populace, they took thence occaſion to railly him with great liberty; which he not being able to bear, left the city ſoon after his triumph, and ſet out for *Ravenna* on the nineteenth of *December*. As the ſeaſon was then both rainy and cold, he contracted a lingering diſtemper, which in a ſhort time weakened him to ſuch a degree, that he could neither walk nor ſtand [g]. He entered upon his ninth conſulſhip at *Ravenna*, having *Maximian*, the eighth time conſul, for his collegue. In the beginning of the ſpring, he ſet out from *Ravenna*, and, paſſing through *Venetia* and *Illyricum*, carried always, contrary to his cuſtom, in a litter, arrived at *Nicomedia* in the beginning of the autumn. As his diſtemper increaſed daily, on the thirteenth of *December* ſo deep a ſwoon ſeized him, that he was believed to have paid the laſt debt of mortality, and a report of his death was ſpread all over the city. However, he recovered his ſight and voice; but his head remained ſo affected, that thenceforth he frequently fell into fits, which quite deprived him of the uſe of his reaſon. Not being in a condition to appear abroad till the firſt of *March* of the following year, many perſons believed he was dead; but that his death was kept concealed till the arrival of *Galerius*, leſt the ſoldiers ſhould, in the mean time, according to their cuſtom, proclaim a new emperor [h]. To diſſipate this report, he ſhewed himſelf to the people of *Nicomedia* on the firſt of *March*; but

His illneſs.

[f] LIBAN. orat. xiv. p. 399. & orat. xv. p. 410, 411. [g] LACT. perſec. c. 17. p. 15. AMMIAN. l. xvi. p. 131. [h] LACT. perſec. ibid. EUSEB. l. viii. c. 13.

(D) Among the many perſons who loſt their lives on this occaſion, *Libanius* names his paternal grandfather, and his grandfather's brother, whoſe eſtates were likewiſe confiſcated (9).

(9) *Liban. orat.* xiv. *p.* 399. *& orat.* xv. *p.* 410, 411.

there

there appeared ſuch a change in his countenance, that many doubted whether it was the ſame perſon. Soon after, *Galerius* arrived, who had already threatened *Maximian* with a civil war, if he did not reſign the empire; and was come into *Nicomedia* with a deſign to oblige *Diocleſian* likewiſe to reſign the ſovereignty, ſince he was no longer able to diſcharge the functions of the imperial dignity.

As *Diocleſian* did not yield to the reaſons he alleged, but only offered to take both him and *Conſtantius* for his partners in the empire, *Galerius* told him plainly, that, if he did not reſign of his own accord, he would force him to it. *Diocleſian*, frightened with theſe menaces, and well appriſed, that *Galerius*, who had, for ſome time, been increaſing his army with new levies, was in a condition to make good his word, yielded at length; and it was agreed, that *Diocleſian* and *Maximian* ſhould reſign the ſovereignty; that *Conſtantius* and *Galerius* ſhould, at the ſame time, be veſted with it; and that, to preſerve the form of government introduced by *Diocleſian*, two new *Cæſars* ſhould be named. *Diocleſian* immediately diſpatched an expreſs to *Maximian*, who was then at *Milan*, acquainting him with what had paſſed at *Nicomedia*. He was no leſs unwilling, than his collegue, to part with the ſovereignty; but nevertheleſs, to avoid a civil war, in which, he was well appriſed, *Galerius* would prevail, he came into the ſame meaſures [i] (E). As two new *Cæſars* were to be choſen, *Diocleſian* propoſed *Maxentius* the ſon of *Maximian*, and ſon-in-law of *Galerius*, and *Conſtantine* the ſon of *Conſtantius*; but *Galerius*, rejecting them, prevailed upon *Diocleſian* to name two others in their room, to wit, *Severus*, whom he had *and* Seve-

Galerius *obliges him to renounce the empire.*

Maximin

[i] Lact. perſec. c. 17. p. 15. & c. 18. p. 16.

(E) Such is the account which *Lactantius* gives us of the reſignation of *Maximian* and *Diocleſian*, in a piece not long ſince recovered from darkneſs. *Conſtantine*, who was then at *Nicomedia*, and lodged in the ſame palace with *Diocleſian*, aſſures us, in a ſpeech which he pronounced in public, that the emperor, thinking himſelf no longer able to govern, on account of the fits to which he was ſubject, reſigned of his own accord (1); and the panegyriſts, who wrote at that time, mention his reſignation as a ſhining inſtance of greatneſs, generoſity, and an utter contempt of all human grandeur; nay, tells us, that both he and *Maximian* had agreed long before, and even bound themſelves by a ſolemn oath in the capitol, to reſign the ſovereignty. *Aurelius Victor* writes, that *Diocleſian* quitted the government, and betook himſelf to a private life, that he might not be overwhelmed with the misfortunes that threatened the empire (2).

(1) *Conſtant. orat. c.* 25. (2) *Aur. Vict. p.* 525.

already

rus *declared* Cæsars.

already sent to receive the purple at the hands of *Maximian*, and *Daia*, or *Daza*, his sister's son, to whom he had a little before given the name of *Maximin*. They were both greatly attached to *Galerius*, but neither of them any-ways qualified for such an high station.

Diocletian *and* Maximian *resign the empire.*

Year of the flood 2745. Of Christ 305. Of Rome 1103.

HOWEVER, *Diocletian* consented to their election; and, a few days after, on the first of *May* of the present year 305. the twenty-first of his reign, he resigned the empire in the presence of his court, and the army, divesting himself of the purple, and delivering it to *Maximin*, whom at the same time he declared *Cæsar*, together with *Severus*. This ceremony was performed in the same place where *Galerius* had been declared *Cæsar*, about three miles from *Nicomedia*. *Diocletian*, before he divested himself of the purple, made an harangue to the soldiers, telling them, That, his infirmities obliging him to retire, he yielded the empire to *Constantius* and *Galerius*, who were more able, and better qualified, than he, to discharge so great a trust. When the ceremony was over, *Diocletian* passed through *Nicomedia* with a small retinue, and, retiring to *Dalmatia*, his native country, chose the city of *Salona* for the place of his residence [k]. The same day *Maximian*, quitting the purple at *Milan*, consigned it to *Severus*, as had been agreed on beforehand, declared *Constantius* and *Galerius* emperors, and then retired to *Lucania*, where we shall soon see him raising disturbances, with a design to resume the dignity which he had quitted.

Diocletian *leads a retired life.*

As for *Diocletian*, he passed the remainder of his life, that is, near nine years, at a country-seat in the neighbourhood of *Salona*, on the spot where the city of *Spalato* was afterwards built. The ruins of the palace of *Diocletian* are still to be seen there, and take up two-thirds of the town. It was, according to the description which *Constantius Porphyrogenitus* gives us of it, a most stately and magnificent building; and contained four temples, one of which is still intire, and the cathedral of *Spalato*. *Diocletian* diverted himself, during his retirement, with cultivating a garden, saying often, *Now I live; now I see the beauty of the sun.* Some time after, when *Maximian* and others wrote to him to join them, and resume the empire, he returned them this answer; *I wish you would but come to* Salona, *that I might shew you the colworts which I have planted with my own hands: I am sure you would never thenceforth mention the empire to me* [l] (F). He died, according

His death.

[k] LACT. pers. c. 18. p. 16, 17. VICT. epit. p. 543. [l] Idem, p. 542. EUTROP. p. 587.

(F) He was long honoured in his retreat by the princes who reigned after him, and looked upon him as their common father,

ing to *Aurelius Victor* [m], ſoon after the marriage of *Licinius*, which was celebrated in the *March* of the year 313. after having lived about eighty years, and reigned twenty, and ſome months. He was deified with the uſual ſolemnities after his death [n], probably by *Licinius*, or *Maximin* II. for *Conſtantine*, at the time of his death, profeſſed the Chriſtian religion. *Libanius* writes, that *Dioclesian* ſhewed himſelf in many, but not in all things, an excellent prince [o]; and the emperor *Julian* commends him for having done many things that proved very uſeful to the public [p]. He enacted a great many wholſome laws, and was ſo far from countenancing informers, that he commanded them to be executed, when they could

He ſhewed himſelf in many things an excellent prince.

[m] Aur. Vict. p. 542. [n] Eutrop. p. 586. Euseb. l. ix. c. 10. p. 364. [o] Liban. orat. xiv. p. 399. [p] Jul. orat. i. p. 12.

ther, ſince to him they were indebted for their dignity. In an inſcription of the year 306. both he and *Maximian* are ſtiled the *antient emperors*, and the *fathers of the emperors* (3). In his time they conſecrated the *thermæ*, or hot-baths, which he had begun at *Rome*, and conſulted him in all affairs of great importance, paying great deference to his counſels. Thus *Galerius* invited him in the year 307. to *Carnus*, or *Carnuntum*, in *Pannonia*, to adviſe with him about the promotion of *Licinius* (4). However, ſeveral things happened afterwards, which gave him great concern and uneaſineſs: His daughter *Valeria*, refuſing to marry *Maximin* after the death of her huſband *Galerius* in the year 311. was by that prince treated in a barbarous manner, and baniſhed. *Conſtantine* and *Licinius*, in the beginning of the year 313. eſpouſed with great zeal the cauſe of the perſecuted Chriſtians, whom he and his collegue *Maximian* had attempted utterly to extirpate (5). *Victor* adds, that the two above-mentioned princes having been invited to the nuptials of *Licinius* with the ſiſter of *Conſtantine*, and he excuſing himſelf on account of his age, they wrote a threatening letter to him, as if he had been concerned in the diſturbances raiſed by *Maxentius* (6). The ſame author adds, that the dread he was in of an ignominious death, prompted him to end his life with poiſon (7). *Theophanes* writes, that the ſenate had already iſſued a decree for his execution (8); and *Lactantius*, that, ſeeing himſelf, after a glorious reign of twenty years, ill uſed and deſpiſed, he reſolved to put an end to his life, abſtained from all food, and died of hunger, grief, and deſpair (9). In the chronicle of *Alexandria* we read, that he died of a dropſy (1); and in *Euſebius*, that he was conſumed and worn out by a lingering diſtemper (2).

(3) *P. Pagi, p.* 148. (4) *Lact. perſ. c.* 29. *p.* 26. (5) *Idem ibid. c.* 41. *p.* 36. (6) *Vict. epit. p.* 542. (7) *Idem ibid.* (8) *Theoph. chronogr. p.* 8. (9) *Lact. perſ. c.* 42. *p.* 36. (1) *Chron. Alexand. p.* 66. (2) *Euſeb. l.* viii. *c.* 7. *p.* 317.

not

not make good their charge. He would not receive the accuſation of one *Thaumaſius* againſt his benefactor *Symmachus*, in whoſe houſe he had been brought up, and condemned another to baniſhment, for informing againſt his brother [q]. He ſuppreſſed the officers called *frumentarii*, of whom *Caſaubon* ſpeaks much at large, without giving us any ſatisfactory reaſon why they were ſo called [r] (G). *Dioclefian* encouraged and preferred perſons of merit and virtue, diſcountenanced vice, managed the public money with great frugality, had much at heart the worſhip of the gods, and was, till ſeduced by *Galerius*, rather a friend than an enemy to the Chriſtians, of whom he had, till the year 303. great numbers both in his court and army [s].

His public buildings. He was greatly addicted to building, and embelliſhed ſeveral cities of the empire, eſpecially *Rome*, *Carthage*, *Milan*, and *Nicomedia*, with many ſtately edifices (H). But theſe buildings

[q] Cod. Juſt. l. ix. tit. 1. leg. 17. p. 111. & leg. 12. p. 810.
[r] Casaub. not. in Spart. p. 22. Lact. perſ. c. 10. p. 9.
[s] Aur. Vict. p. 525.

(G) They were firſt eſtabliſhed to give the emperor immediate notice of the diſturbances that happened in the provinces; but, abuſing their office, eſpecially in the diſtant countries, they often extorted large ſums from the inhabitants, by threatening to accuſe them, if they did not comply with their unjuſt demands. However, no great benefit was reaped from their ſuppreſſion; for thoſe who were ſtiled *agentes in rebus*, and *curioſi*, proved no leſs miſchievous than the *frumentarii* (3).

(H) From the ruins of his *thermæ*, or public hot baths, which are ſtill viſited and admired by all travelers to *Rome*, we may judge of the grandeur and magnificence of that ſurpriſing fabric. Beſides the bathing-places, in which three thouſand perſons could conveniently bathe at a time, there were many other rooms and apartments; for the books which were lodged in *Trajan*'s library were conveyed thither (4). The emperor *Conſtantius* II. when he came to *Rome*, in 358. admired nothing ſo much as *Dioclefian*'s baths, which ſeemed rather a province, ſays *Ammianus*, with no ſmall exaggeration, than a building (5). Part of theſe baths were by pope *Pius* IV. changed into a church, conſecrated to the virgin *Mary*, under the title of *Santa Maria degli Angeli*. *Dioclefian* embelliſhed with a great number of ſtately buildings many other cities, but above all *Nicomedia*, with a deſign of equaling it to *Rome*; for which purpoſe he ſpared no coſt or labour, that might render the place either beautiful or conve-

(3) *Aur. Vict.* p. 524. *Vict. epit.* p. 525.
(4) *Euſeb. chron.* p. 244. *Prob. vit.* p. 233.
(5) *Ammian.* l. xvi. p. 71.

nient.

buildings proved very burdenſome to the people, who were not only obliged to abandon their antient habitations, to make room for them, but moreover to furniſh workmen, beaſts of burden, and the neceſſary materials; by which means he ruined provinces, while he embelliſhed the cities. If he happened not to like a building when it was quite finiſhed, he cauſed it to be pulled down, though reared at an immenſe expence, and to be rebuilt upon a different plan, perhaps to pull it down a ſecond and third time [t] (I). We cannot help obſerving, before we cloſe this chapter, that, though no reign was more remarkable, either for length, or variety of great events, than *Dioclefian*'s, yet no prince's reign is leſs known; which ſeems the

They prove burdenſome to the people.

[t] Lact. perſ. c. 7. p. 7.

nient. He built there a circus, ſeveral baſilics, a mint, an arſenal, a palace for his wife, and another for his daughter. Thus *Nicomedia* became the ordinary reſidence of the emperors, when the affairs of the empire called them into the Eaſt, till the removal of the imperial ſeat to *Conſtantinople* (6). We have ſpoken above of his magnificent palace or villa at *Spalato* in *Dalmatia*, in which province he likewiſe built the caſtle of *Dioclea*, in the village where he was born, the inhabitants whereof were called *Dioclefians* (7).

(I) *Lactantius* charges him with avarice, and with putting, under various falſe pretences, many perſons to death, in order to ſeize their eſtates (8). *Eutropius* (9), *Zonaras* (1), and *Aurelius Victor* (2), tell us, that, to cover the meanneſs of his extraction, he affected extraordinary magnificence in his attire, cauſed thoſe who approached him to fall proſtrate at his feet, aſſumed the titles of *Lord* and *God*, as *Caligula* and *Domitian* had done, and claimed divine worſhip. Hence *Spartian*, in addreſſing his works to him, uſes this expreſſion; *I lay them at the feet of your deity* (3). Other writers expreſs themſelves in the ſame ſtile, whether they direct their ſpeech to him, or his collegues, who, it ſeems, followed his example (4). *Dioclefian* took the name of *Jovius*, and *Maximian* that of *Hercules*, as if they had been deſcended from theſe pretended deities; and even obliged their ſucceſſors to aſſume the ſame titles. Thus *Galerius* and *Maximin* added to their other titles that of *Jupiter* and *Jovius*, and *Conſtantius* the ſurname of *Hercules*, which he tranſmitted to *Licinius*, and his ſon *Conſtantine*; but they ſoon quitted them; for *Lactantius* tells us, that, in the year 320. the impious names of *Jupiter* and *Hercules* were aboliſhed from off the face of the earth (5).

(6) *Lact. perſ. c.* 7. 17. *p.* 7. 15. (7) *Conſtan. Porphyr. de adminiſtr. imper. ad Rom. fil. p.* 72. (8) *Lact. perſ. c.* 9. *p.* 9. (9) *Eutrop. p.* 586. (1) *Zonar. p.* 244. (2) *Aur. Vict. p.* 523. (3) *Spart. vit. Ver. p.* 13. (4) *Paneg.* 10. *p.* 123. (5) *Lact. ibid. c.* 52. *c.* 46.

more

more ſurpriſing to us, when we reflect on the great number of hiſtorians who flouriſhed in his time. Many of them muſt, without all doubt, have written the hiſtory of his life, as we know they did thoſe of his predeceſſors, which moſt of them inſcribed to him: but no particular and diſtinct account of his reign has reached us; nay, a chaſm even in the hiſtory of *Zoſimus*, from the death of *Carus* to the reſignation of *Dioclesian*, has deprived us of what we might have learnt concerning him of that, as we may call him, ſecond-hand hiſtorian. May we not aſcribe this general loſs of memoirs concerning him to divine vengeance, for his attempting utterly to aboliſh the holy ſcriptures? This, at leaſt, ſeems more probable to us, than what we read in a modern critic; to wit, that the Chriſtians, out of hatred to ſo cruel an enemy, ſuppreſſed all hiſtories and memoirs relating to him [u]. Of the writers who flouriſhed under *Dioclesian*, we ſhall ſpeak in our note (K).

[u] CASAUB. not. in SPART. p. 201.

(K) *Claudius Euſthenius*, ſecretary to *Dioclesian*, wrote, in four books, the hiſtory of the four princes *Dioclesian*, *Maximian*, *Conſtantius*, and *Galerius* (6); and this is all we know of him. *Voſſius* is of opinion, that *Aſclepiodotus* wrote the hiſtory of *Dioclesian*'s reign, becauſe *Vopiſcus* quotes him in relating ſome things concerning that prince (7); but, as *Aſclepiodotus* was captain of the guards to *Conſtantius*, and well acquainted with the court, *Vopiſcus* might have quoted him, as he often quotes his father and grandfather, who never committed any thing to writing. The *Auguſtine* writers, to wit, *Spartian*, *Lampridius*, *Vulcatius*, *Capitolinus*, *Pollio*, and *Vopiſcus*, all lived in the reign of *Dioclesian*, though ſome of them wrote under his ſucceſſors. *Ælius Spartianus* wrote firſt the lives of all the emperors, from *Julius Cæſar* to *Adrian*, and afterwards reſolved to add to them the lives of all the other emperors and *Cæſars*, and to inſcribe the whole to *Dioclesian*, of whoſe family he ſeems to have been (8). The lives of the following princes paſs under his name, to wit, of *Adrian*, of *Ælius Verus* his adopted ſon, of *Julian*, *Niger*, *Severus*, *Caracalla*, and *Geta*. Thoſe of *Ælius Cæſar*, *Adrian*, *Julian*, *Severus*, and *Niger*, are inſcribed to *Dioclesian*; that of *Caracalla* has no dedication prefixed to it; but the life of *Geta* is addreſſed to *Conſtantine*, already *Auguſtus*. What the author ſays in his addreſs, gives us room to believe, that he had dedicated other lives to the ſame prince; nay, *Salmaſius* takes him to be the author of the lives of all the emperors to *Maximin* I. (9). This opinion we ſhall examine preſently. *Vopiſcus*, in the life of *Probus*, names *Julius Capitolinus* and *Ælius Lampridius* among the hiſtorians who had written before him (1). To the latter are generally aſcribed

(6) *Car. vit. p.* 254. (7) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* ii. *c.* 5. *p.* 185. (8) *Ver. vit. p.* 13, 16. (9) *Salmaſ. not. in Spart. p.* 242, 243. (1) *Prob. vit. p.* 234.

the lives of *Commodus*, of *Diadumenus* the ſon of *Macrinus*, of *Heliogabalus*, and *Alexander*. The life of *Commodus* is inſcribed to *Dioclefian*; thoſe of *Heliogabalus* and *Alexander* to *Conſtantine*, who defired the author, as he tells us, to write the life of *Heliogabalus*, and to addreſs it to him, as he had done ſeveral other lives before (2). He adds, that he deſigned to write the hiſtory of *Alexander Severus*, and his ſucceſſors, to *Conſtantine*; namely, of the *Gordians*, of *Aurelian*, *Claudius*, *Dioclefian*, *Maximian*, *Licinius*, *Severus*, *Alexander*, who revolted in *Africa* in 308. and of *Maxentius*. Theſe princes were, it ſeems, at that time all dead, and conſequently he could not write this before the year 324. He tells us elſewhere, that he had written the lives of *M. Aurelius* and *Macrinus* (3). In ſome antient manuſcripts, all the lives that paſs under the name of *Lampridius*, are aſcribed to *Spartian*; and truly the lives ſaid to have been written by theſe two hiſtorians are in every reſpect ſo like, that ſome learned critics have taken them to have been done by one writer, named *Ælius Lampridius Spartianus*. *Caſaubon* and *Voſſius* are greatly inclined to this opinion (4); the more becauſe *Vopiſcus* often quotes *Lampridius*, and never *Spartian*. On the other hand, *Salmaſius* takes them to be two diſtinct writers (5). *Julius Capitolinus* likewiſe undertook to write the lives of all the emperors in ſo many diſtinct and ſeparate books, as others had done before him; but, upon ſecond thoughts, to avoid prolixity and repetitions, he joined ſeveral lives together, of ſuch emperors eſpecially as reigned at the ſame time (6). Under his name paſs the lives of *T. Antoninus*, *M. Aurelius*, *L. Verus*, *Pertinax*, *Albinus*, *Macrinus*, the two *Maximins*, the three *Gordians*, *Maximus*, and *Balbinus*. The hiſtory of *Titus Antoninus*, *M. Aurelius*, *L. Verus*, and *Macrinus*, are dedicated to *Dioclefian*; and that of the *Maximins*, of the *Gordians*, and of *Albinus*, to *Conſtantine*, for whoſe ſake he undertook the whole work (7). Perhaps *Cornelius Capitolinus*, quoted by *Trebellius Pollio* in his account of *Zenobia* (8), and *Julius Capitolinus*, are one and the ſame perſon. Some manuſcripts aſcribe to *Spartian* all the lives that paſs under the name of *Capitolinus*, except thoſe of the *Maximins*, of the *Gordians*, and of *Maximus* and *Balbinus* (9). *Salmaſius* yields to the authority of the manuſcripts (1); but *Voſſius* aſſerts, that the lives commonly aſcribed to *Capitolinus* were done by him, and not by *Spartian* (2). *Vulcatius Gallicanus*, a *Roman* ſenator, undertook, in the reign of *Dioclefian*, to write the lives of all thoſe who had enjoyed the ſovereignty, whether by right or uſurpation (3); but of all he wrote, or deſigned to write, nothing has reached our times, except his hiſtory of *Avidius Caſſius*, who revolted in the Eaſt during the reign of *M. Aurelius*, which is dedicated to *Dioclefian*.

(2) *Lampr. p.* 45, 101, 136, 113. (3) *Commod. vit. p.* 45. *Diadum. vit. p.* 99. (4) *Caſaub. in Spart. p.* 1. *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* ii. *c.* 7. *p.* 192, 193. (5) *Salmaſ. in Spart. p.* 66. (6) *Gord. vit. p.* 151. *Maxim. vit. p.* 138. (7) *Capit. p.* 30, 39, 96, *&c.* (8) *Trig. tyrann. c.* 29. *p.* 198. (9) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* ii. *c.* 5. *p.* 186. (1) *Salmaſ. in Capit. p.* 58. (2) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. c.* 65. *p.* 18. (3) *Caſſii vit. p.* 40, 41.

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This life, too, *Salmaſius* aſcribes to *Spartian* (4). But the name of *Vulcatius*, which is no common name, has not, in the opinion of *Voſſius* (5), been prefixed to it by chance, or mere caprice of the tranſcriber. *Valeſius* takes the hiſtorian to be one and the ſame perſon with *Gallicanus*, who was conſul with *Baſſus* in the year 317.

Trebellius Pollio wrote the life of *Philip*, and of all the other princes, whether lawful emperors or uſurpers, from his time to the reign of *Claudius*, and his brother *Quintillus* (6). He had begun, it ſeems, this work before the year 291. when *Tiberianus* was governor of *Rome* (7). Great part of this work has been long ſince loſt. He likewiſe deſigned to write the life of *Aurelian*; which deſign if he ever put in execution, it was after *Vopiſcus* had written on the ſame ſubject; for that writer glories in his being the firſt among the *Latins* who publiſhed the life of *Aurelian* (8). *Trebellius Pollio* ſeems to have been greatly attached to *Conſtantius* the father of *Conſtantine* (9). *Vopiſcus* thinks he overlooked ſome things, and was too minute and diffuſe in others (1). His hiſtory of the *thirty tyrants* was publiſhed after the year 291. when *Conſtantius* was already *Cæſar*. He inſcribed his work to ſome particular friend or friends, whom he does not name; but the life of *Claudius* he addreſſes to *Conſtantine*, and not to *Conſtantius*, as ſome have maintained (2). *Voſſius* thinks his language and ſtile not unworthy of praiſe, if compared with ſome of his cotemporary writers (3). Some aſcribe to *Capitolinus* the lives that paſs under the name of *Pollio*; but their opinion is rejected by the beſt critics (4). *Flavius Vopiſcus* was a native of *Syracuſe*, and ſeems to have been deſcended of a noble family; for his father and grandfather, whom he often quotes, lived in great intimacy with *Dioclefian*. He was induced to write the life of *Aurelian*, as he himſelf informs us, by *Junius Tiberianus* governor of *Rome* (5), in 291. or 292. but he did not publiſh it before *Conſtantius* was created *Cæſar* (6). He ſeems to have made ſome additions to it long after; for he takes notice of a ſaying of *Dioclefian* after his reſignation, which, he ſays, he had learnt of his father (7). He wrote likewiſe the hiſtories of *Tacitus*, and his brother *Florianus*, of *Probus*, of *Firmus*, and of ſome other uſurpers. He was employed in writing the lives of *Carus* and his children, while *Galerius* was waging war with the *Perſians* (8); that is, about the year 297. but he muſt have afterwards added ſeveral things to it; for he mentions the ſhews exhibited by *Dioclefian* in 309. and ſays, that "*Euſthenius*, "who had been ſecretary to that "prince, had written his life, "and the lives of his three col-"legues (9)." From which expreſſion we may conclude, not only that *Euſthenius* was no long-

(4) *Salmaſ. in Spart. p.* 108. (5) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l.* ii. *c.* 5. *p.* 187. (6) *Aur. vit. p.* 209, 242. (7) *Idem ibid.* (8) *Idem ibid.* (9) *Caſaub. in not. p.* 203. (1) *Aur. vit. ibid.* (2) *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. c.* 6. *p.* 190. (3) *Idem ibid.* (4) *Caſaub. in Poll. p.* 203. (5) *Aur. vit. p.* 209. (6) *Idem, p.* 224. (7) *Idem, p.* 223. (8) *Car. vit. p.* 250. (9) *Idem, p.* 254.

er his ſecretary, and conſequently that *Dioclefian* was no longer emperor, but likewiſe that he, and his collegues, were dead, ſince their lives were already written. The laſt of them died in 311. *Vopiſcus* inſcribed his works, not to the emperors, but to his friends. The life of *Firmus* is addreſſed to *Baſſus*, and that of *Probus* to one *Celſus*, his intimate friend, perhaps *Herennius Celſus*, who aſpired to the conſulſhip (1), and was, according to *Caſaubon* (2), governor of *Egypt*. *Vopiſcus* was a great admirer of *Apollonius Tyanæus*, and promiſes, in one place of his work, to write his life; but of ſuch a performance no mention is made by any of the antients (3). Theſe ſix writers, to wit, *Spartian*, *Lampridius*, *Vulcatius*, *Capitolinus*, *Pollio*, and *Vopiſcus*, are commonly known to the learned by the name of *hiſtoriæ Auguſtæ ſcriptores*, though they are, in effect, rather biographers than hiſtorians, and take more care to inform us of the good and bad qualities of the emperors, of their birth, education, ſtature, mien, and even their diet, and the cloaths they wore, than to deſcribe their wars, the laws they enacted, and the great revolutions that happened during their reſpective reigns. *Vopiſcus*, in the opinion of the learned, far excels the reſt, both as to his method and ſtile; but, nevertheleſs, has many great faults, and is not to be compared with any of the antient *Latin* hiſtorians. As for the other five, they betray great want of judgment in their choice, and of method in digeſting what they had choſen. Of theſe ſix writers, *Capitolinus* is the moſt confuſed and injudicious; whence ſome have ſuſpected, that the author of this collection might have mixed and blended together the relations of *Capitolinus*, *Spartian*, and ſome others (4). Their ſtile is quite coarſe and unpoliſhed, their expreſſions uncouth, and ſometimes hardly intelligible. *Vopiſcus* writes, that *Lampridius* and *Capitolinus* minded rather truth than elegance in their narrations (5). *Pollio* owns his ſtile to have nothing of the elegance of the antients (6). But, of the many hiſtorians, ſome ſay fifty and upwards, who have handled the ſame ſubject, only the above-mentioned ſix have reached us. *Tatius*, or *Statius Cyrillus*, was cotemporary with theſe ſix writers, and tranſlated the lives of ſeveral emperors out of *Greek* into *Latin*. *Conſtantine* deſired him to abridge them, and to join ſeveral lives together in one volume (7). His work has been long ſince loſt. *Sotericus*, a poet and hiſtorian, flouriſhed in the reign of *Dioclefian*, on whom he wrote a panegyric. He was a native of *Oaſis* in *Libya*, and much eſteemed by the learned men of his age. He left behind him ſeveral works, and, among the reſt, the life of *Apollonius Tyanæus* (8); but only a ſmall fragment of what he wrote has

(1) *Trig. tyran. vit. p.* 195. (2) *Caſaub. in Vopiſc. p.* 216. (3) *Aur. vit. p.* 217. (4) *Vide Caſaub. in Spart. p.* 13. (5) *Prob. vit. p.* 234. (6) *Trig. tyran. p.* 184 (7) *Max. vit. p.* 138. *Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. c.* 7. *p.* 193. (8) *Suid. p.* 784.

been conveyed to us by the ſcholiaſt of *Lycophron* (9).

But, of all the writers who flouriſhed under *Dioclesian*, the moſt famous was the philoſopher *Porphyrius*, born, as he himſelf writes, in the city of *Tyre*, or that neighbourhood; for he ſtiles himſelf a *Tyrian* (1). St. *Jerom* gives him the furname of *Bataneotes* (2); whence ſome have believed him to have been a native of *Batanea*, a village in *Syria*, according to *Stephanus*, or rather in *Phœnicia*; for it ſtood within fifteen miles of *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine*. Perhaps the family of *Porphyrius* came originally from *Tyre*, and thence he ſtiled himſelf a *Tyrian*, though born in the village of *Batanea* (3). It is certain, that he paſſed part of his life in the neighbourhood of *Tyre* (4). *Baronius* maintains him to have been by religion a *Jew* (5) probably for no other reaſon, but becauſe he ſuppoſed him to have been a native of *Batanea*; but in thoſe days *Batanea* was inhabited not only by *Jews*, but likewiſe by *Greeks* and *Syrians*. It is true, he always ſpoke with great reverence of the God of the *Jews* (6); but, at the ſame time, he declared himſelf an open enemy to that people, as well as to the Chriſtians (7). St. *Auſtin* ſtiles him *Porphyrius the Sicilian* (8), probably on account of his having reſided a long time in *Sicily*, and publiſhing there ſeveral books againſt the Chriſtians. He was deſcended of a good family. His anceſtors were not *Greeks*, but *Syrians*, ſo far as we can judge from the name of his father, who was called *Malchus*; which name he himſelf bore in his youth: but, as the name of *Malchus* in the *Syriac* language ſignified *king*, *Longinus* adviſed him to exchange it for that of *Porphyrius*, which has ſome relation to royalty, the word πορφύρα ſignifying in *Greek*, *purple*, which was peculiar to the emperors and *Cæſars*. However, he was, by ſome, ſtill called *Malchus*; and *Longinus* himſelf gave him that name in addreſſing a work to him (9). He was born in the year 233. for he was thirty in the tenth year of the reign of *Gallienus* (1). *Socrates* writes, that at firſt he profeſſed the Chriſtian religion; but afterwards, upon his being beaten and abuſed by ſome Chriſtians at *Cæſarea* in *Palæſtine*, out of revenge he not only renounced, but undertook to impugn, the religion which he had, till that time profeſſed (2). *Holſtenius* likewiſe ſuppoſes him to have been once a Chriſtian, and for that ſuppoſition quotes St. *Auſtin* (3); but that father only ſays, that *Porphyrius* had read the Scripture with great attention, but could not be reconciled to the humility of Jeſus (4); from which

(9) *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. *c.* 16. *p.* 246. (1) *Plot. vit. p.* 6. (2) *Hier. in Gal. par. prim.* 156. (3) *Jonſ. l.* iii. *c.* 15. *p.* 286. (4) *Plot. vit. p.* 12. (5) *Baron. ad ann.* 302. (6) *Auguſt. civit. Dei, l.* xix. *c.* 23. *p.* 253. (7) *Euſeb. præp. evang. l.* x. *c.* 9. *p.* 485. (8) *Aug. retract. l.* ii. *c.* 11. *p.* 24. (9) *Eunap. c.* ii. *p.* 16. *Plot. vit. p.* 10. (1) *Idem, p.* 3. (2) *Socr. l.* iii. *c.* 3. *p.* 100. (3) *Porphyr. vit. c.* 5. *p.* 19. (4) *Aug. civ. Dei. l.* x. *p.* 118.

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words no one can conclude, that he ever profeſſed the doctrine and humility of Jeſus. While he was yet very young, he ſaw *Origen*, at that time in great credit among the Chriſtians (5), not at *Alexandria*, as *Vincentius Lirinenſis* writes (6) (for he had left that city in 231.), but either at *Cæſarea* in *Palæſtine*, or at *Tyre*. *Porphyrius* came to *Rome* about the year 252. He was diſciple to *Longinus*, under whom he ſtudied at *Athens* the philoſophy of *Plato*, and made ſuch progreſs in his ſtudies, that he ſoon became the honour and ornament of that ſchool (7). Though he was one of the moſt dangerous and inveterate enemies the Chriſtian religion ever had, yet this has not hindered the Chriſtian writers from doing him juſtice, and beſtowing upon him the praiſes he deſerved. *Euſebius* ranks him among the moſt illuſtrious men, and eminent philoſophers, that flouriſhed at any time (8). *Cyrillus* of *Alexandria* extols his knowlege; and St. *Auſtin* ſtiles him an extraordinary genius, and the moſt learned among philoſophers (9). In the year 263. being then thirty, he paſſed from *Greece* to *Rome*, where he heard *Plotinus*, who taught there; and no ſooner heard him, than, forgetting *Longinus*, and all the other philoſophers, he addicted himſelf intirely to him (1). *Suidas* ſuppoſes him to have been likewiſe diſciple to *Amelius* (2); but the latter ſtudied at the ſame time under *Plotinus*, ſo that he and *Porphyrius* were rather condiſciples (3). *Porphyrius*, indeed, might have learned many things of *Amelius*, who was eighteen years older than he, and been, in that ſenſe, his diſciple. He lived ſix years with *Plotinus*, and the fruit he reaped from his inſtructions was a profound melancholy, which, in the end, reduced him to ſuch miſery, that he reſolved to deſtroy himſelf. *Plotinus*, ſuſpecting his deſign from ſome words he dropped, prevailed upon him to divert his mind from ſuch gloomy thoughts by traveling. He therefore took his leave of *Plotinus*, and, in the beginning of the year 268. the fifteenth of the reign of *Gallienus*, ſet out from *Rome*, and croſſed over into *Sicily*. He landed near *Meſſana*, now *Meſſina*; but, without viſiting that city, went ſtrait to cape *Lilybæum*, to ſee one *Probus*, who was generally eſteemed a man of great learning. He continued ſome days with *Probus*, without taking any food, or converſing with any one (4); but, in the end, got the better of his melancholy, and ſtaid near two years at *Lilybæum*. While he was there, *Plotinus* died at *Rome*, about the beginning of the year 270. From *Sicily Porphyrius* ſeems to have paſſed into the Eaſt, to have ſtaid ſome time at *Tyre*, and, returning from thence

(5) *Euſeb. l.* vi. *c.* 19. *p.* 220. *præpar. evan. l.* x. *c.* 3. *p.* 464. *Porphyr. vit. c.* 1. *p.* 10, 11. *vit. p.* 3. *Eunap. c.* ii. *p.* 17.
(6) *Vinc. Lir. c.* 23. *p.* 352. *Eunap. c.* 2. *p.* 16.
(7) *Euſeb.* (8) *Euſeb. ibid.*
(9) *Aug. civ. Dei, c.* 32. *p.* 120.
(1) *Plot.*
(2) *Suid. p.* 573, 193.
(3) *Plot. vit. p.* 3.
(4) *Idem, p.* 4. *Eunap. c.* 2. *p.* 17, 18.

to *Sicily*, to have croſſed over from *Lilybæum* to *Africa*, and there viſited the city of *Carthage* (5). From *Africa* he ſailed back to *Sicily*, and from *Sicily* returned to *Rome*, where he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of eloquence, and even made ſome public ſpeeehes or declamations (6). He lived to a great age, ſays *Eunapius*; and *Porphyrius* himſelf, in his life of *Plotinus*, ſpeaks of a thing that happened to him when he was ſixty-eight; that is, in the year 299. or 300 (7). ſo that he not only lived to the reign of *Probus*, as *Eunapius* writes, but to that of *Dioclesian*, and perhaps longer: which confirms what we read in St. *Auſtin*; to wit, that he lived in the time that the princes of the earth, and the adorers of the infernal ſpirits, conſpired to extirpate the Chriſtian religion; and therefore could not perſuade himſelf, that it had been given by God for a means of ſalvation; whereas he ought, continues St. *Auſtin*, to have looked upon that bloody perſecution as an evident proof of the glory and invincible ſtrength of the church (8). He died, according to *Eunapius* (9), at *Rome*. St. *Jerom* ſeems to have believed, that he was buried in *Sicily* (1). He had married a widow, by name *Marcella*, who had five children by a former huſband. *Eunapius* tells us, that he married her with no other view but to bring up her children with greater care, out of regard to their father, who was his particular friend (2). As the Chriſtian writers upbraid him with no vices, we conclude him to have been, as to his life and manners, altogether blameleſs. *Eunapius* extols his eloquence, and the beauty of his ſtile and expreſſions (3). He was thoroughly verſed in every branch of literature, excelled all men of his age in the knowlege of polite learning, arithmetic, geometry, and muſic (4); but ſhone chiefly in philoſophy, his favourite ſcience and ſtudy. Authors obſerve of him, that whereas other philoſophers ſtudied to conceal their ſentiments with an affected obſcurity, *Porphyrius* expreſſed himſelf in a manner adapted to the meaneſt capacities (5). He taught philoſophy at *Rome*, both by word of mouth, and in writing. *Iamblichus*, a celebrated philoſopher in thoſe times, and *Theodorus* of *Aſine* in *Peloponneſus*, a man in great repute among the pagans, were both his diſciples (6); as likewiſe were, according to ſome writers, *Chryſaores*, *Nemercus*, and *Gedalus*, who inſcribed ſome works to him (7). He was very communicative to thoſe who deſired to be informed and inſtructed, and kind to his diſciples, whom on all occaſions he was ready to aſſiſt to the utmoſt of his power. He applied himſelf, as moſt of the *Platonic* philoſophers did in

(5) *Porphyr. vit. p.* 2—12. *Plot. vit. p.* 17. (6) *Eunap. c.* 2. *p.* 21. *Plot. vit. p.* 16. (7) *Idem ibid.* (8) *Aug. civ. Dei, l.* x. *c.* 32. *p.* 120, 121. (9) *Eunap. c.* 2. *p.* 21. (1) *Hier. in Ezech. p.* 377. (2) *Eunap. c.* 2. *p.* 11. (3) *Idem, c.* 2, 3. *p.* 19, 20. (4) *Idem, p.* 18, 19. (5) *Idem ibid.* (6) *Phot. c.* 242. *p.* 1057. *Steph. p.* 121. (7) *Porphyr. vit. c.* 5. *p.* 44. & 51, 53.

thoſe

thoſe days, to the execrable ſtudy of magic, which he diſguiſed with the plauſible name of *theourgia*, or *divine operation* (8). He compoſed an infinite number of books upon different ſubjects, of which the reader will find a catalogue in the latter end of the diſſertation which *Holſtenius* publiſhed on the life and writings of that philoſopher (9). We ſhall only take notice of ſuch of his works as are ſtill extant. A manuſcript has reached our times on the quantity and meaſure of words, under the name of *Porphyrius*, whom *Holſtenius* believes to have been the true author of it. To *Homer* is added, in ſeveral editions, a ſmall work, containing thirty-two queſtions concerning that poet, done by *Porphyrius*, and looked upon by *Holſtenius* as the beginning of an intire comment, well known to the antients. The ſame writer publiſhed in 1630. a piece, which he aſcribes to *Porphyrius*, on the cave of the nymphs, deſcribed in the thirteenth book of the *Odyſſey:* the reader will find there many difficulties cleared up touching the theology of the pagans. At the ſame time *Holſtenius* publiſhed a fragment of *Porphyrius* on the river *Styx*; and ſeveral other fragments of that piece are to be found in *Stobæus*. *Porphyrius* often quotes there the heretic *Bardeſanes*, and his diſciples, who, he ſays, lived in the time of *Heliogabalus*. He wrote, in five books, the *curious hiſtory*, or, as it is ſtiled by others, *curious entertainments* (1). Out of the firſt book of this work, *Euſebius* quotes a long paſſage upon plagiaries, who copy from one another (2). Among his philoſophical works, *Holſtenius* takes, in the firſt place, notice of the introduction upon the *univerſals*, which he wrote while in *Sicily*, to explain to *Chryſaores*, his diſciple, the *categories* of *Ariſtotle*. One *Ammonius* wrote a comment upon this work, which is ſtill extant. Another work of *Porphyrius*, on *Ariſtotle's categories*, was firſt printed at *Paris* in 1543. Beſides theſe two, he wrote a third on the ſame ſubject, in ſeven books, which he inſcribed to *Gedalus*. This was in great part copied by *Iamblichus*, who likewiſe publiſhed a treatiſe on the categories longer than that of *Porphyrius* (3). In the latter end of the laſt century was publiſhed, at *Baſle*, an introduction, written by *Porphyrius*, on *Ptolemy*'s work, touching the force and influence of the ſtars; and ſeveral manuſcripts of a comment by *Porphyrius* on another work of *Ptolemy*, treating of harmony and muſic, are ſtill extant (4). His books, containing the lives and tenets of the philoſophers, were well known to the antients; but he brings them no lower than to *Plato*'s time (5). The ſubject of the firſt book of this work was the life of *Pythagoras*, which *Holſtenius* has publiſhed,

(8) *Aug. civ. Dei, l.* x. *c.* 9. *p.* 111. *Euſeb. præp. evang. l.* iv. *c.* 6. *p.* 143.
(9) *Holſten. vit. Porph. c.* 6. (1) *Vit. Porph. p.* 46 —— 49. (2) *Euſeb. præp. evang. l.* x. *c.* 3. *p.* 464. (3) *Porphyr. vit. p.* 51, 52. (4) *Idem, p.* 54, 55. (5) *Idem, p.* 56. *Eunap. p.* 10.

but imperfect. The third contained the life of *Socrates*, of whom he ſpeaks very contemptouſly, having, as is ſuppoſed, compiled theſe lives with paſſages borrowed from the antients, and, among the reſt, from *Ariſtoxenes*, a declared enemy to *Socrates* (6). The reader will find, in the ſecond book of *Stobæus*, great part of a work done by *Porphyrius*, on *What it is in our power to do*, and inſcribed by him to *Chryſaores* (7). The four books, which he wrote againſt eating of fleſh, and the *Latin* tranſlation of them by *Bernardus Felicianus*, are highly eſteemed by *Holſtenius*. Theſe books are addreſſed to *Caſtricius Firmus*, who had an eſtate at *Minturnæ*, in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, and greatly admired, or rather adored, both *Plotinus* and his favourite diſciple *Porphyrius* (8). *Euſebius* and *Theodoret* have made uſe of ſeveral paſſages in this work, in writing againſt the ſacrifices of the gentiles (9). As in this work *Porphyrius* condemned the ſacrifices, which the *Jews* were, by their law, commanded to offer to the true God, *Diodorus*, biſhop of *Tarſus*, undertook to confute him as to that particular. St. *Auſtin* often quotes a treatiſe of *Porphyrius* on *the return of the ſoul to* God (1), divided into ſeveral books. This is, without all doubt, the treatiſe *on the ſoul*, which is often cited by *Euſebius*, and was divided into five books, written by *Porphyrius* to confute *Boethius*, a celebrated *peripatetic* in the time of *Auguſtus* (2). *Porphyrius* publiſhed another work on the *faculties of the ſoul*, out of which a long paſſage has been conveyed to us by *Stobæus*. *Holſtenius* has publiſhed ſeveral ſentences, or ſayings of *Porphyrius*, which make up part of a treatiſe intituled, *introduction to things intelligible*. *Euſebius* and St. *Auſtin* make frequent mention of a letter from *Porphyrius* to one *Anebon*, an *Egyptian* prieſt or prophet, containing ſeveral queſtions touching the nature of demons, the oracles, and magic. This letter was anſwered by *Iamblichus*, under the feigned name of *Abammon* (3). *Euſebius* and *Stobæus* quote ſeveral paſſages out of a book *upon ſtatues*, wherein *Porphyrius* is ſuppoſed to have excuſed, in the beſt manner he could, the worſhip paid by the pagans to their idols (4). *Cyrillus* of *Alexandria* has tranſcribed ſome paſſages out of another book of his, inſcribed to *Nemercus*, upon *Divine Providence*. *Euſebius* and St. *Auſtin* ſpeak frequently of a treatiſe intituled *philoſophy founded upon oracles*, in all likelihood the ſame work with that which *Euſebius* elſewhere ſtiles a *collection of oracles*. This work conſiſted at leaſt of three books (5). St. *Auſtin* is of opinion, that moſt of the oracles related by *Porphyrius* in that treatiſe were feigned by himſelf (6).

(6) *Porphyr. vit. c.* 7. *p.* 60. (7) *Idem, p.* 64. (8) *Idem ibid.* (9) *Idem ibid.* (1) *Aug. civ. Dei, l.* x. *p.* 9, *&c.* (2) *Porph. vit. p.* 71, 72. *Euſeb. præp. evang. l.* iii. *c.* 34. (3) *Aug. civ. Dei, l.* x. *c.* 11. *p.* 112, *&c. Euſeb. ibid. l.* xiv. *c.* 10. *p.* 741. (4) *Eutrop. p.* 75. *Euſeb. ibid. l.* iii. *c.* 9. *p.* 100. (5) *Porph. vit. p.* 78. *Jonſ. l.* iii. *c.* 15. *p.* 289. (6) *Aug. civ. Dei, l.* xix. *c.* 23. *p.* 253.

He

He publiſhed, by the advice of *Plotinus*, a book againſt the heretics, called *gnoſtics*, to ſhew, that a treatiſe on magic, which they peruſed, and aſcribed to *Zoroaſter*, was a ſuppoſititious piece, and written by ſome of them (7). He publiſhed an incredible number of other books, which are mentioned by the antients, and have been long ſince intirely loſt. But none of his works have rendered him ſo famous as that which he wrote againſt the Chriſtians, to whom he bore an irreconcileable hatred, and whoſe religion he endeavoured to diſcredit with the blackeſt calumnies. He read with great attention the Scriptures, not to ſeek the truth, but to find arms wherewithal to impugn it, ſays *Theodoret* (8). He pretended to have diſcovered in the ſacred books a great many contradictions, which were, it ſeems, the ſubject of his firſt book; for the whole work was divided into fifteen (9). He found the prophecies of *Daniel* ſo clearly and evidently fulfilled, that he employed great part of his twelfth book in endeavouring to ſhew, that the prophecies aſcribed to *Daniel* had been publiſhed under his name by one who lived in the time of *Antiochus*, and wrote when the things ſuppoſed to have been foretold had already happened (1). As *Porphyrius* was a man of great learning, and highly eſteemed by the pagans, many were by his writings diverted from embracing the Chriſtian religion, which, however, triumphed in the end over this, as it had done over all its other enemies. The emperor *Conſtantine*, after he had embraced the Chriſtian religion, publiſhed ſome ſevere edicts, either againſt the perſon of *Porphyrius*, if he was ſtill alive, which is not at all likely, or againſt his memory, and his writings, which he cauſed to be publicly burnt (2). Some authors think, that this puniſhment extended to all his writings; but *Conſtantine*'s words need not to be taken in ſo general a ſenſe (3). That prince, to ſhew his averſion to the *Arians*, ordered them to be called *Porphyrians* (4). The Chriſtians did not fail to anſwer the ill-grounded calumnies, and ſophiſtical reaſonings, of their crafty and malicious enemy. The holy biſhop *Methodius* confuted him in a very learned piece, which he publiſhed before the perſecution of *Dioclefian*, in which he was crowned with martyrdom. Some are of opinion, that he wrote it during the perſecution (5); but we can hardly perſuade ourſelves, that he was then at leiſure to compoſe ſuch a long and elaborate work, the biſhops being, in times of perſecution, wholly taken up in relieving, comforting, and encouraging, the diſtreſſed Chriſtians under their care. *Euſebius* of *Cæſarea*, a man of great learning and erudition, publiſhed, ſoon after *Methodius*, an anſwer to the calumnies of *Porphyrius*, in thirty

(7) *Plot. vit. p.* 10. (8) *Theodoret. de Græc. affect. l.* vii. *p.* 588. (9) *Euſeb. l.* vi. *c.* 19. *p.* 219. *Porphyr. vit. c.* 10. *p.* 81. (1) *Hier. in Dan. p.* 567. (2) *Socrat. l.* i. *c.* 9. *p.* 32. (3) *Idem ibid.* (4) *Idem ibid.* (5) *P. Pagi, p.* 302.

books; and *Apollinaris* wrote the ſame number of books againſt him about ſixty years after *Euſebius*. But all theſe works, as well as that of *Porphyrius*, which they confuted, have been long ſince loſt. *Julian the Apoſtate* borrowed from *Porphyrius* what he wrote againſt the Chriſtian religion; but he was fully anſwered by the pious and learned *Cyrillus* of *Alexandria*. St. *Jerom*, St. *Auſtin*, *Euſebius*, and *Theodoret*, make uſe of ſeveral paſſages out of *Porphyrius*, in confuting the calumnies of the pagans; for that implacable enemy to the Chriſtian religion, notwithſtanding all his hatred and malice, could not help uttering many things, which redounded greatly to the honour of thoſe, whom he intended to traduce and expoſe: hence the judicious obſervation of *Theodoret*, with which we ſhall cloſe this note; to wit, that "as GOD obliged *Balaam* to "bleſs his people, whom he "was come with a deſign to "curſe, ſo he turned the tongue "of *Porphyrius* againſt himſelf, "and employed him as a means "to deſtroy the falſhood which "he laboured to eſtabliſh (6)."

(6) *Theodor. de curand. Græcor. affect. l.* iii. *p.* 117.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

The Roman *History, from the Resignation of* Diocletian, *to the Removal of the Imperial Seat to* Constantinople, *by* Constantine the Great.

Constantius *and* Galerius *acknowleged emperors.*

UPON the resignation of *Diocletian* and *Maximian*, the two *Cæsars*, *Constantius* and *Galerius*, were universally acknowleged emperors. Of the latter we have spoken above, and shall here give a succinct account of the birth, education, preferments, and qualities, of *Constantius*, the father of the great *Constantine*, to whom the Christian religion is so highly indebted. *Constantius*, stiled in the antient inscriptions *Flavius Valerius Constantius* (A), was the son of *Eutropius*, one of the chief lords of *Dardania* in *Upper Mœsia*, by *Claudia* the daughter of *Crispus*, brother to the emperor *Claudius* [a]; so that he was not, as some have stiled him, grandson [b], but great-nephew, to that prince. He is commonly distinguished from other emperors of the same name by the surname of *Chlorus*, borrowed perhaps from the paleness of his countenance; for such is the import of that word in the *Greek* tongue. He was born, according to some writers [c], on the thirty-first of *March*, of what year we know not, being only told, that, at the time of his death, which happened in 306. he was, or

Year of the flood 2745. Of Christ 305. Of Rome 1103.

Extraction and preferments of Constantius.

[a] Zonar. vit. Diocles. p. 243. Ammian. anonym. p. 471. Spon. p. 193. Claud. vit. not. Salmas. p. 331. [b] Byzantinor. familiæ, p. 43. [c] Bucher. de cycl. p. 276.

(A) *Constantius* is sometimes called *Julius* by *Aurelius Victor*, to distinguish him from the other emperors of the same name (1). He probably assumed the name of *Valerius* when he was adopted by *Maximian*, who had borrowed it of *Diocletian*. As for that of *Flavius*, it was, according to some authors (2), peculiar to the family of the emperor *Claudius* II. whose great nephew he was. In some inscriptions, *Constantius* is falsly stiled the grandson of *Claudius*; and, in one, *Constantine* is called the grandson of *Claudius*, and the son of *Constantius* (3).

(1) *Aur. Vict. p.* 524. (2) *Vide Salmas. in Claud. p.* 331. (3) *Gruter. p.* 283.

at leaſt ſeemed to be, very old [d]. In his perſon, he was well ſhaped; and in his aſpect there was ſomething extremely gracious and pleaſing [e]. He was not ſo well verſed in letters as in the military art, which he learnt under two great warriors, *Aurelian* and *Probus* [f]. An antient anonymous writer [g] tells us, that he ſerved ſome time in the guards, was afterwards made tribune, and at length appointed governor of *Dalmatia*. He ſignalized himſelf in war, and gained a great victory over the *Alemans in campis Vindonis*, that is, in the neighbourhood of *Windiſch*, at preſent a ſmall village in the canton of *Bern*, the ſame year that *Conſtantine* was born, that is, in 274 [h]. He was made governor of *Dalmatia* in the year 282. or 283. by *Carus*, who had even ſome thoughts of creating him *Cæſar*, in the room of his debauched and wicked ſon *Carinus*, whom he deſigned to depoſe [i]. *Diocleſian*, judging him well qualified for the ſovereignty, agreed with *Maximian* to create him *Cæſar*, together with *Galerius*, on the firſt of *March* of the year 292. as we have related above. He received the purple at the hands of *Maximian*, who by that ceremony adopted him; and hence he is ſometimes called by the name of *Herculeſ* [k], which *Maximian* had aſſumed. He took place of *Galerius*, though created *Cæſar* at the ſame time, on account of his more noble extraction [l]. Upon his being made *Cæſar*, *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*, fell to his ſhare.

His excellent qualities.

WHEN he attained to the empire, he governed the ſame provinces with ſuch juſtice, equity, and moderation, as gained him the hearts of his people, and made them look upon him rather as their common father, than their ſovereign. He is extolled, not only by *Euſebius* and *Lactantius*, whoſe teſtimony might be ſuſpected, but by all the pagan writers, as the moſt equitable, pious, prudent, humane, and generous prince, that ever ſwayed a ſceptre [m]. He was not ſolicitous, ſays *Eutropius* [n], about enriching the exchequer, but pleaſed that his people ſhould enjoy the fruit of their labour and induſtry. He was often heard to ſay, it was better the wealth of a country ſhould circulate among the people, than be locked up in the

[d] EUSEB. vit. Conſt. l. i. c. 18. [e] Paneg. 5. p. 126. & 9. p. 192. [f] AUR. VICT. p. 524. Prob. vit. p. 241. [g] Anonym. Ammiano ſubjunctus, p. 471. [h] Paneg. 9. p. 192. [i] Car. vit. p. 235. [k] Paneg. 4. p. 115. [l] LACTANT. perſec. c. 20. p. 18. [m] Panegyr. 5. p. 126. 6. p. 136, 137. 9. p. 192. 219. [n] EUTROP. p. 587.

coffers

coffers of the prince. For fear of loading his people, he was extremely ſparing in his diet, furniture, equipage, and retinue. When he entertained his friends, and the officers of his court, he was obliged to borrow plate for the uſe of his table. What *Eutropius* writes is confirmed by *Euſebius*, who relates the following remarkable ſtory, paſſing over in ſilence, ſays he, many others no leſs remarkable, but generally known: As the moderation and mildneſs with which *Conſtantius* governed, were every-where mightily applauded, and it was generally ſaid, that he had no money by him, being unwilling to raiſe any upon his people, *Diocleſian* ſent perſons on purpoſe to reproach him with his neglect of the public, and the poverty to which he was reduced by his own fault. *Conſtantius* heard theſe reproaches with patience; and, having perſuaded thoſe, who made them in *Diocleſian*'s name, to ſtay a few days with him, he ſent word to the moſt wealthy perſons in the provinces, that he wanted money, and that they had now an opportunity of ſhewing whether or no they truly loved their prince. Upon this notice, every one ſtrove who ſhould be foremoſt in carrying to the exchequer all their gold, ſilver, and valuable effects; ſo that in a ſhort time *Conſtantius*, from the pooreſt, became by far the moſt wealthy of all the four princes. He then invited the deputies of *Diocleſian* to viſit his treaſury, deſiring them to make a faithful report to their maſter of the ſtate in which they ſhould find it. They obeyed; and, while they ſtood gazing on the mighty heaps of gold and ſilver, *Conſtantius* told them, that the wealth, which they beheld with aſtoniſhment, had long ſince belonged to him; but that he had left it, by way of depoſitum, in the hands of his people; adding, *That the richeſt and ſureſt treaſure of the prince was the love of his ſubjects.* The deputies were no ſooner gone, than the generous prince ſent for thoſe who had aſſiſted him in this exigency, commended their zeal, and returned to every one what they ſo readily brought into his treaſure[o] (B).

An inſtance of the affections of the people to him.

When

[o] Euseb. l. viii. c. 13. 17. p. 309. 317. & vit. Conſtant. l. i. c. 13. p. 414.

(B) *Suidas* writes, that, for his contempt of riches and grandeur, he was ſurnamed *The poor* (4). *Libanius* too extols his tender and

(4) *Suid.* π. p. 486.

paternal

WHEN *Dioclesian*, in the year 303. at the instigation of *Galerius*, began to persecute the church, he sent his bloody edicts to *Maximian* and *Constantius*, injoining them both to see them put in execution in their respective provinces. *Maximian* obeyed with great readiness and joy; and *Constantius*, that he might not seem to oppose his collegues, suffered some churches to be pulled down; but was so far from encouraging that, or any other violence, that, on the contrary, he preserved the Christians, in his provinces, exempt from all the evils which they suffered in those of the others; insomuch that the church enjoyed under him a profound tranquillity, and intire liberty of worship P (C). Though he countenanced and

He favours the Christians.

P EUSEB. l. viii. c. 13. 18. p. 309. 317. & Const. vit. l. i. c. 13. p. 413. OPTAT. mil. l. i. p. 44. LACT. c. 15. p. 13.

paternal regard for the people, who were blessed with so good a prince; and adds, *No prince ever loved money less; no prince was ever more loved by his subjects* (5). *Eusebius* frequently commends the piety of *Constantius*; and not only tells us, that he was inclined to the true religion, but that he acknowleged only one GOD, the Supreme Being; that he had honoured him all his life, had consecrated to him his whole house, and condemned the many gods adored by the impious (6). This is in a manner telling us, that he was a Christian; and nevertheless, neither *Eusebius*, nor any other writer, affirms that, at least in express terms; nay, it appears from *Eusebius*, that he esteemed and countenanced, but never professed, the Christian religion.

(C) *Eusebius* relates of him the following memorable action: While his collegues, says he, were persecuting the Christians with fire and sword, he politically pretended to persecute them too; and declared to such officers of his household, and governors of provinces, as were Christians, that he left it to their choice either to sacrifice to the gods, and by that means maintain themselves in their employments, or to forfeit their places, and his favour, by continuing steady in their religion. When they had all declared, the emperor discovered his real sentiments; reproached, in most bitter terms, those who had renounced their religion; highly extolled the virtue and constancy of such as had despised the wealth and vanities of the world; dismissed with ignominy the former, saying, *That those, who had betrayed their* GOD, *would not scruple to betray their prince*; and, retaining the latter, trusted them with the guard of his person, and the whole management of public affairs, as persons on whose fidelity he could depend, and in whom he might repose an intire confidence (7). Thus he filled his palace, con-

(5) *Liban. orat.* iii. *p.* 104. (6) *Eusеb. vit. Const. l.* i. *c.* 13. & *hist. l.* viii. *c.* 13. *p.* 309. (7) *Eusеb. vit. Const. l.* i. *c.* 15. *p.* 415.

tinues

and honoured the Chriſtians, yet he never embraced himſelf (which is altogether ſurpriſing) the true religion; at leaſt we are no-where told, that he did. By his firſt wife, *Helena*, he had but one child; to wit, *Conſtantine*, ſurnamed *the Great*, of whom, as well as of his mother, we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. He was obliged, in the year 292. to divorce her, and marry *Flavia Maximiana Theodora*, daughter to the wife of *Maximian*, by a former huſband. He had by her three ſons, *Dalmatius*, or *Dematius*, *Julius Conſtantius*, and a third, named by ſome *Annibalianus*, and by others *Conſtantine*; and as many daughters, to wit, *Conſtantia*, *Anaſtaſia*, and *Eutropia* [q] (D). *His iſſue.*

BEFORE we proceed to the hiſtory of the reign of *Conſtantius*, it will be neceſſary to give the reader a ſuccinct account of the birth, education, and extraordinary qualities, of his ſon *Conſtantine*, whoſe actions are inſeparably interwoven with thoſe of his father. *Conſtantine*, ſtiled in the antient

[q] AUR. VICT. p. 524. EUTROP. p. 586. AMMIAN. p. 2. Byzan. famil. p. 44. GOLTZ. p. 125.

tinues *Euſebius*, with the pious adorers of the true GOD, while the other princes exerted all their power to extirpate the Chriſtian name; nay, many miniſters of GOD daily offered up prayers and vows for the happineſs and preſervation of ſo good a prince in his very palace, which ſeemed rather a church, or oratory, than the habitation of an emperor (8).

(D) *Dalmatius*, who was honoured with the cenſorſhip, died before *Conſtantine*, and left two ſons; to wit, *Dalmatius* the younger, who, after having been conſul in 333. with *Zenophilus*, was created *Cæſar* on the eighteenth or twenty-fourth of *September* in 335. and *Annibalianus*, king of *Pontus* and *Armenia*. *Julius Conſtantius* was conſul with *Albinus* in 335. and killed with one of his brothers ſoon after the death of *Conſtantine the Great*. He had by his firſt wife *Galla*, *Gallus Cæſar*, and another ſon, whoſe name is unknown; and, by his ſecond wife, *Baſilina*, *Julian*, ſurnamed *the Apoſtate*. *Valeſius*, who calls the third ſon *Conſtantine*, takes him to have been conſul in 327. with *Maximus*, whoſe collegue is ſtiled in the faſti *Conſtantine*. As to *Conſtantius*'s three daughters; *Conſtantia*, ſtiled on the antient coins *Fl. Valeria Conſtantia*, was married to *Licinius* in 513. *Anaſtaſia* married *Baſſianus*, who, at the inſtigation of *Licinius*, betrayed *Conſtantine* in 314. tho' he had then ſome thoughts of creating him *Cæſar*. *Eutropia* was mother to *Nepotianus*, who uſurped the empire in 350. and is ſuppoſed to have been married to *Nepotianus*, who was conſul in 301.

(8) *Euſeb. vit. Conſt. l.* i. *c.* 17. *p.* 416.

inſcrip-

The birth, education, and extraordinary qualities of his ſon Conſtantine.

inſcriptions, *C. Flavius Valerius Aurelius Claudius Conſtantinus* [r], was born on the twenty-ſeventh of *February*, about the year 274. for, at his death, which happened on the twenty-ſecond of *May* in 337. he was about ſixty-four [s] (E).

Con-

[r] Goltz. p. 126, 127. [s] Buch. cycl. p. 276. Byzant. fam. p. 214. Lact. p. 411, 412. Anonym. p. 471.

(E) As for the place of his nativity, the anonymous writer of his life, publiſhed in 1636. by *Henricus Valeſius*, and ſubjoined to the fifteen books of *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Stephanus* the geographer (9), *Julius Firmicus* (1), who, according to the beſt-grounded opinion, wrote in the reign of *Conſtantine*, and *Cedrenus* (2), tell us, in expreſs terms, that *Conſtantine* was born in the city of *Naiſſus* in *Dardania*, called alſo *Naiſus* and *Naſſus*, and now known by the name of *Niſſa*. It is certain, that the father and anceſtors of *Conſtantine* were natives of *Dardania*; that *Conſtantine* himſelf frequently reſided at *Naiſſus*, as appears from the many laws which he enacted there; and that he ever ſhewed himſelf partial to that city, enriching it with many privileges, and embelliſhing it with a great number of ſtately edifices; whence it is ſtiled by *Stephanus*, *The birth-place and work of the emperor* Conſtantine (3). However, moſt modern writers of all nations, not excepting ſuch as are moſt jealous of the glory of ours, do us the honour to acknowlege this great emperor, this deliverer of the church, as *Euſebius* ſtiles him, a native of *Britain*, ſome of them ſuppoſing him to have been born in the city of *Colcheſter*, where *Coellus*, the father of *Helena*, reigned; others in *York*, where the *Roman* governors uſually reſided. We heartily wiſh, an opinion, which reflects ſo much glory on our iſland, were better grounded. But to ſpeak our ſentiments, unbyaſed by any national prejudice or partiality, tho' we have had from abroad, and peruſed with great attention, the elaborate work, publiſhed at *Antwerp* in 1641. by the learned Jeſuit father *Alford* on this ſubject, under the title of *Britannia illuſtrata*, yet we cannot ſay, that his arguments weigh down with us the above-mentioned authorities. The moderns have been led into this opinion by a paſſage in a panegyric prononnced before *Conſtantine*, wherein the orator, addreſſing the emperor, told him, that he had ennobled *Britain*, *illic oriendo*; which words equally import *by being born there*, and *by being there made emperor*. In the latter ſenſe they are underſtood by *Lipſius* (4), and *Livineius* in his comments on thoſe antient panegyriſts; but, by father *Alford*, and above ſeventy other authors of different nations, whom he quotes, in the former (5); nay, both he and *Baronius* (6) think the above-mentioned words

(9) *Steph. in Naiſo.* (1) *Jul. Fir. matheſ. l.* i. *c. ult.* (2) *Cedrenus hiſt. p.* 221. (3) *Steph. ibid.* (4) *Lipſ. de mag. Rom. l.* iv. *c. ult.* (5) *Vid. Alford. Britan. illuſtrat. p.* 140——155. (6) *Baron. ad ann.* 306.

can

CONSTANTIUS had *Conſtantine* by the celebrated *Helena*, ſo much extolled, and not undeſervedly, by all the Chriſtian, eſpecially the eccleſiaſtic writers (F).

can admit of no other ſenſe. For *Conſtantine*, ſay they, was made *Cæſar* at *Rome*, and emperor at *Treves*: but that he was created *Cæſar* in *Britain*, that he was there firſt ſaluted *Auguſtus*, and conſequently, that the words of the panegyriſt may, and perhaps ought to be underſtood in the ſenſe of *Lipſius* and *Livineius*, will evidently appear, in the ſequel of this hiſtory, from *Libanius*, *Euſebius*, the emperor *Julian*, *Lactantius*, and *Eumenius*, whom we ſhall quote hereafter. *Aldhelmus*, who flouriſhed in the ſeventh century, was the firſt who wrote in expreſs terms, that *Conſtantine* was born in *Britain* (7): thoſe who came after copied from him, and, as it generally happens, from one another; by which means that opinion univerſally prevailed. *Aldhelmus* probably held it upon the authority of ſome tradition, or was perſuaded by the ambiguous paſſage of the above-mentioned panegyriſt. *Euſebius*, who relates the moſt minute particulars of the life of *Conſtantine*, never once mentions (which is very ſurpriſing) the place of his nativity.

(F) Moſt modern authors, whether natives of this iſland, or foreigners, ſuppoſe her to have been the daughter of *Coellus*, a *Britiſh* king, and to have married *Conſtantius*, who was charmed with her beauty, when he firſt came into *Britain*, in the reign of *Aurelian*. But this opinion is no better grounded, than the former relating to the birth-place of *Conſtantine*, there being a profound ſilence among the antients, if we except *Nicephorus*, with reſpect to the country of this pious, as *Euſebius* ſtiles her, and venerable princeſs. As for *Nicephorus*, he gravely tells us, that *Helena* was the daughter of an inn-keeper of *Drepanum* near *Nicomedia* in *Bithynia*; that *Conſtantius*, being ſeized with a luſtful deſire, while he lodged in her father's houſe, as he paſſed through that place upon an embaſſy to the king of *Perſia*, acquainted therewith his landlord, who, to oblige the *Roman* embaſſador, offered him his daughter, a virgin in the flower of her age, and of extraordinary beauty; that *Conſtantius*, terrified that night with a dream, in which he ſaw the ſun riſing out of the weſtern ocean, exhorted his landlord next morning to preſerve his daughter from any further pollution, and earneſtly recommended to him the child ſhe ſhould bring forth; that ſome time after, other *Roman* embaſſadors, who happened to lodge in the ſame houſe, chiding young *Conſtantine*, the fruit of that amour, and the child highly reſenting that freedom, the mother informed them whoſe ſon he was, and at the ſame time ſhewed them a purple robe, the gift of *Conſtantius*. The embaſſadors, upon their return to *Italy*, acquainted *Conſtantius* with what had paſſed, who thereupon ordered *Conſtantine* and his mother to repair to *Rome*; but afterwards, not thinking them ſafe there, on account of the jealous

(7) *Bucher. de Belg. l.* vi. *c.* 15. *Aldhelm. de laude virg. c.* 23.

temper of his lawful wife *Theodora*, he ſent *Conſtantine* to *Nicomedia*, to be brought up in the court of *Dioclesian*, where he was inſtructed in the ſciences, and the truths of the Chriſtian religion, which he embraced (8). Such is the account *Nicephorus* gives us of the condition of *Helena*, of the birth and education of *Conſtantine*; an account which contains, we may ſay, without exaggeration, as many notorious blunders as periods. But we ſhall, for the preſent, only take notice of two; the one in point of chronology, the other of hiſtory; which, with every judicious reader, will be a ſufficient apology for our rejecting, as altogether fabulous, the narration of that hiſtorian, tho' highly applauded by *Lipſius* (9), and adopted by ſome modern writers of no mean character. To begin with the enormous anachroniſm contained in that account, it is evident from all the antients, that *Conſtantine*, at the time of his father's pretended embaſſy to the king of *Perſia*, was twenty-nine, or at leaſt twenty-ſeven, years old. For *Conſtantius* was ſent into *Perſia*, according to *Nicephorus* (1), after *Dioclesian* had begun to perſecute the Chriſtians; but his firſt edicts againſt them were publiſhed, as we read in *Euſebius* (2), who lived at that time, on the twenty-third of *February*, in the nineteenth year of his reign, that is, according to all chronologers both antient and modern, in the 303d of the Chriſtian æra. On the other hand, *Euſebius* (3), *Epiphanius* (4), St. *Jerom* (5), *Victor* (6), *Nicephorus Conſtantinopolitanus* (7), &c. agree, that *Conſtantine* died in 337. being then ſixty-four, or, as ſome will have it, ſixty-two; ſo that he muſt have been born in 274. or 272. and conſequently was, at the time of his father's ſuppoſed embaſſy, twenty nine, or twenty-ſeven, years old. Beſides, *Conſtantine* himſelf, in his oration annexed to the works of *Euſebius*, tells us, that he was with *Dioclesian* in the palace at *Nicomedia*, when the memorable fire broke out there, of which we have ſpoken above; and that accident happened, according to *Euſebius* (8), a few days after the publiſhing of the firſt edicts againſt the Chriſtians. It is amazing that *Lipſius* ſhould, with other chronologers, ſuppoſe *Conſtantine* to have been born about the year 272. and yet admit, as an unqueſtionable truth, the fable of *Nicephorus*, which utterly deſtroys that ſuppoſition. As to the *Greek* hiſtorian's miſtake in point of his hiſtory, he tells us, that the *Perſians* having made an irruption into the *Roman* dominions, and threatening the empire with a deſtructive war, *Conſtantius* was ſent with the character of embaſſador, to try whether he could, by any means, even by the offer of a penſion, to be paid yearly to the *Perſian* king, prevail upon him to deſiſt from hoſtilities, and conclude a peace with the *Roman* emperors (9).

(8) *Nicepb. l.* vii. *c.* 17, 18.
(1) *Nicepb. ibid.*
(2) *Euſeb. hiſt. l.* viii. *c.* 7.
(3) *Euſeb. vit. Conſt.*
l. iv. *c.* 52.
(4) *Epiphan. lib. de menſ.*
(5) *Hier. in chron.*
(6) *Vict. in Conſt.*
(7) *Nicepb. Conſt. in chronol. c.* 12.
(8) *Euſeb. l.* viii.
c. 7. *p.* 292.
(9) *Nicepb. l.* vii. *c.* 17, 18.
(9) *Lipſ. de magnit. Rom. l.* iv. *c.* 11.

Now

Now it is evident from *Eutropius* (1), *Eusebius* (2), *Ammianus Marcellinus* (3), *Zonaras* (4), *Aurelius Victor* (5), *Festus* (6), *Lactantius* (7), &c. that the *Persians* had, at least six years before the time of this pretended embassy, been utterly overthrown by *Galerius*, and had purchased a peace of *Diocletian*, by yielding up to him five provinces, as we have related above. This peace lasted, as the same writers assure us, for the space of forty years, that is, till the year 337. the last of *Constantine*'s long reign. But after all, we must not imagine *Nicephorus* to have been the only writer who questioned the legitimacy of *Constantine*, the chastity of his mother *Helena*. For *Zosimus* writes, that she was not *Constantius*'s lawful wife (8). The chronicle of *Alexandria* calls her son *Constantine*, in plain terms, a bastard child (9). St. *Ambrose* gives us room to think, that this was a current report or tradition in his time; and that he himself did not disbelieve it (1). The same thing is asserted in the *Greek* text of *Eusebius*'s chronicle, published by *Scaliger*; and in that of St. *Jerom*, who has been followed by several eminent writers of a later date, namely, by *Prosper*, *Cassiodorus*, *Aldhelmus* bishop of the *West Saxons*, and the Venerable *Bede*, who, speaking of *Helena*, style her the concubine of *Constantius*. On the other hand, *Eutropius* (2), and both the *Victors* (3), tell us, that *Constantius* and *Galerius* were obliged, when created *Cæsars*, to divorce their former wives. *Constantius* therefore had a lawful wife before he married *Theodora*; and we are no-where told, that he had any besides her and *Helena*. *Scaliger* indeed pretends, that he was married to *Minervina*, the mother of *Crispus*, not apprised that *Crispus* was *Constantine*'s son, and not his brother; a pretty considerable mistake in a critic. The anonymous author of *Constantine*'s life, published by *Valesius*, writes in express terms, *that* Constantius *divorced* Helena *to marry* Theodora (4); and *Eutropius*, that *Constantine* was *the fruit of an obscure, but lawful matrimony* (5). At *Naples* is still extant an inscription, in which *Helena* is styled *the wife of* Constantius (6). In two others, to be seen in *Gruter*, she is distinguished with the title of *Augusta*, which was never given, as is well known, to a concubine. The antient panegyrists supply us with presumptions, of equal strength with these authorities, in favour of *Helena*'s marriage with *Constantius*. One of them (7), in an oration which he pronounced before *Constantine* on occasion of his marriage, addresses him thus: "You, O *Constantine*, make it "your study to imitate the con-"tinence of your father; tread-"ing in his footsteps, you prefer "in your early youth the ties "of matrimony to an unrestrain-"ed liberty, that you may not "be tempted to abandon your-

(1) *Eutrop. p.* 586. (2) *Eusb. p.* 170. (3) *Ammian. p.* 109. (4) *Zonar. p.* 144. (5) *Aur. Vict p.* 526. (6) *Festus, p.* 954. (7) *Lactan. pers. c.* 9. *p.* 9. (8) *Zos. l.* ii. *p.* 672. (9) *Chron. Al. p.* 630. (1) *Amb. div.* 3. *p.* 123. (2) *Eutrop. p.* 586. (3) *Aur. Vict. p.* 524. *Vict. epit. p.* 542. (4) *Anonym. p.* 471. (5) *Eutrop. p.* 587. (6) *Gruter. p.* 1086. (7) *Panegyr.* 5. *p.* 126.

" fair an hope and unlawful
" amour." How preposterous and unreasonable would this addition have seemed, had Constantine been the son of an unlawful amour! By supposing Helena to have been the concubine, and not the wife, of Constantius, we at once turn the panegyric into a satire. For what can it be called but a satire, to cry up the countenance of the father before a son, whose very birth is a proof of his incontinence; and to commend the son thus unlawfully begotten for imitating the countenance of his father? Helena is styled, not only by the panegyrist, but Eusebius, a most pious, venerable, religious, and virtuous woman; which epithets they would have hardly bestowed upon her, had she been Constantius's concubine, and not his wife: neither would Constantine, we conceive, have dignified her with the title of *Augusta*, had she not been his lawful mother. The emperor Diocletian ever distinguished Constantine with particular marks of honour and esteem, whereof Eusebius tells us, he himself was an eye-witness (8); for he saw young Constantine on the emperor's right hand, as they passed together through Palestine, either going to or returning from Egypt. He caused him to be brought up in the court with great care, took him with him whithersoever he went, and, in the year 305. when two new Cæsars were to be created, named him in the first place, no one, says Eumenius, calling in question the right which he had to that dignity, as the son of Constantius (9). Eusebius, speaking of his father Constantius says, that at his death he left the empire to his son Constantine, whose birthright it was (1). Illegitimate children were not, as is well known, thus treated and respected among the Romans. Galerius is said to have alleged several reasons to divert Diocletian from naming Constantine to the dignity of Cæsar (2); but among these we do not find the least mention made of his birth, which, had it been unlawful, would have furnished him with a stronger and far more plausible reason, than any he produced. Nay, we can by no means imagine, that Diocletian would have ever thought of preferring Constantine, had he only been Constantius's natural son, to that prince's lawful children by Theodora, for whom both he, and his collegue Maximian, had cogent motives to interest themselves. These arguments are of such weight with us, that, notwithstanding the above-mentioned authorities, we cannot entertain the least doubt of Constantine's legitimacy, unbyassed as we are by any prejudice or partiality with respect either to him or his mother Helena. As for Helena's country and parentage, no writer before the seventh century mentions either: those who flourished after that time commonly suppose her to have been a native of this island, and the daughter of a king, whom they call Coelus or Coellus. This opinion, grounded, as we conjecture, upon tradition, or perhaps the authority of some historian, whose works have not reached our

(8) Euseb. vit. Const. c. 15. p. 601. (9) Panegyr. 9. p. 191, 192. (1) Euseb. vit. Const. l. i. c. 19. p. 417. (2) Lact. pers. c. 18. p. 16.

times,

WHEN *Conſtantius* was created *Cæſar* in 292. and ſent into *Gaul*, *Dioclesian* kept *Conſtantine* as an hoſtage, cauſed him to be brought up in the court with great care, and raiſed him, long before the year 303. to the rank of a tribune [t]. He already appeared capable of any degree of fortune, however elevated. The lovelineſs of his countenance, blended with a certain air of majeſty; the talneſs of his perſon, extremely well ſhaped and regular; his life without blame or reproach; his generoſity, good-nature, affability, and obliging behaviour, towards perſons of all ranks, gained him the affections both of the people and ſoldiery to ſuch a degree, that no one knew him, who did not wiſh to ſee him one day emperor, and was not ready to contribute, ſo far as lay in his power, to his preferment [u] (G). *Conſtantine's excellent qualities.*

HE ſignalized himſelf in war, and ſerved with great reputation under *Dioclesian* and *Galerius*, in their wars with the *Germans*, *Goths*, *Sarmatians*, and *Perſians* [w]. He often grappled with the enemy hand to hand [x], and gave ſuch proofs of his valour as raiſed ſome jealouſy in the other princes [y]. All authors, pagans as well as *Chriſtians*, agree in extolling, with the higheſt encomiums, his ſobriety, continence, and the abhorrence he ſhewed from his early youth to unlawful pleaſures [z]. He never violated the laws of chaſtity, ſays an antient panegyriſt [a]; but ſubjected himſelf, when yet a youth, to the ties of matrimony, that he might not be tempted to ſully himſelf with any kind of *His courage and valour.* *His ſingular continence.*

[t] EUSEB. vit. Conſt. l. i. c. 12. p. 415. LACT. perſ. c. 18. p. 17. [u] EUSEB. ibid. l. i. c. 19. p. 417. Panegyr. 5. p. 125. [w] EUSEB. ibid. p. 589. [x] THEOPH. p. 6. [y] EUSEB. ibid. p. 418. [z] EUSEB. ibid. Panegyr. 7. p. 175. & 5. p. 126. [a] Panegyr. 6. p. 137.

times, obtained pretty early here, and produced the many churches and monuments, which were erected throughout *Britain* to her honour.

(G) The anonymous writer of his life ſays, that he had no great learning (3): and truly learning could not then be much in requeſt, ſince none of the four princes who governed were men of letters. However, both *Euſebius* (4) and *Aurelius Victor* (5) aſſure us, that *Conſtantine* was well verſed in moſt branches of literature; that he was a generous encourager of learning; that after he was raiſed to the empire, he ſpent much of his time in reading; that he compoſed, and pronounced in public, ſeveral orations; and, that the many laws which he publiſhed, were all drawn up by himſelf. One of his orations has reached us, and is ſubjoined to the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of *Euſebius* (6).

(3) *Anonym. p.* 471. (4) *Euſeb. vit. Conſt. l.* 1. *c.* 19. *p.* 418. (5) *Aur. Vict. p.* 524. (6) *Orat. Conſt. ad ſanctor. cætum, p.* 567.

lewdneſs or impurity. He married to his firſt wife *Minervina*, of whoſe parentage and condition no mention is made by the antients; and had by her *Criſpus*, who muſt have been born about the 300. for, twenty years after he ſignalized himſelf in the wars againſt the *Franks* and *Licinius*. *Dioclesian*, before he reſigned the empire, was for appointing *Conſtantine*, and *Maxentius*, the ſon of *Maximian*, *Cæſars*. But their election was oppoſed by *Galerius*, who at length prevailed upon the emperor to name in their room *Severus* and *Maximinus*, who he knew would be intirely ruled by him, and blindly obey his orders (H). Matters

Severus *and* Maximinus *declared* Cæſars.

(H) The former was a native of *Illyricum*, deſcended of an obſcure family, abandoned to all manner of vices, and in every reſpect unequal to ſo great a charge. The latter was born in the ſame country, and no leſs meanly than the other; for tho' he was nephew to *Galerius*, being his ſiſter's ſon, yet in his youth he had followed the mean calling of a ſhepherd; and he proved, after his preferment, no leſs vicious than his collegue. He was yet a youth, and half barbarian, unknown to the emperors, and quite unacquainted with ſtate-affairs, when *Galerius*, who had taken him a little before from his flocks, named him to *Dioclesian* for the dignity of *Cæſar (7)*. The emperor, terrified with the menaces of *Galerius*, conſented, much againſt his will, to the promotion both of *Severus* and *Maximinus*; and on the day appointed for his reſignation, after having declared in a great aſſembly, that he yielded the empire to *Conſtantius* and *Galerius*, who were more capable than he of bearing ſo great a weight, added, not without betraying ſome concern and reluctance, *I am likewiſe to name two new* Cæſars, *and theſe are* Severus *and* Maximinus. The whole aſſembly was greatly ſurpriſed to hear theſe two names, and began to aſk one another whether *Conſtantine* had changed his? Their ſurprize was doubled, when they heard *Galerius* command *Conſtantine* to deſcend from the throne on which he ſat with *Dioclesian*; and ſaw unexpectedly a young barbarian, who ſtood behind it, ſtep forth and receive the purple at the hands of the emperor. The numerous multitude was ſtruck with amazement. Every one aſked, who *Maximin* was? whence he came? for what demerit *Conſtantine* had been excluded from a poſt, to which he had ſo juſt a claim? but no one dared to oppoſe his promotion (8). This happened at *Nicomedia*; and on the ſame day, that is, on the firſt of *May* of the year 305. *Maximian* reſigned the empire at *Milan* to *Conſtantius*, and declared *Severus Cæſar*. *Galerius* excluded *Conſtantine*, with a view of becoming ſoon ſole maſter of the empire; for he was well appriſed, that *Conſtantius*, who was ſubject to many infirmities, and quite worn out, could not live long;

(7) *Lact. perſ. c.* 18. *p.* 17. *Aur. Vict. p.* 525. *Euſeb. l.* ix. *c.* 9. (8) *Lact. perſ. c.* 19. *p.* 17, 18.

and

Matters being thus ſettled, the empire was divided between *Conſtantius* and *Galerius.* To the ſhare of the former fell *Gaul*, *Italy*, *Africa*, *Spain*, and *Britain*; the latter had *Illyricum*, *Pannonia*, *Thrace*, *Macedon*, *Greece*, *Aſia Minor*, *Egypt*, *Judæa*, *Syria*, and all the eaſtern provinces. *Conſtantius* yielded to *Severus*, *Italy* and *Africa*, as did *Galerius*, *Syria* and *Egypt*, to his nephew *Maximin* [b]. *Severus*, who was created *Cæſar*, to govern under *Conſtantius*, is always named before *Maximin*, who governed under *Galerius* [c]. As *Severus* was indebted to *Galerius* alone for his promotion, that prince expected he ſhould obey him even againſt *Conſtantius* himſelf [d]. However, it is certain, that notwithſtanding the implacable hatred which *Galerius* had to the *Chriſtians*, the perſecution ceaſed both in *Italy*, and the other weſtern provinces, ſoon after *Conſtantius* was declared emperor [e]. *The empire divided between* Conſtantius *and* Galerius.

In the mean time, *Conſtantine* continued at *Nicomedia*, in the heart of the provinces belonging to *Galerius*, who would not, though earneſtly intreated by his father *Conſtantius*, during a dangerous malady, with which he was ſeized, ſuffer him to depart; but pretending a great affection to him, kept him by way of hoſtage [f]. *Victor* the younger tells us, that he kept him with him at *Rome* [g]; but it is certain, that *Galerius* never came to that city [h]. As the extraordinary qualities of that prince gave the emperor great umbrage, he only waited ſome opportunity of deſtroying him; but not daring, through fear of the ſoldiery, by whom *Conſtantine* was greatly beloved, to make any open attempt, he had recourſe to treachery, and expoſed him, under various ſpecious pretences, to many dangers; from which he was happily delivered by the watchful providence of God, whoſe church he was to free from the perſecution with *Galerius ſeeks the deſtruction of* Conſtantine.

[b] Eutrop. p. 587. Aur. Vict. p. 525. Zos. l. ii. p. 672.
[c] Vide Spon. p. 192. [d] Lact. perſ. c. 18. 20. p. 17---19.
[e] Euseb. de martyr. Palæſtin. [f] Lact. perſ. p. 406. [g] Vict. p. 525. [h] Lact. perſ. c. 27. p. 25.

and beſides, he hoped eaſily to get the aſcendant over him, on account of his mild and peaceable temper. But he dreaded *Conſtantine*, on account of his courage, his experience in war, his addreſs, and other extraordinary qualities; and therefore reſolved to kep him in a private condition, and allow him no ſhare in the government, that it might not be in the young prince's power to defeat his vaſt deſigns (9). As for the two new *Cæſars*, he looked upon them as his own creatures, and perſons to be governed in every thing by him.

(9) *Lact. perſ. c. 18. p. 17.*

which it had been cruelly oppreſſed for the ſpace of near three hundred years (I).

THE following year, *Conſtantius* and *Galerius* being both conſuls the ſixth time, the latter, finding he could no longer detain *Conſtantine* without openly breaking with his collegue, gave him at length leave to depart, and ſigned a warrant for the officers of the poſt to ſupply him with the neceſſary horſes and chariots. This warrant he delivered to him in the evening; but at the ſame time ordered him not to make uſe of it till the next morning, when he deſigned to give him his final inſtructions [i]. In the mean time, he diſpatched an expreſs to *Severus*, injoining him, by all means, to ſtop *Conſtantine*, and prevent his arrival in the provinces governed by his father. That the expreſs might reach *Italy* before *Conſtantine*, he did not riſe that day, contrary to his cuſtom, till noon, when he ſent for *Conſtantine*. But he had ſet out the night before, as ſoon as *Galerius* had withdrawn; and traveling with all poſſible ſpeed, for ſeveral ſtages, hamſtringed or killed the horſes which he did not make uſe of, that no one might purſue nor ſtop him while he croſſed the provinces of *Galerius*, and *Italy*, where *Severus* ruled. This precaution ſaved him; for next morning, *Galerius*, being informed, that he had ſet out the night before, flew into a violent paſſion, and ordered ſeveral meſſengers to make what haſte

Conſtantine *eſcapes from* Galerius *to his father.*

[i] LACT. c. 24. p. 22. EUSEB. Conſt. vit. l. i. c. 20.

(I) *Praxagoras*, a pagan author, who compiled in two books the hiſtory of the firſt emperors, and wrote, according to *Voſſius*, in the time of *Conſtantine*, or his children, tells us, that *Galerius* often encouraged him to enter the liſts with wild beaſts, on which occaſion he once killed a lion of extraordinary fierceneſs and ſize (1). The ſame thing is related by *Zonaras*, who adds, that *Galerius*, in the *Sarmatian* war, obſerving one of the chiefs of the barbarians, who ſurpaſſed all the others in ſtature, and the fierceneſs of his looks, ordered *Conſtantine* to engage him, which he did accordingly with great reſolution and intrepidity, overcame him, and, throwing him to the ground, dragged him by the hair to the emperor's preſence, and laid him at his feet (2). On another occaſion, *Galerius*, who ſought his deſtruction, having ordered him to croſs a marſh at the head of ſome troops, he entered it the firſt on horſeback; and, being followed by his men, put great numbers of the enemy to the ſword, and gained a complete victory (3). This too happened in *Galerius*'s war with the *Sarmatians*, which we muſt place in this, or in the beginning of the next year.

(1) *Phot.* c. 67. p. 64. *Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l.* ii. c. 17. (2) *Zonar. vit. Dioclef.* p. 246. (3) *Ammian. anonym.* p. 471.

they could after him; but he was told, that *Conſtantine* had diſabled all the poſt-horſes; which tranſported him to ſuch a degree, that, through grief and rage, he could ſcarce forbear burſting into tears [k] (K).

CONSTANTIUS died at *York* on the twenty-fifth of *July* in 306. the fourth year of the perſecution of *Dioclefian*, according to St. *Jerom* [l]; and the ſixteenth, or rather fifteenth, of his reign, reckoning from the time he had been created *Cæſar*, that is, from the year 292. for he had enjoyed that dignity thirteen years and two months, and the empire one year, and near three months [m]. He died in his palace, ſurrounded by his children, and his body was with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence interred by his ſon *Conſtantine* (L). After his death, he was

The death of Conſtantius.

[k] EUSEB. p. 418. AMMIAN. anonym. p. 471. LACT. p. 21. ZOS. l. ii. p. 672. AUR. VICT. p. 525. [l] HIER. chron. [m] AUR. VICT. p. 526. EUSEB. chron. GOLTZ. p. 124. EUTROP. p. 587. Panegyr. 9. p. 194.

(K) *Euſebius*, *Lactantius*, and ſeveral hiſtorians, tell us, that *Conſtantine*, arriving in *Britain*, found his father at the point of death; but therein they muſt certainly be miſtaken, ſince *Eumenius*, in the panegyric which he pronounced before *Conſtantine* a few years after, writes, that he arrived while his father was weighing anchor with a deſign to paſs over into *Britain* (4). With him agrees the anonymous writer, publiſhed by *Valeſius*, who ſays, that *Conſtantine* found his father at *Geſſoriacum*, or *Boulogne* (5). He attended him into *Britain*, where he was going to make war, ſays *Eumenius* (6), upon the *Caledonians* and *Picts*. The latter people, now firſt mentioned in hiſtory, inhabited *Scotland*; but were thought, ſays *Bede*, to have come from *Scythia*, that is, according to the learned *Uſher*, from *Scandinavia*, or ſome other northern country (7). *Conſtantius*, in the laſt days of his life, overcame the *Picts*, as the anonymous author quoted above informs us (8), being aſſiſted in this war, as we read in *Aurelius Victor* (9), by *Eroc*, or, as others ſtyle him, *Crocus*, king of the *Alemans*.

(L) Some pretend, that he was buried at a place called *Cair Segeint*, and by ſome *Caïr Cuſteint*, that is, the city of *Conſtantius* or *Conſtantine* (1). In 1283. a body was found at a ſmall diſtance from that place, which *Edward* I. who reigned then, cauſed to be removed to a church, believing it to be the body of *Conſtantius*. This was not agreeable to the canons. Not long before, as ſome perſons were digging in a place at *York*, where *Conſtantius* was ſuppoſed to have been buried, they diſcovered a lamp that was ſtill burning (2).

(4) *Panegyr.* 9. *p.* 194. (5) *Ammian. anonym. p.* 472. (6) *Panegyr.* 9. *p.* 194. (7) *Vide Uſſer. Brit. eccleſ. antiquit. p.* 581, 578, 579. (8) *Anonym. p.* 471. (9) *Vict. epit. p.* 943. (1) *Uſſer. eccleſ. Brit. antiq. p.* 60. (2) *Alford. ann. ad ann.* 306.

ranked among the gods, as appears from ſeveral antient coins, and among the reſt from one of his brother-in-law *Maxentius* [n]. *Conſtantius* bequeathed the empire to his ſon *Conſtantine* [o], who declared he would not accept it without the conſent of the other princes, to whom he immediately wrote, acquainting them with the death and laſt will of his father. But the ſoldiers, by whom he was greatly beloved, impatient of delays, proclaimed him emperor the ſame day in which his father died, and, the firſt time he appeared in public, ſaluted him with the title of *Auguſtus*, and forced him to accept the purple, knowing him, ſays *Zoſimus*, a writer no-way byaſed in his favour, to be truly worthy of the empire, and promiſing themſelves great things from his generoſity [p]. Thus was *Conſtantine* firſt declared emperor in *Britain*, the ſame day in which his father died; that is, on the twenty-fifth of *July* of the year 306. which, in an antient calendar, is marked as the firſt day of his reign [q] (M). He afterwards ſent his image to the other emperors, adorned, according to cuſtom, with the marks of the imperial dignity. *Galerius* was long in ſuſpenſe whether or no he ſhould receive it; nay, tranſported with rage, he was upon the point of condemning both the image, and the meſſenger who brought it, to the flames; but his friends remonſtrating, that ſuch an affront would give riſe to a civil war, in which the ſoldiery would in all likelihood abandon him, and ſide with *Conſtantine*, he was prevailed upon to receive his image, and to ſend him the purple, that he might at leaſt ſeem to hold his authority of him [r]. However, he gave him only the title of *Cæſar*, and created *Severus* emperor, whoſe provinces, to wit, *Italy* and *Africa*, he governed with as abſolute a ſway as his own, oppreſſing them with endleſs taxes, and practiſing unheard-of cruelties upon ſuch as were not in a condition to comply with his unjuſt demands.

He bequeaths the empire to Conſtantine.

Who is ſaluted Auguſtus *by the ſoldiery.*

Year of the flood 2746. Of Chr. 306. Of Rome 1104.

Galerius *grants him only the title of* Cæſar.

THIS occaſioned great diſturbances in all the cities of *Italy*, but eſpecially in *Rome*; which *Maxentius* laying hold of, cauſed

[n] BIRAG. p. 440. [o] EUSEB. vit. Conſt. l. i. c. 21. p. 418. JULIAN. orat. 1. p. 13. LACT. perſ. c. 24. p. 21. Panegyr. 5. p. 127. & 9. p. 194. [p] Zos. l. ii. p. 67. [q] BUCH. cycl. p. 286. [r] LACT. perſ. c. 25. p. 22. Zos. l. ii. p. 672.

(M) *Lactantius* tells us in expreſs terms, that, upon his father's death, he took the title of *Auguſtus* (3); and *Euſebius* (4), that he performed his father's obſequies clad in purple; which is a plain proof, that he took, in *Britain* at leaſt, the title of *Cæſar*, which however thoſe muſt deny, who maintain him to have been born in *Britain*, as we have obſerved above.

(3) *Lact. perſ. c.* 24, 25, *p.* 23. (4) *Euſeb. Conſt. vit. l.* i. *c.* 22. *p.* 419.

himſelf

himſelf to be proclaimed emperor by the diſſatisfied ſoldiery and people. *Maxentius* was, or at leaſt paſſed for, the ſon of *Maximian*; for ſome writers tell us, that he was a ſuppoſititious child, and that his mother, before her death, owned ſhe had impoſed him upon her huſband to gain his affection. However that be, he was quite deſtitute of every commendable quality, proud, arrogant, cruel, ill-ſhaped, or rather deformed in his perſon, abandoned to all manner of vices, and univerſally abhorred, not only by his father's friends, but by his father himſelf, and much more by *Galerius*, whoſe daughter he had married. He had highly complained of *Galerius*, for excluding him in the year 305. from the dignity of *Cæſar*; but when he heard that *Conſtantine* had been raiſed to that high ſtation, and ſaw his image publicly expoſed in *Rome*, tranſported with rage, he reſolved at all events to do himſelf juſtice; and accordingly, having with large promiſes gained over the few prætorian guards that were then in *Rome*, and ſome of their officers, namely, *Lucianus*, *Marcellus*, and *Marcellinus*, he cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor on the twenty-eighth of *October* of this year 306. and was acknowleged as ſuch by the *Roman* people, who hoped, by his means, to deliver themſelves from the inſupportable tyranny of *Galerius*. The news of his revolt no ſooner reached the Eaſt, where *Galerius* then was, than he diſpatched a meſſenger to *Severus*, injoining him to haſten with all his forces to *Rome*, to ſurpriſe and ſuppreſs at once this new uſurper. On the other hand, *Maxentius* had recourſe to his father *Maximian*, who, either with a view to reſume the empire, which he had quitted much againſt his will, or to ſupport his ſon, haſtened to *Rome*, and thence wrote to *Dioclefian*, exhorting him to abandon his ſolitude, and remount the throne. *Dioclefian*, taken with the ſweets and tranquillity of a private and retired life, returned him the anſwer which we have related above. But *Maximian*, inſtead of following his example, ſuffered himſelf to be declared emperor a ſecond time by the ſenate and people of *Rome*; and receiving the purple at the hands of his ſon, was univerſally acknowleged for his collegue in the empire [s]. *Aurelius Victor* writes, that his luſt of reigning, and deſire of ſupporting his ſon in his claim to the empire, prompted him to quit his ſolitude, and reſume the authority which he had unwillingly abdicated [t].

Maxentius cauſes himſelf to be proclaimed emperor.

Maximian reſumes the empire.

WHILE theſe things paſſed at *Rome*, *Conſtantine* was buſied in viſiting the provinces under his care, to wit, *Britain*, *Spain*, and *Gaul*, and defending them againſt the barbarians. His father

[s] VICT. epit. p. 543. LACT. perſ. c. 18. p. 16, 17. Zos. l. ii. p. 672. EUTROP. p. 587. EUSEB. vit. Conſt. p. 498. Panegyr. 5. p. 131. [t] AUR. VICT. p. 526.

The Franks break into Gaul, but are overcome by Constantine.

Constantius had no ſooner left *Gaul*, to make war upon the *Picts* in *Britain*, than the *Franks*, forgetful of their oaths, had invaded *Gaul*, and committed there dreadful ravages. Againſt them therefore *Conſtantine* marched at the head of a powerful army, overcame them in a pitched battle; and having taken two of their kings priſoners, *Aſcaric* and *Gaiſus*, or *Regaiſus*, he expoſed them to be devoured by the wild beaſts in the magnificent ſhews which he afterwards exhibited [u]. He thought himſelf obliged, ſays the panegyriſt [w], to renew the ſeverity of the antient *Romans* towards their captive kings, in order to reſtrain, with the fear of puniſhment, a perfidious people, who made no account of the moſt ſacred ties that awed other nations. *Eutropius* writes, that he treated in like manner the kings of the *Alemans*, who, it ſeems, were in confederacy with the *Franks*, and fell into his hands in this war [x]. After this victory he paſſed the *Rhine*, and entering the country of the *Bructerians*, when leaſt expected, made a dreadful havock of that people, and took a great many priſoners, whom he likewiſe condemned to be devoured by the wild beaſts [y]. He repaired all the forts on the *Rhine*, placed numerous gariſons in them, kept there a powerful fleet, and by that means ſtruck ſuch terror into the *Franks* and other *German* nations, that none of them dared to approach that river [z] (N).

The Emperor's ſeverity towards the captives.

[u] Paneg. 9. p. 190, 197. 5. 127. 7. 163. [w] Idem, 5. p. 126.
[x] Eutrop. p. 587. [y] Paneg. 3. p. 197. [z] Idem, p. 198.

(N) He even undertook to build a bridge over the *Rhine* (5), and accompliſhed, according to *Baudrand* (6), that great work; for he tells us, that it ſtood till the year 955. when it was broken down by biſhop *Berno*'s orders. But *Valeſius* (7) writes, that it was never finiſhed, ſuppoſing, we imagine (for he alleges no proof in favour of his opinion), that ſuch a memorable work would have been more famous in hiſtory, had it ever been executed. *Bucherius* writes, that *Conſtantine* to defend this bridge, built, or repaired, the caſtle of *Duitz* on the *Rhine*, over-againſt *Cologne* (8). Be that as it will, *Conſtantine*, in memory of his victory over the *Franks*, appointed ſolemn ſports, called from them *ludi Francici*, to be annually celebrated from the fourteenth of *July* to the twentieth (9). Notwithſtanding the ſeverity he exerted towards the enemy, *Lactantius* (1) and *Euſebius* (2) aſſure us, that he governed his ſubjects with extraordinary mildneſs and moderation; that to all he ſhewed himſelf kind, affable, benevolent, and good-natured; that he made it his chief ſtudy to render them happy who lived under his adminiſtration, &c.

(5) *Paneg.* 3. *p.* 197. (6) *Baudr. p.* 192. (7) *Valeſ. rer. Franc. p.* 18.
(8) *Buch. hiſt. Belg. l.* viii. *c.* 2. (9) *Eutrop. p.* 587. (1) *Lact. p.* 7. *c.* 24. *p.* 23. (2) *Euſeb. vit. Conſt. l.* i. *c.* 25. *p.* 420.

THE

THE following year *Severus* and *Maximinus* were created conſuls by *Galerius*, and acknowleged as ſuch in all the provinces of the empire, except thoſe that obeyed *Maxentius*, where *Maximian* cauſed himſelf to be declared conſul the ninth time. This is what we look upon as moſt probable; for the confuſion which appears this year 307. in the conſular tables, was the natural conſequence of that which prevailed in the empire. *Conſtantine* was likewiſe conſul this year, having, as we conjecture, been ſubſtituted in the room of *Severus*, who was killed before the year expired. Many writers, to avoid the confuſion occaſioned by ſuch a number of conſuls, have choſen to date this with the conſuls of the preceding year, whereof we have not yet had any inſtance, but ſhall have frequently in ſucceeding times. This year *Severus*, in compliance with the orders he had received from *Galerius*, left *Milan*, and marched towards *Rome*, to drive from thence the uſurper *Maxentius*. He had with him a powerful army; but conſiſting of troops which two years before had belonged to *Maximian*, the father of *Maxentius*, they were eaſily gained over by the latter, with *Anullinus*, who commanded them in quality of captain of the guards. Hence *Severus* no ſooner approached *Rome*, with a deſign to beſiege it, than they abandoned him, and joined his rival. Hereupon *Severus*, with a ſmall body of troops that remained faithful to him, betook himſelf to flight, bending his route towards *Milan*; but being cloſely purſued by *Maximian*, who met him at the head of ſome troops which he had raiſed in *Campania*, and was leading to *Rome*, he was obliged to ſhut himſelf up in *Ravenna*; which *Maximian* immediately inveſted. The place was well fortified, and ſupplied with great ſtore of proviſions; ſo that it might have eaſily held out till relieved by *Galerius*: but *Severus*, diſtruſting his own men, and relying upon the mighty promiſes and ſolemn oaths of *Maximian*, yielded up the place to him, and the purple with which he had been inveſted about a year and nine months before [a]. *Maximian*, unmindful of his oaths, carried him captive to *Rome*; and after having kept him ſome time confined to a place on the *Appian* way, about thirty miles from the city, called *Tres Tabernæ*, or the *Three Inns*, he cauſed him to be there put to death. The only favour he could obtain was that of dying by having his veins opened. His body was interred in the tomb of *Gallienus*, about eight or nine miles from *Rome* [b]. He left a ſon behind him, named *Severianus*, who was put to death by *Licinius* in 313 [c].

Severus marches againſt Maxentius.

He is abandoned by his men, beſieged in Ravenna, and taken.

His death.

[a] AUR. VICT. p. 525. Zos. l. ii. p. 673. EUTROP. p. 587. Anonym. p. 471. HIER. chron. LACT. perſ. c. 26. p. 24. [b] VICT. epit. p. 542. Zos. l. ii. p. 673, &c. [c] LACT. perſ. c. 50. p. 45.

MAXIMIAN,

MAXIMIAN, well appriſed that *Galerius* would not ſuffer the death of *Severus* to paſs unrevenged, reſolved to ſtrengthen himſelf with the alliance of *Conſtantine*, who, having conquered the *Franks*, enjoyed at that time a profound peace and tranquillity, and was wholly bent on promoting the happineſs and welfare of his people. Having therefore fortified *Rome* with many new works, and put it in a condition of ſuſtaining a long ſiege, he left *Italy*, and went to confer with *Conſtantine* in *Gaul*, where he perſuaded him to marry his daughter *Fauſta*, and at the ſame time changed the title of *Cæſar*, with which he had contented himſelf hitherto, as appears from ſeveral medals[d], and from a panegyric pronounced on occaſion of his nuptials[e], into that of *Auguſtus*. *Conſtantine* is generally thought to have been declared emperor on the thirty-firſt of *March* of this year 307 (O).

Conſtantine marries Fauſta the daughter of Maximian, and is by him declared emperor.

WHILE *Maximian* was in *Gaul* with *Conſtantine*, *Galerius* entered *Italy* with a powerful army; but not ſufficient, as he found by experience, to beſiege *Rome*: for, as he had never ſeen the great capital of the empire, he imagined to be only ſomewhat larger than *Antioch*, and ſome other cities of the Eaſt. He threatened to lay it in ruins, to put all the inhabitants to the ſword, and utterly to extirpate the ſenate; but when he approached that immenſe metropolis, and viewed its fortifications,

Galerius approaches Rome with a deſign to beſiege it;

Year of the flood 2747. Of Chriſt 307. Of Rome 1105.

[d] GOLTZ. p. 126. BIRAG. p. 459. BYZANT. fam. p. 15. [e] Panegyr. 5. p. 127.

(O) *Fauſta*, whom he married, is ſtiled in the antient inſcriptions *Flavia Maximiana Fauſta* (3). *Lactantius* calls her *Maximian*'s ſecond daughter (4). Perhaps he looked upon *Theodora*, his wife's daughter, as his own; for we find no mention made of any other daughter of *Maximian*. She was born and brought up in *Rome* (5). The emperor *Julian* commends her modeſty, and blameleſs conduct (6). *Minervina Conſtantine*'s firſt wife, by whom he had *Criſpus*, muſt have been dead at this time; for he is not ſaid to have divorced her. By *Fauſta* he had, beſides *Conſtantius*, who is the beſt known of all his children, *Conſtantine* his eldeſt ſon, *Conſtans* his youngeſt, and two daughters, *Conſtantina* and *Conſtantia*, or rather *Conſtantina*, who was married firſt to *Annibalianus*, and afterwards to *Gallus Cæſar*, her couſin-germans, and *Helena*, the wife of the emperor *Julian* (7). The wife of *Gallus* is ſtiled on an antient coin *Flavia Julia Conſtantina Auguſta* (8). *Galerius* did not grant the title of *Auguſtus* to *Conſtantine*, till about a year after, when he was obliged to beſtow it on *Maximin* (9).

(3) *Goltz. p.* 128. (4) *Lact. c.* 27. *p.* 25. (5) *Idem ibid.* (6) *Julian. orat.* 1. *p.* 9. (7) *Vide anonym. p.* 3. & *Byz. fam. p.* 46, 47. (8) *Spanh. p.* 640. (9) *Lact. perſ. c.* 32. *p.* 29.

deſpairing

deſpairing to be able to carry it by aſſault, and not having with him a ſufficient number of troops to inveſt it, he retired to *Interamna*, now *Terni*, and thence ſent *Licinius* and *Probus* to exhort *Maxentius*, in his name, to demand the empire of his father-in-law, and not uſurp it by force of arms [f]. But *Maxentius*, having found means to gain underhand ſome of *Galerius*'s legions, was ſo far from hearkening to the deputies, that he would have marched out againſt *Galerius*, if he, diſtruſting his troops, and dreading the fate of *Severus*, had not haſtened back into his own dominions. In his retreat he laid waſte the country far and wide, to prevent the enemy from purſuing him, and allowed his ſoldiers to commit unheard-of diſorders and cruelties [g]. *Maximian*, who was ſtill in *Gaul*, being informed of the precipitous retreat of *Galerius*, did all that lay in his power to perſuade *Conſtantine* to purſue him; but finding that prince noway inclined to engage in ſo dangerous a war, he repaſſed the *Alps*, and returned to *Rome*, where he reigned ſome time jointly with his ſon, but was leſs reſpected, and not ſo readily obeyed, as he.

but is obliged to retire with precipitation.

THIS piqued him to ſuch a degree, that, diveſting himſelf of all paternal affection, he reſolved to deprive *Maxentius* of the empire, not doubting but the troops that had abandoned *Severus*, as they had formerly belonged to him, would favour his attempt. Having therefore endeavoured underhand to eſtrange them from his ſon, he aſſembled both the people and ſoldiery; and, after a long deſcant upon the evils and misfortunes of the times, he turned unexpectedly to his ſon, who ſat on the throne or tribunal with him, reproached him as the ſole author of the preſent calamities, and after many bitter and virulent invectives, ſtripped him of his purple robes, and tore them in pieces. *Maxentius*, leaping from the throne, implored the protection of the ſoldiery, who, being moved with his tears, but more with his promiſes, received him in their arms, loaded *Maximian* with injuries, and threatened him with preſent death [h]. *Zonaras* tells us, that *Maximian*, to appeaſe the ſoldiery, told them, that he was not in earneſt, but had made uſe of that artifice to try whether or no they were ſincerely attached to his ſon; but no one believing him, he thought it adviſeable to leave *Rome*, and accordingly haſtened back into *Gaul*, where he complained to *Conſtantine*, that his ſon had driven him from *Rome*. But *Conſtantine*, not ſeeming to be much affected with his complaints, about the month of *November* he repaired to *Galerius*, the declared enemy of his ſon, to regulate with him, as he pretended, the public affairs,

Maximian *attempts to depoſe his ſon*; *but is obliged to retire to* Gaul.

[f] LACT. perſ. c. 27. p. 25. Pan. 6. p. 136. Anonym. p. 472.
[g] LACT. Anonym. ibid. [h] Panegyr. 6. p. 136. EUTROP. p. 687. Zos. l. ii. p. 674.

but

but in reality to watch an opportunity of dispatching him, and seizing his provinces [i]. But no favourable occasion offered of putting in execution his wicked purpose (P). On this occasion *Maximian*, in a private conference with his antient colleague, did all that lay in his power to prevail upon him to resume the empire, and deliver the people of *Rome* from so many tyrants [k]. *Victor* the younger writes, that *Galerius* himself pressed *Diocletian* to re-ascend the throne [l]; which to us seems altogether improbable. Be that as it will, *Diocletian* found such delights in a retired life, that he would hearken to no proposals of that nature. *Lactantius* assures us, that the design of *Maximian* was to reinstate *Diocletian* and himself in the empire, and destroy the rest one after another, his own son not excepted [m]. Some writers, and *Eutropius* among the rest [n], seem to have believed, that *Maximian* only pretended to be at variance with his son, the better to deceive the other princes, and compass their ruin; but, instead of that, he was obliged to authorize with his presence the promotion of *Licinius*, whom *Galerius* created emperor in the room of *Severus*, on the eleventh of *November* of this year 307.

Licinius created emperor.

His extraction and character.

LICINIUS was a native of *New Dacia*, which lay on the *Roman* side of the *Danube*, and was, ever since the reign of *Aurelian*, accounted one of the provinces of *Illyricum*. He pretended to derive his pedigree from the emperor *Philip*, but was in reality sprung from a family quite mean and ignoble [o]. His education was suitable to his birth; for he was brought up without the least knowlege of letters; nay, he was not ashamed to declare himself an open enemy to learning, calling the sciences the pest and bane of the state [p]. He was naturally of a cruel, violent and haughty temper [q], and addicted, even in his old age, to the most infamous debaucheries [r]. His insatiable avarice prompted him, when raised to the empire, to fill his coffers by the most unjust, tyrannical and iniquitous methods [s]. How-

[i] LACT. pers. c. 29. p. 26. EUTROP. p. 687. [k] Zos. l. ii. p. 673. [l] VICT. epit. p. 542. [m] LACT. pers. c. 43. p. 37. [n] EUTROP. p. 587. [o] Anonym. p. 473. Gord. vit. p. 165. VICT. epit. p. 543. [p] VICT. ibid. [q] EUSEB. l. x. c. 8. p. 397. [r] VICT. epit. p. 544. [s] EUSEB. p. 396, 397. Anonym. p. 474.

(P) *Galerius* was not then at *Carnutum* in *Gaul*, now *Chartres*, as we read in *Zosimus* (1) but at *Carnuntum*, or *Carnus*, on the *Danube* in *Pannonia*, with *Diocletian*, whom he had invited thither to authorize with his presence the election of *Licinius*, whom he intended to create emperor in the room of *Severus*.

(1) *Zos. l.* ii. *p.* 673.

ever,

ever, he was a brave and experienced officer, kept the ſoldiers to their duty, puniſhed the leaſt tranſgreſſions with the utmoſt ſeverity, and by that means revived in the army the diſcipline of the antient *Romans*. In the year 323. he was, according to *Victor* the younger, about ſixty [t] (Q). However, in 313. he married *Conſtantia*, the ſiſter of *Conſtantine*, and had children by her [u]. *Galerius* and he had lived in great intimacy ever ſince they firſt entered into the army; and the emperor, repoſing an intire confidence in him, had, in all his expeditions, after he had attained to the dignity of *Cæſar*, ſuffered himſelf to be wholly governed by his counſels. The memorable victory which *Galerius* gained over the *Perſians*, was in great meaſure owing to the valour and conduct of *Licinius* [w]. *Galerius* ſeems at firſt to have given him only the provinces of *Pannonia* and *Rhætia*; but at the ſame time he promiſed to put him in poſſeſſion of thoſe that were held by *Maxentius*, as ſoon as he had driven out that uſurper [x]. Thus was the empire ruled at once by ſix princes, to wit, *Maximian*, *Galerius*, *Licinius*, *Maximin*, *Conſtantine*, and *Maxentius*. *The empire governed at once by ſix princes.*

THE following year *Maximian* was conſul the tenth time, and *Galerius* the ſeventh; but at *Rome* the year was dated *by the conſuls who ſhould be named*, *Maxentius*, who reigned there, refuſing to acknowlege the conſulſhip either of *Galerius* or his father *Maximian*. This continued till the twentieth of *April*, when *Maxentius* cauſed himſelf to be declared conſul, with his ſon *Romulus*, ſtyled on the antient coins *M. Aurelius Romulus* [y]. *Maxentius* gave him the title of *Cæſar* and *emperor*, created him conſul the following year, and ranked him among the gods after his death, which happened during his ſecond conſulſhip [z], being drowned, it ſeems, in the *Tiber* [a]. While the diſturbances and changes, which we have mentioned above, happened in the weſt, *Maximin* enjoyed a profound peace and tranquillity in the eaſt, which he governed with the title only of *Cæſar*. But when he underſtood, that *Licinius* had been declared emperor, he preſſed *Galerius* to raiſe him too to the ſame rank. The emperor could Maxentius *and his ſon* Romulus *conſuls at* Rome.

[t] EUTROP. p. 587. VICT. epit. p. 543. [u] LACT. perſ. c. 20. p. 19. [w] EUTROP. p. 587. [x] Zos. l. ii. p. 674. LACT. perſ. p. 424. [y] BUCH. cycl. p. 238. IDAT. BIRAG. p. 450, 452. [z] Vide NORIS. de Dioclef. num. [a] Paneg. 6. p. 146.

(Q) *Euſebius* ſpeaks of him as one at that time worn out with age (2); and *Lactantius* tells us, that *Galerius* did not create him *Cæſar* in 305. becauſe he was aſhamed to call him his ſon, but choſe to raiſe him to the empire at once, and ſtile him his brother (3).

(2) *Euſeb. l. x. c. 8. p. 397.* (3) *Lact. perſ. c. 32. p. 29.*

not

not be prevailed upon to grant him his requeſt, but, to content him, contrived a new title, appointing, that he and *Conſtantine* ſhould, for the future, be ſtyled *Filii Auguſtorum*, ſons of emperors; which title is ſtill to be ſeen on ſome of his and *Conſtantine*'s coins [b]. *Maximin* pretended to be ſatisfied with this new mark of diſtinction, but in the mean time cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor by his army; and in the letter which he wrote on that occaſion to *Galerius*, aſſured him, that the troops had, without his conſent or co-operation, ſaluted him *Auguſtus* [c]. This gave *Galerius* great uneaſineſs; but nevertheleſs, as he did not think it adviſeable to quarrel with his nephew about the title he had uſurped, he confirmed it, and at the ſame time granted it to *Conſtantine*, who was thus, through the ambition of another man, acknowleged emperor through the provinces of the empire [d].

Maximin *cauſes himſelf to be proclaimed emperor.*

Year of the flood 2748. Bef. Chr. 308. Of Rome 1106.

THIS year *Maximian*, thinking himſelf neglected by *Galerius*, left *Illyricum*, and privately withdrew to *Conſtantine* in *Gaul*, with a deſign to lay hold of the firſt opportunity that offered to diſpatch him, and cauſe himſelf to be acknowleged in his room. The better to deceive him, he quitted the purple the ſecond time, declaring, that, in imitation of *Dioclefian*, he would lead a retired life, and no longer concern himſelf with public affairs. *Conſtantine* received him with the greateſt marks of honour and eſteem, aſſigned him an apartment in his own palace, and commanded all his ſubjects to pay the ſame obedience to the orders of his father-in-law, as to his own. But the reſtleſs and turbulent ſpirit of *Maximian* did not ſuffer him long to enjoy ſo happy a ſituation. *Conſtantine* was then buſied in building a bridge over the *Rhine*; which great undertaking ſtruck the neighbouring nations with ſuch terror, that they ſent embaſſadors to ſue for peace, offering to deliver up ſome of their chiefs as hoſtages and pledges of their ſincerity. However, ſome *Franks* ſtill continued in arms; and againſt theſe *Maximian* adviſed *Conſtantine* to march with a ſmall body of forces, and leave the reſt at *Arelatum*, now *Arles*.

Conſtantine *acknowleged emperor by* Galerius.

Maximian *attempts to deſtroy* Conſtantine.

HIS deſign was to make himſelf maſter of *Conſtantine*'s forces, and ſeize his provinces, if any misfortune ſhould befal him, as there was room to believe there might, ſeeing he was attended only by a ſmall army. *Conſtantine*, not ſuſpecting the leaſt treachery, followed the advice of his father-in-law, who marched part of the way with him, and then returned to *Arles*, where the emperor had left the flower of his troops. When he thought him engaged in the enemy's country, he all on a ſudden reſumed the purple the third time, made himſelf maſter of the palace,

[b] BIRAG. p. 446. LACT. p. 23. EUSEB. p. 310. [c] LACT. perſ. p. 433. [d] Idem ibid. c. 43. p. 36. c. 44. p. 38.

ſeized

ſeized on the treaſures there, diſtributed great part of them among the ſoldiers who were preſent, and wrote to thoſe who were abſent letters filled with moſt bitter invectives againſt *Conſtantine*, inviting them, with mighty promiſes, to follow the example of the troops at *Arles* [e]. *Conſtantine* was no ſooner informed of what had paſſed, than he led back his army by land from the *Rhine* to *Chalons*, where he embarked his forces on the *Sône*; and landing them unexpectedly at *Arles*, ſurpriſed *Maximian*, before he was in a condition to oppoſe him. The ſoldiers who had declared for *Maximian*, awed with the preſence of their lawful commander, returned to their duty, a ſmall number excepted, who being ſeduced by the preſents and promiſes of the uſurper, fled with him to *Marſeilles*, and ſhut themſelves up in that city. *Conſtantine* purſued them cloſe, and arriving before the place, would have carried it by aſſault, had not his ſcaling-ladders unluckily proved too ſhort. This obliged him to ſound the retreat; but, in the mean time, ſome of the inhabitants having opened one of the gates to *Conſtantine*'s men, they entered the city, ſeized on the uſurper while he was uttering from the walls bitter invectives againſt the emperor, and carried him to *Conſtantine*; who, after having reproached him with his treachery and ambition, and obliged him to quit the purple, not only granted him his life, but ſuffered him, through an exceſs of clemency and good-nature, to continue with him in the ſame palace [f].

He is taken priſoner; but uſed with great clemency by Conſtantine.

While theſe things paſſed in *Gaul*, the troops in *Africa* revolting from *Maxentius*, who was acknowleged there, declared *Alexander*, who commanded them in quality of lieutenant, emperor, and with the uſual ceremonies gave him the purple at *Carthage* [g]. He was deſcended of an ignoble and mean family in *Phrygia* [h], or, as *Aurelius Victor* will have it, in *Pannonia* [i]. All authors paint him as one in every reſpect unequal to ſo great a charge, being advanced in years, and quite deſtitute of vigour, prudence, and courage. Beſides, his troops conſiſted chiefly of new levies, unacquainted with the military diſcipline, and for the moſt part without arms. However, as he had a *Maxentius* for his rival, he maintained his uſurped authority for the ſpace of three years at leaſt, ſome of his *Greek* coins, which have reached us, being dated the fourth year of his reign [k]. One *Nigrinianus*, who is repreſented on ſome antient medals with rays round his head, and the title of *divus* or *deified*, is by moſt antiquaries thought to have been the ſon of *Alexander* [l].

Alexander *uſurps the empire in* Africa.

[e] Lact. p. 26. Panegyr. 9. p. 199, 200. Zos. l. ii. p. 673. Vales. rer. Franc. p. 21.
[f] Panegyr. 9. p. 200, 201, 202. Lact. perſ. c. 29. p. 27.
[g] Zos. l. ii. p. 675. Vict. epit. p. 542.
[h] Zos. & Vict. ibid.
[i] Aur. Vict. p. 526.
[k] Goltz. p. 125.
[l] Birag. p. 445.

THE following year 309. *Maxentius* took upon him his ſecond conſulſhip at *Rome*, having his ſon *Romulus* for his colleague [m] (R). This year *Eumenius*, as is commonly believed, pronounced his panegyric on *Conſtantine*, in a city which ſtood on a great river that falls into the *Rhine* above *Cologne* [n]; that is, according to moſt interpreters, in *Treves*, which ſtood then, as it ſtill does, on the *Moſelle*, the river plainly pointed at in the above-mentioned deſcription. The panegyriſt tells us, that *Conſtantine* was then buſied in repairing the walls of that city, which had been ruined, and in building there a great circus, a large ſquare, baſilics, and a magnificent palace for the adminiſtration of juſtice. He extols the generoſity of the good-natured emperor, the effects whereof had been felt in all the places through which he had paſſed; and therefore he intreats him to viſit the city of *Autun*, where the orator himſelf was born, and at that time taught rhetoric. In the cloſe of his ſpeech, he recommends to the emperor his five children, and all his diſciples, ſome of whom already enjoyed the firſt employments in the ſtate [o]. The following year *Andronius* and *Probus* were named conſuls by *Galerius*; but were not acknowleged as ſuch at *Rome*, where *Maxentius* took upon him that dignity the third time without a collegue. In the conſular tables this year is dated as the preceding, thus; *the ſecond year after the tenth and ſeventh conſulſhip* [p].

Eumenius *pronounces his panegyric on* Conſtantine.

THIS year *Maximian*, no longer able to lead a private and retired life, reſolved, at all events, to attempt the recovery of his former condition; but being well appriſed, that all his efforts would prove unſucceſsful, ſo long as *Conſtantine* lived, he determined, in the firſt place, to murder him; and, in order to compaſs this wicked purpoſe, had recourſe to his daughter *Fauſta*, the wife of *Conſtantine*, uſing his utmoſt endeavours, and all manner of careſſes and intreaties, to prevail upon her to betray her huſband, and leave the door of the bed-chamber open; which ſhe promiſed to do, but immediately revealed the whole to *Conſtantine*, who, unwilling to condemn his father-in-law without ſome undeniable proof of his guilt, placed one

Maximian *attempts to murder* Conſtantine.

[m] BUCH. cycl. p. 238. ONUPH. in faſt. p. 263. [n] Panegyr. 9. p. 198. [o] Idem, p. 190, &c. [p] BUCH. p. 238. & 249. IDAT. PROSP. &c.

(R) There were, it ſeems, no other conſuls in the other parts of the empire; for this year is commonly diſtinguiſhed by the conſuls of the preceding year thus, the year *after the tenth and ſeventh conſulſhip*, to wit, of *Maximian* and *Galerius*. Some, however, are of opinion, that *Licinius* was this year conſul for the firſt time; and it is paſt all doubt, that he was conſul before the death of *Galerius*.

night

night an eunuch in his bed, and left the door of the chamber open. *Maximian* did not fail to lay hold of the opportunity, and entering the room about midnight, killed the eunuch, crying out, as he retired, Conſtantine *is dead*; *I am emperor*. But *Conſtantine*, appearing that inſtant, attended by a numerous guard, ſtopped him, and ſhewed him the body of the eunuch. It is eaſier to conceive than expreſs the terror and diſmay that ſeized him, when he found himſelf thus convicted of the moſt deteſtable treachery imaginable, without being able either to excuſe or deny it. As he had been chiefly prompted to this exceſs of wickedneſs by the mild treatment which he had hitherto met with, and ſtill promiſed himſelf, from *Conſtantine*, that prince thought himſelf obliged, in his own defence, to put an end to the life and crimes of ſuch an ambitious, implacable, and treacherous enemy. The only favour he granted him was the choice of his death, and he choſe of all deaths the moſt infamous and diſgraceful, which was hanging [q]. Such was the unhappy, but deſerved end of *Maximian*, after having reigned with great glory, at leaſt twenty years, and lived, according to *Victor* the younger [r], about ſixty (S). *Conſtantine* cauſed all his ſtatues to be pulled down, his images to be torn in pieces, and his inſcriptions eraſed, not ſparing even ſuch as were common to him with *Dioclesian* [s].

He is diſcovered and ſeized.

His death.

THE ſame year *Galerius* was ſeized with a moſt dreadful

[q] LACT. perſ. c. 30. p. 27. EUTROP. p. 587. ZOS. l. ii. p. 674. VICT. epit. p. 542. [r] Idem ibid. [s] LACT. perſ. c. 33. p. 30.

(S) Some authors write, that *Maximian* died at *Marſeilles*, confounding, perhaps, his death with what happened to him there in 308. as *Zoſimus* confounds it with that of *Maximin* II. in telling us, that he died a natural death at *Tarſus* (4). In an antient chronicle, quoted by *Du Cheſne* (5), we are told, that about the year 1054. his body was diſcovered at *Marſeilles* in a leaden coffin, incloſed in a tomb of white marble, ſo well embalmed, that it was ſtill intire, and appeared freſh. The author of the chronicle writes, that he learnt this of thoſe who had ſeen the body; and adds, that *Raimbaud*, archbiſhop of *Arles*, perſuaded the inhabitants to throw the carcaſe of ſuch an unmerciful perſecutor of the church into the ſea, with the coffin, tomb, and whatever elſe was found with it. St. *Ambroſe* had written long before, that *Maximian* was buried in a moſt beautiful tomb of marble (6).

(4) *Zoſ. l.* ii. *p.* 674. (5) *Du Cheſ. tom.* iii. *p.* 641. (6) *Ambroſ. epiſt.* lvii. *p.* 321.

Galerius *is ſeized with a dreadful diſtemper.*

diſtemper, an incurable ulcer in his privy parts (T). This year *Conſtantine* waged war with the *Alemans*, the *Bructerians*, *Cheruſcans*, *Chamovians*, and ſeveral other *German* nations; who, after having attacked the *Romans* in ſeparate bodies, joined in the end all their forces, and formed a very numerous and powerful army [t]. *Conſtantine*, not depending upon the relations of others, ventured in diſguiſe into the midſt of their army, pretending to be a deputy ſent to them by the emperor. As he found, that not caring to engage him, they deſigned to ſeparate, which would have rendered the war more tedious, he aſſured them, that the emperor was not then with his army; which they no ſooner underſtood, than they diſmiſſed the pretended deputy, and, without loſs of time, marched with all their forces againſt the enemy. *Conſtantine* received them at the head of his army, put them to the rout at the firſt onſet, and made a dreadful ſlaughter of them in their flight [u] (U).

Conſtantine *overcomes ſeveral* German *nations.*

THE

[t] Panegyr. 7. p. 163—165. [u] Idem, p. 104.

(T) *Lactantius* (7) and *Euſebius* (8) deſcribe at length the miſerable condition to which he was reduced; and tell us, that, beſides the inexpreſſible torments, with which he was racked night and day, without the leaſt reſpite, ſuch an inſufferable ſtench iſſued out of his body, as infected not only the palace, but the whole city. The diſtemper increaſed daily, in ſpite of all the art and ſkill of the beſt phyſicians and ſurgeons: his thighs putrefied by degrees, his belly was conſumed, his bowels laid open, and the whole maſs of his blood corrupted. Notwithſtanding all the care that could be uſed, he was devoured alive with infinite ſwarms of worms and vermin. No longer able to bear ſuch unrelenting torments, he often attempted to lay violent hands on himſelf, and cauſed ſome of his phyſicians to be put to death, becauſe their remedies proved ineffectual. He had recourſe to *Apollo*, to *Æſculapius*, and all his gods, but to no effect; nay, the remedies which *Apollo*, or rather ſome impoſtor in his name, preſcribed to him, ſerved only to aggravate his raging diſtemper. He languiſhed in this painful, and, beyond expreſſion, miſerable condition, a whole year, and upwards, ſuffering every minute all the agonies of death (9). The pagan, as well as chriſtian writers, take notice of this unaccountable malady of *Galerius* (1). The latter aſcribe it to divine vengeance, as he had been the chief author of the perſecution and unheard-of cruelties ſuffered by the *Chriſtians*.

(U) It was perhaps on account of this victory, that he took the title of *Maximus*, which we find on ſome of his medals ſtruck this year 310. the fifth of his reign (2). *Euſebius* tells us, that after he had driven out of

(7) *Lact. perſ.* c. 33. p. 30. (8) *Euſeb.* l. viii. c. 16. p. 514, 515.
(9) *Idem ibid. Lact.* c. 33. (1) *Aur. Vict. epit.* p. 525. *Zoſ.* p. 674. *Anonym.* p. 472. (2) *Pagi*, p. 462.

Gaul,

THE next conſuls were *Galerius* the eighth time, and *Maximinus* the ſecond; but *Maxentius* refuſing to acknowlege them, *Rome* was without conſuls till the month of *September*, when *Rufinus* and *Euſebius Voluſianus* were honoured with that dignity [w]. As the diſtemper of *Galerius* grew daily more raging and violent, he began at length to aſcribe it to the juſt vengeance of heaven, for his cruelties to the innocent Chriſtians, and immediately publiſhed an edict, ordering a ſtop to be put to the perſecution. This edict was enacted in the name of three emperors, to wit, *Galerius*, *Conſtantine*, and *Licinius*. *Maxentius* was looked upon by *Galerius* as an enemy, and had never been acknowleged by him; and, as for *Maximin*, he either would not agree with the reſt to put a ſtop to the perſecution, or his name has been, through a miſtake of the tranſcribers, omitted in the edict, as that of *Licinius* has been left out in moſt editions of *Euſebius*, and even in the *Latin* tranſlation by *Rufinus*. The edict was dated the twentieth year of the reign of *Galerius*, and, conſequently, muſt have been drawn up after the firſt of *March* of this year 311. It was publicly ſet up at *Nicomedia* on the thirtieth of *April*, and the following month his death was known there; for he died, according to the moſt probable opinion, at *Sardica*, the metropolis of *New Dacia*, now known by the name of *Sofia*, or, as the inhabitants ſtile it, *Triadizza* [x]. *Galerius* had reigned, reckoning from the time he had been created *Cæſar*, nineteen years, two months, and ſome days. He had been emperor ſix years, and a few days; for we find ſome of his coins dated the ſeventh year of his reign [y]. Before he expired, he earneſtly recommended to *Licinius* his wife *Valaria*, the daughter of *Dioclefian*, and *Candidianus* his natural ſon [z]; which ſhews, that *Licinius* was preſent when he died. He was buried in the ſame city where he was born, and afterwards deified with the uſual ceremonies [a].

Galerius puts a ſtop to the perſecution.

His death.

Of Chr. 311. Of Rome 1109.

MAXIMIN was no ſooner informed of the death of *Galerius*, than he haſtened from the Eaſt, where he then was, with a deſign to ſeize on his provinces, and entering *Bithynia*, made himſelf maſter of all the countries beyond the *Propontis*. On

[w] LACT. perſ. c. 35. p. 31. BUCH. cycl. p. 238. [x] LACT. perſ. c. 35. p. 31. EUSEB. l. viii. c. 17. p. 315. [y] PAGI, p. 311. [z] LACT. c. 35, 50. p. 32, 44. EUSEB. l. viii. c. 17. [a] VICT. epit. p. 543. BIRAG. p. 444. EUSEB. l. ix. c. 10. p. 364.

Gaul, or intirely ſubdued, the barbarians bordering on the *Rhine* and the ocean, he paſſed over into *Britain*, and there reduced ſuch of the inhabitants as had not yet ſubmitted to him (3). But of this expedition no mention is made by the panegyriſts.

(3) *Euſeb. vit. Conſtant. l. i. c. 25. p. 420.*

the other hand, *Licinius*, having drawn together his forces, marched to oppoſe him; and the two armies encamped over-againſt each other, the one on the coaſt of *Aſia*, and the other of *Europe*. However, they came at length to an agreement; and in a private interview, which they had in the ſtreights of *Chalcedon*, they entered into an offenſive and defenſive alliance, which they confirmed with the moſt ſolemn oaths [b]. *Maximin* remained maſter of *Bithynia*, and *Licinius* of *Thrace*, the ſtreights of *Chalcedon* being the common boundary between the two empires [c]. *Valeria*, the widow of *Galerius*, though earneſtly recommended by him at the point of death to *Licinius*, choſe to withdraw into the dominions of *Maximin*, with her mother *Priſca*, the wife of *Dioclefian*, *Candidianus* the natural ſon of *Galerius*, and *Severianus* the ſon of *Severus*, put to death by *Maximian* in 307. *Maximin* treated *Valeria* for ſome with the utmoſt reſpect, honouring her with the title of mother; nay, he conceived a violent paſſion for her, and even offered to repudiate his own wife, and marry her. *Valeria*, not a little ſurpriſed at this unexpected propoſal, anſwered him with great freedom, That the ſtate and habit ſhe was in, the time of her mourning for the death of her huſband not being yet expired, did not allow her to think of marriage; that to her it ſeemed very ſtrange he ſhould put away a wife, who had not given him the leaſt occaſion of complaint; that ſuch a proceeding gave her room to expect the like treatment; and, in ſhort, that it was both unbecoming and unprecedented, in a perſon of her rank, to entertain the leaſt thought of a ſecond marriage. *Maximin* was provoked to ſuch a degree with this frank and generous anſwer, that, changing his love into hatred and rage, he immediately baniſhed both her and her mother, ſeized on all her effects, confined her domeſtics, put her eunuchs to the rack, and, upon falſe accuſations, ſentenced to death ſeveral illuſtrious ladies who attended her, and, among the reſt, two ſenators wives, and one, whoſe daughter was a *Veſtal* at *Rome*. They were publicly executed at *Nicæa*, upon the depoſition of a *Jew*, who falſly accuſed them of adultery, hoping to eſcape the puniſhment due to his crimes, by impeaching them. The people loudly complained of ſuch a barefaced piece of injuſtice, and, tranſported with rage, would have torn in pieces *Eratineus* the governor of that province, while he ſat on his tribunal to condemn them, and ſee his ſentence put in execution, had he not been ſurrounded with a numerous body of ſoldiers, who, with difficulty, protected him againſt the inſults of the incenſed populace. The *Jew*, their accuſer, being afterwards condemned to be crucified, acknowleged on the croſs

Licinius *and* Maximin *divide his provinces.*

Valeria *enormouſly abuſed by* Maximin.

[b] Euseb. l. ix. c. 10. Lact. c. 45. p. 39. [c] Euseb. Lact. ibid.

their

their innocence, and his own guilt, in ſuffering himſelf to be ſuborned to accuſe them [d]. *Valeria*, tho' confined in the deſerts of *Syria*, found means to acquaint her father *Dioclesian* with the miſerable ſtate ſhe was in, who, moved with tenderneſs and compaſſion, ſent ſeveral perſons, and among the reſt a kinſman of his own, an officer of great diſtinction in the army, to intreat *Maximin*, by all the obligations he owed him, to releaſe his beloved daughter from her confinement, and allow him the ſatisfaction of enjoying her company in his old age. But the tyrant was deaf to all intreaties; which is ſaid to have haſtened the death of the old emperor [e].

CONSTANTINE, in the mean time, was buſied in viſiting the provinces under his government. He arrived this year, the ſixth of his reign, at *Autun*; and finding the inhabitants overloaded with taxes, he not only forgave them what they owed to the exchequer ever ſince his acceſſion to the empire, but remitted above a fourth part of all impoſts. In acknowlegement of this favour, the city of *Autun*, looking upon the generous and good-natured emperor as their founder, took the name of *Flavia*, which was the name of his family; and upon his return to the place of his reſidence, probably *Treves*, they ſent *Eumenius* to return him thanks for his extraordinary kindneſs to them; which the orator did in a ſpeech that is ſtill extant [f]. In the mean time *Maxentius*, who reigned at *Rome*, undertook the reduction of *Africa*, which had revolted, as we have related above, in 308. and declared *Alexander* emperor. Againſt him *Maxentius* diſpatched *Rufus*, or *Rufius Voluſianus*, probably the conſul of this year, and one *Zenus*, a celebrated commander, who, in the firſt battle that was fought, put the troops of *Alexander* to the rout, took him priſoner, and cauſed him immediately to be ſtrangled [g].

Conſtantine's *generoſity to the city of* Autun.

THUS ended the war in *Africa*; but not the calamities of that unhappy province: for *Maxentius* cauſed ſuch of the *Africans* as were conſiderable either for their birth or wealth, to be inhumanly put to death, and ſeized their eſtates, pretending they had favoured the uſurper; nay, he commanded the city of *Carthage*, at that time one of the moſt beautiful and flouriſhing cities in the world, to be laid in aſhes. Thus was the province of *Africa* utterly ruined, and the inhabitants reduced to beggary, and obliged, through fear of the tyrant, to abandon their native country, and take ſhelter in the provinces of the other princes [h]. *Maxentius* triumphed at *Rome* for the defeat of

Maxentius *reduces and ruins the province of* Africa.

[d] LACT. perſ. c. 39, 40. p. 35, 36. [e] Idem, c. 41. p. 36. [f] Paneg. 8. p. 188, &c. [g] AUR. VICT. p. 526. Zos. l. ii. p. 675. LACTAN. perſ. c. 43. p. 37. [h] Paneg. 6, 7. p. 145, 173. AUR. VICT. Zos. ibid.

Alexander, or rather for the deſtruction of *Carthage*, and the ruin of *Africa*. But *Rome* and *Italy* were no leſs grievouſly afflicted by the lewd, inhuman, and avaricious tyrant, than *Carthage* and *Africa* (W). *Maxentius* allowed his ſoldiers the ſame unreſtrained liberty, or rather licentiouſneſs, which he took himſelf, abandoning to them the honour, the lives, and the fortunes of the moſt innocent perſons. By this means, *Rome* was in a ſhort time reduced to a moſt deplorable condition; the ſenators were ſtripped of their eſtates, and either baniſhed upon falſe accuſations, or publicly executed; and the people ſo loaded with taxes, that they had not wherewith to purchaſe the common neceſſaries, and great numbers of them died daily for want. He was greatly addicted to the ſtudy of magic, which prompted him to many unheard-of cruelties, as he hoped to learn future events from the entrails of women, and innocent children [i]. A fire accidentally breaking out in the temple of *Fortune*, and the people flocking from all parts to extinguiſh it, a ſoldier uttered ſome words of raillery againſt the *unfortunate goddeſs*; which one of the populace hearing, killed the ſoldier

Rome and Italy grievouſly afflicted by him.

The cruelty of Maxentius.

[i] Panegyr. 6. p. 136.

(W) The unexpreſſible calamities under which they groaned, are deſcribed at length by *Zoſimus* (4), *Euſebius* (5), *Aurelius Victor* (6), and the panegyriſts who flouriſhed in thoſe times (7). His luſt ſpared not the moſt illuſtrious ladies of *Rome*, nor his avarice the chief men in the ſenate: he forced the former, by all manner of torments, to comply with his impure deſires; and condemned the latter, under various pretences, to death or baniſhment, in order to ſeize their eſtates. *Euſebius* (8) and *Rufinus* (9) tell us, that having by menaces forced the governor of the city to yield up to him his wife, by name *Sophronia*, ſhe, who profeſſed the *Chriſtian* religion, and conſequently thought death a leſs evil than the defiling herſelf with any impurity, begged a few minutes to put on her beſt attire; which being granted, ſhe withdrew into her cloſet, and there, after a ſhort prayer, buried a dagger in her breaſt, and died on the ſpot. This action is mightily commended by *Euſebius* and *Rufinus*; and *Palladius* ſeems to approve it (1). It ſhews a courage in *Sophronia* above her ſex, and a love of purity worthy of the religion which ſhe profeſſed; but nevertheleſs cannot, in the opinion of St. *Auſtin* (2), be commended, or even excuſed, unleſs done by a particular and extraordinary impulſe from heaven, ſuch as he ſuppoſes *Razias* to have had, of whom mention is made in the book of the *Maccabees*.

(4) *Zoſ. l.* ii. *p.* 675. (5) *Euſeb. l.* viii. *p.* 310. (6) *Aur. Vict. p.* 526. (7) *Panegyr.* 6, 7. *p.* 137, 158. (8) *Euſeb. hiſt. l.* viii. *c.* 14. *p.* 313. (9) *Rufin. c.* 17. *p.* 141. (1) *Pallad. hiſt. Lauſiaca, c.* 150. *p.* 105. (2) *Auguſt. civ. Dei, l.* i. *c.* 26.

on

on the ſpot. His comrades, to revenge his death, fell ſword in hand upon the people; which occaſioned a dreadful tumult, in which an incredible number of perſons loſt their lives[k] (X).

BEING elated with his ſucceſs againſt *Alexander*, tyrant of *Africa*, he began to entertain thoughts of deſtroying the other princes, one after the other; for he was often heard to ſay, That he alone was emperor, and that the others were only his lieutenants, employed by him to defend and guard the confines of the empire againſt the incurſions of the barbarians, that he might enjoy at *Rome* an undiſturbed peace and tranquillity. He reſolved to begin with *Conſtantine*, under the plauſible pretence of revenging the death of his father *Maximian*, though we are aſſured, that he was not in the leaſt affected with it[l]. He had then under his command an hundred and ſeventy thouſand foot, and eighteen thouſand horſe, moſt of whom had ſerved under his father, and conſequently were enured to military toils and dangers. He had amaſſed, by his extortions, vaſt ſums to defray the charges of a war, and great ſtore of proviſions, having for that purpoſe drained *Africa*, and the adjacent iſlands. He no ſooner began to aſſemble his troops, than *Conſtantine*, well appriſed of his deſign, wrote to him, and, by laying before him the dreadful evils and calamities attending a civil war, endeavoured to divert him from it. *Nazarius* tells us, that *Conſtantine*, pitying the miſerable condition to which he ſaw, with the utmoſt concern, the metropolis of the empire reduced, burnt with a deſire of redeeming it from the tyranny under which it groaned; but not thinking that could juſtify his engaging in a war with his brother-in-law, he endeavoured to ſatisfy him, as to the death of his father. But *Maxentius*, who wanted only a pretence for ſtripping *Conſtantine* of his dominions, without giving ear to his remonſtrances, cauſed his ſtatues to be pulled down, and his images defaced, giving out, that he was determined at all events to revenge the death of his father.

He reſolves to make war upon Conſtantine.

[k] EUSEB. p. 310. AUR. VICT. p. 52. [l] Zos. l. ii. p. 675. AUR. VICT. p. 526.

(X) *Zoſimus* writes, that *Maxentius* immediately reſtrained the fury of his ſoldiers; but though he excuſes him on this occaſion, yet he owns, that his tyranny grew daily more inſufferable, and that the *Roman* people impatiently wiſhed for a deliverer (3). *Prudentius* gives us a pathetic account of the evils which the city endured under ſo cruel a tyrant, who was not aſhamed to fill the public priſons with the moſt venerable and illuſtrious perſons in the ſenate (4).

(3) *Zoſ. l.* ii. *p.* 675. (4) *Prud. in Sym. l.* i. *p.* 219, 220.

HEREUPON

HEREUPON *Conſtantine*, leaving a ſtrong body of troops to guard the banks of the *Rhine*, and prevent the barbarians from breaking into *Gaul* during his abſence, ſet out on his march to *Italy*, at the head of an army, conſiſting, according to thoſe who magnify their number the moſt, of ninety thouſand foot, and eight thouſand horſe. Of theſe only twenty-five thouſand were *Romans*, and the reſt auxiliaries [m] (Y). He endeavoured to gain over *Licinius*, by promiſing him his ſiſter *Conſtantia* in marriage; which gave ſuch jealouſy to *Maximin*, that he ſent deputies to court the friendſhip of *Maxentius*, and entered into an alliance with him; which however was kept ſecret; for *Conſtantine* was not appriſed of it till he became maſter of *Rome*, and ſaw there the ſtatue of *Maximin* placed cloſe to that of *Maxentius* [n]. We are not told, that *Maximin* ſent any ſuccours to *Maxentius*, or *Licinius* to *Conſtantine*. In this war, Providence had ſomething in view infinitely more important than the reſcuing of *Rome* from the tyranny of *Maxentius*; nothing leſs than the delivering of the church from the cruel perſecution under which it had groaned for the ſpace of near three hundred years. *Conſtantine* had inherited of his father ſome love and eſteem for the Chriſtians; for the firſt uſe he made of his authority, was to put a ſtop to the perſecution in the provinces ſubject to him [o]. However, he had not yet ſhewn any inclination to embrace a religion which he both honoured and eſteemed; but, in the war with *Maxentius*, apprehending that he ſtood in need of an extraordinary aſſiſtance from heaven, he began ſeriouſly to conſider with himſelf, what deity he ſhould implore as his guardian and protector. He revolved in his mind the fallacious anſwers given by the oracles to other princes, and the ſucceſs that had attended his father *Conſtantius* in all his wars, who deſpiſed the many gods worſhiped by the *Romans*, and acknowleged only one Supreme Being. At the ſame time he obſerved, that ſuch of his predeceſſors as had perſecuted the Chriſtians, the adorers of this GOD, had miſcarried in moſt of their undertakings, and periſhed by an unfortunate and untimely end; whereas his father, who countenanced and protected them, had, in all his wars, been attended with uncommon ſucceſs, and ended his life in the arms of his children.

Conſtantine begins his march to Italy.

He deliberates with himſelf what god he ſhould implore.

[m] Zos. l. ii. p. 676.
[n] LACT. perſ. c. 43. p. 37.
[o] Idem, c. 24. p. 23.

(Y) A panegyriſt, in an oration pronounced before him, ſays, that he engaged in this war with a ſmaller number of troops than *Alexander* had with him, when he went to attack the king of *Perſia* (5); that is, not quite forty thouſand men.

(5) *Pan.* 6. *p.* 137.

UPON

UPON theſe conſiderations, he reſolved to have recourſe to the GOD of his father, and adhere to Him alone. To Him, therefore, he addreſſed himſelf with great humility and fervour, beſeeching Him to make himſelf known to him, and to aſſiſt him in his preſent expedition. Heaven heard his prayer in a manner altogether miraculous; which, however incredible it may appear to ſome, *Euſebius* aſſures us, he received from the emperor's own mouth, who ſolemnly confirmed the truth of it with his oath. As he was marching at the head of his troops in the open fields, there ſuddenly appeared to him, and the whole army, a little after mid-day, a pillar of light above the ſun, in the form of a croſs, with this inſcription, *In this conquer.* The emperor was in great pain about the meaning of this wonderful viſion, till the following night; when our Saviour appearing to him, with the ſame ſign that he had ſeen in the heavens, commanded him to cauſe ſuch another to be framed, and to make uſe of it in conquering his enemies. The next morning *Conſtantine* imparted to his friends what he had ſeen; and ſending for the ableſt artificers and workmen, ordered them to frame a croſs of gold, and precious ſtones, according to the directions which he gave them (Z). *Conſtantine* being,

A miraculous appa-rition.

(Z) This croſs is minutely deſcribed by *Euſebius*, who ſaw it (6). *Baronius*, who has cauſed it to be ingraved in his annals (7), places the images of *Conſtantine* and his children on the ſtandard that was faſtened to the croſs-part of it, though *Euſebius* ſeems to place them below the ſtandard. In a crown of gold at the top of the croſs was a figure, conſiſting of the two firſt letters of the name of *Chriſt*, according to the *Greek* orthography (8). This figure, on ſome medals, is formed thus ☧, and in others thus ☩. This cypher was probably ſhewn to *Conſtantine* with the croſs; for we are no-where told, that he contrived it. Some are of opinion, that this cypher, in which the croſs is plainly repreſented, was the only thing *Conſtantine* added to the antient ſtandard. This the pious emperor cauſed to be carried before him in all his wars, as an enſign of ſafety and victory (9). *Socrates* ſeems to inſinuate, that in his time, about the year 430. it was lodged in the imperial palace at *Conſtantinople* (1); and *Theophanes* tells us, that it was ſtill to be ſeen in the ninth century (2). *Conſtantine* cauſed ſeveral other croſſes to be made after the ſame manner, and to be conſtantly carried at the head of his armies, inſtead of the figures of *Mars*, *Jupiter*, *Romulus*, &c. The name of *Chriſt* was not always at the top of the croſs, but ſometimes on the ſtandard (3).

(6) *Euſeb. vit. Conſt. l.* i. *c.* 27——31. *p.* 421——423. (7) *Baron. ad ann.* 312. (8) *Euſeb. ibid. c.* 31. *p.* 423. (9) *Idem ibid.* (1) *Socrat. l.* i. *c.* 2. *p.* 7. (2) *Theoph. p.* 11. (3) *Nazar. orat.* iii. *p.* 75. *Zozom. l.* i. *c.* 4. *p.* 405. *Euſeb. p.* 535.

When

being, after the miraculous viſion, immutably determined to adore that GOD alone who had appeared to him, ſent for ſeveral biſhops,

When the troops, in any part of the army began to give ground, the emperor cauſed the ſtandard with the croſs to be conveyed thither; and his faith, ſays *Euſebius* (4), was rewarded with victory, which began on that ſide where the greateſt danger was apprehended. He choſe fifty of the moſt courageous, robuſt, and religious men among his guards to attend this ſtandard, and carry it in their turns. *Euſebius* aſſures us, that none of thoſe who carried it were ever wounded in battle; and adds, that, in one encounter, the perſon who held it, finding himſelf aimed at on all ſides by the enemy, and therefore delivering it to another, in order to avoid the danger by flight, was ſhot thro' with a dart the minute he parted with it; whereas the other eſcaped unhurt, amidſt the ſhowers of arrows that flew round him. This *Euſebius*, as he aſſures us, learnt of *Conſtantine* himſelf (5). In the year 416. *Theodoſius* the younger beſtowed great privileges on thoſe who carried the *labarum* or *laborum*; for ſo the ſtandard conſecrated, to uſe the expreſſion of St. *Ambroſe* (6), with the name of *Chriſt*, is ſtiled by *Gregory* of *Nazianzum*, *Prudentius*, and others. As to the etymology of that name, we are quite in the dark. The reader will find many conjectures concerning it in *Du Cange*, who is of opinion, that it was borrowed of the *Germans* (7). At the ſame time *Conſtantine* ordered the ſhields, helmets, and offenſive as well as defenſive weapons of the ſoldiers, to be marked with croſſes, as appears from *Euſebius* (8), and various antient monuments. *Sozomen* tells us, that the emperor cauſed the name of our Saviour to be put upon the *labarum*, that the ſoldiers, who, in all times, paid the utmoſt reſpect to the imperial ſtandard, might, by degrees, be brought to forget their falſe deities, and pay the ſame honours to Him, whoſe name they had conſtantly before their eyes (9). *Conſtantine* had the above-mentioned viſion before he paſſed the *Alps* to make war upon *Maxentius*, and conſequently in *Gaul*; but, as to the preciſe place, we are quite at a loſs. Some ſtand up for *Beſançon*; others, for *Sinzic* on the *Rhine*, at a ſmall diſtance from *Cologne*; and ſome for *Numegen*, a village on the *Moſelle*, about five miles below *Treves*; which *Auſonius* calls the illuſtrious camp of *Conſtantine* (1): but their conjectures are altogether groundleſs. *Baluſius* complains, and not without reaſon, of the irreligious temerity of a modern writer (2), who is pleaſed to ſtile the whole account of this miraculous apparition, that is, the beſt atteſted fact in the hiſtory of *Conſtantine*, a *pious fiction*, which, in other terms, is calling *Euſe-*

(4) *Euſeb. vit. Conſt. l.* ii. *p.* 447. (5) *Idem ibid. p.* 448. (6) *Ambroſ. epiſt.* xvii. *p.* 213. (7) *Cange diſſert. de inferior. ævi numiſmat. p.* 18. *& gloſſar. p.* 190. (8) *Euſeb. ibid. l.* iv. *c.* 21. *p.* 535. (9) *Soz. l.* i. *c.* 4. *p.* 405. (1) *Buch. de Belg. l.* viii. *c.* 6. *p.* 243. (2) *Jacobus Oiſelius in theſaur. numiſ. antiquor. p.* 463.

bius

biſhops, in order to be inſtructed by them in the myſteries of their religion, and in ſeveral particulars of the late apparition. He hearkened to them with the utmoſt reſpect, and believed what they told him of the divinity, incarnation, croſs, and death of our Saviour, reading, with great attention, the holy Scriptures, and conſulting in his doubts the biſhops, whom, for that purpoſe, he kept conſtantly about him [p] (A).

Conſtantine *is inſtructed in the chriſtian religion, and embraces it.*

WE may well imagine what a great alteration the converſion of *Conſtantine* produced in the church. The whole imperial family followed, it ſeems, his example; we are well aſſured, that his mother *Helen* did: for though *Theodoret* writes, that ſhe inſpired her ſon from his infancy with ſentiments of piety [q], yet *Euſebius* tells us in expreſs terms, that ſhe knew not the true GOD, till ſhe was induced by her ſon to embrace the truth, and adhere to it [r]. The zeal which *Conſtantia* ſhewed for the doctrine of *Arius*, inclines us to believe, that ſhe profeſſed the chriſtian religion (B).

His example is followed by the impe-rial family.

CONSTANTINE

[p] EUSEB. vit. Conſt. l. i. c. 32. p. 423, 424. [q] THEODOR. l. i. c. 17. p. 563. [r] EUSEB. vit. Conſt. l. iii. c. 47. p. 506.

bius an impious impoſtor, and at the ſame time charging him with the greateſt folly imaginable, in pretending to impoſe upon the world with ſuch an enormous falſhood, while many thouſands of witneſſes were ſtill living, who would not have failed to diſprove what he wrote, and give him the lye. To imagine a writer of *Euſebius*'s character guilty of ſuch folly, impudence and preſumption, is, in our opinion, carrying ſcepticiſm and incredulity to too great an height.

(A) *Euſebius* does not name them; but *Zoſimus* tells us, that an *Egyptian*, coming from *Spain*, to the place where *Conſtantine* was, prevailed upon him to abandon the religion of the *Romans* (3). This may be true, though no great ſtreſs is to be laid upon what *Zoſimus* writes, touching the converſion of *Conſtantine*; for *Oſius*, the celebrated biſhop of *Corduba* in *Spain*, was by birth an *Egyptian*, and might, as he was a man of great piety and learning, have been ſent for by the emperor. It is at leaſt certain, that *Conſtantine* ſoon after appointed him his almoner, and treated him on all occaſions with the utmoſt reſpect, eſteem, and veneration. The modern *Greek* writers pretend, that one of the emperor's chamberlains, by name *Euphrates*, had great ſhare in his converſion; but of him no mention is made by the antients.

(B) *Euſebius* tells us, that *Eutropia*, the widow of *Maximian*, and mother-in-law of *Conſtantine*, followed the example of the emperor; and *Valeſius* maintains the ſame thing of her daughter *Fauſta*; which does not at all ſeem improbable, though not poſitively aſſerted by

(3) *Euſeb. l.* ii. *p.* 685.

any

Conſtantine *paſſes the* Alps, *and makes himſelf maſter of ſeveral cities.*

CONSTANTINE croſſed the *Alps* the following year, when he and *Licinius* were conſuls the ſecond time, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition, till he arrived at *Seguſium*, now *Suſa*; which being fortified both by nature and art, and defended by a numerous gariſon, refuſed to ſubmit. Hereupon *Conſtantine*, having ordered a general aſſault, and at the ſame time cauſed fire to be ſet to the gates, carried the place by ſtorm the ſame day; but would not give it up to be plundered, nor ſuffer the inhabitants to be any-ways injured in their lives or fortunes [s], though *Zoſimus* writes, that he laid in ruins all the cities that preſumed to oppoſe him [t]. From *Seguſium* he marched to *Auguſta Taurinorum*, now *Turin*, in the neighbourhood of which place he was met by a numerous army of the enemy, whoſe cavalry, armed cap-à-pé, fell upon him with a fury hardly to be expreſſed; but *Conſtantine* ordering his ranks to open and receive them, they were ſurrounded on all ſides, and, unwieldy as they were, pulled off of their horſes, and killed, without the loſs of a ſingle man on *Conſtantine*'s ſide. The reſt of the army was eaſily put to the rout, and purſued with great ſlaughter to the gates of *Turin*; which the citizens ſhut againſt them, but opened to *Conſtantine*, whom they received with the greateſt

[s] EUSEB. vit. Conſt. l. i. c. 37. p. 426. [t] Zos. l. ii. p. 676.

any of the antients. *Johannes Damaſcenus* writes, that *Conſtantine* cauſed not only the croſs, but the image of our Saviour, to be repreſented on his coins; but no medals have been yet found to confirm his opinion. On his coins appear only the *labarum*, and on ſome of his ſon *Conſtantius* the ☧, with the A and Ω, the emblem aſſumed by our Saviour in the *Revelations* (4). The ſilence of the antient panegyriſts with reſpect to ſo public and remarkable an event as the apparition of the croſs, which occaſioned the converſion of *Conſtantine*, would ſeem to us unaccountable, were we not well appriſed of the great and almoſt invincible power of prejudice in matters of religion. The authors of thoſe panegyrics could not, even in their ſpeeches uttered before *Conſtantine*, forbear ſpeaking of their fabulous deities, as if the emperor had ſtill been a pagan. However, ſome of them ſeem to have hinted at that apparition, though in very dark and ambiguous terms; for one of the orators ſpeaks much at large of an extraordinary aſſiſtance, which, he ſays, all *Gaul* believed to have been ſent to *Conſtantine* from heaven (5). Another ſays, that every one dreaded the war with *Maxentius*, on account of an evil omen (6). This may be well underſtood of the croſs, than which nothing was more infamous, or more deteſted, among the *Romans*.

(4) *Vide* Du Cange *Byzant. famil. p.* 31--33. (5) *Paneg.* 7. *p.* 161.
(6) *Idem*, 6. *p.* 135.

demonſtrations of joy imaginable. All the cities between the *Po* and the *Alps* followed the example of this, ſending deputies with great ſtore of proviſions to the conqueror, and aſſiſting him to the utmoſt of their power againſt *Maxentius*, whoſe cruelties and tyranny they could no longer bear [u]. From *Turin* he marched to *Milan*, which city he entered without oppoſition; and having paſſed a few days there, he purſued his march to *Breſcia*, where he was met by a numerous body of horſe, who being routed at the firſt onſet, retired in great confuſion to *Verona*, the place appointed for the general rendezvous of all the troops of *Maxentius* diſperſed up and down the country. They were very numerous, and commanded by *Ruricius Pompeianus*, an experienced officer, and captain of the guards to *Maxentius*, who, not thinking it adviſeable to venture a battle, ſhut himſelf up in *Verona*, with part of his troops.

CONSTANTINE, having paſſed the *Adige* a great way above Verona that city, inveſted it with his whole army. *Pompeianus* made a vigorous ſally; but being repulſed with great loſs, he ſtole away in the night, and ſoon after returned with a numerous army, which he had with incredible expedition drawn together from all parts. *Conſtantine*, receiving intelligence of his approach, left part of his troops to purſue the ſiege, and marched with the reſt to meet him. Hereupon an engagement enſued, which laſted almoſt the whole night; but in the end the troops of *Pompeianus* were utterly defeated, and the general himſelf killed. *Conſtantine* diſtinguiſhed himſelf on this occaſion in a very eminent manner, grappling hand to hand with the enemy like a common ſoldier; inſomuch that his officers, after the battle, conjured him with tears in their eyes to moderate his courage for the future, and not expoſe to ſuch dangers a life, on which depended the ſafety and welfare of the ſtate [w]. The city of *Verona* ſtill held out for ſome time; but was in the end taken by ſtorm, and utterly ruined. The gariſon ſurrendered at diſcretion, and *Conſtantine*, contrary to their expectation, granted them their lives; but that his own men might not be employed in guarding them, as they were very numerous, he cauſed chains to be made of their ſwords, and confined them in two priſons [x]. During the ſiege of *Verona*, *Conſtantine* detached part of his troops to attack *Aquileia*, *Mutina*, and ſeveral other cities; which readily ſubmitted. By this means he became maſter of all the places between the *Alps* and *Rome*, the deliverance of which city from the tyranny of *Maxentius* was what he had moſt of all at heart [y].

Beſieged.

Maxentius's *army defeated.*

Verona *taken*

and ſeveral other cities.

[u] Panegyr. 6, 7. p. 138, 166. [w] Idem, 6. p. 141. & 7. p. 168, 169. [x] Idem, 6. p. 141, 142. [y] Idem, 7. p. 170, 171.

HE

Conſtantine *approaches* Rome.

HE therefore bent his march thither, and approached the city with all his forces. His approach rouſed *Maxentius*, who had abandoned himſelf to eaſe, and wallowed in all manner of pleaſures and debaucheries, ſtifling the tidings that were daily brought to him of the defeat of his troops, and the progreſs of *Conſtantine*. He cauſed a bridge of boats to be laid over the *Tiber*, a little above the *Milvian* bridge, now *Ponte Molle*, ſo contrived that it could be eaſily looſened, which he charged one of his engineers to do as ſoon as *Conſtantine* was entered upon it with his army. But the emperor choſe to encamp in a ſpacious plain, over-againſt the *Milvian* bridge, hoping by that means to draw *Maxentius* out of *Rome*, and tempt him to venture a general engagement, being well appriſed, that if he kept within the city, which was ſupplied with great ſtore of proviſions, the beſieging him there would prove a dangerous undertaking, and protract the war to a great length. But *Maxentius* ordering his troops to encamp between the *Milvian* bridge and the city, in order to prevent *Conſtantine* from approaching the walls, did not ſo much as ſtir out of his palace, till he was frightened from it by an inauſpicious omen, which obliged him to repair with his wife and ſon to the houſe of one of his friends[z] (C). On the twenty-eighth of *October*, *Maxentius*, who then ended the ſixth year of his reign, exhibited, notwithſtanding the danger that threatened him, magnificent ſhews in the circus; and, having cauſed the *Sibylline* books to be conſulted, had this anſwer, that *the great enemy of* Rome *was doomed to periſh that very day*. This he underſtood of *Conſtantine*; and therefore, quitting the city without delay, he croſſed the bridge, which he had cauſed to be laid over the *Tiber*, and choſe for the field of battle a place called *Saxa rubra*, or *The red rocks*, about nine miles from *Rome*, drawing up his numerous army between the enemy and the river.

CONSTANTINE, overjoyed to hear that *Maxentius* had marched out of the city, immediately advanced againſt him; and having encouraged his men with certain hopes of victory, ordered the ſignal for the battle to be given. At the firſt onſet, the

[z] Paneg. 7. p. 145.

(C) *Lactantius* tells us, that the night preceding the twenty-ſeventh, or rather the twenty-eighth of *October*, *Conſtantine* was admoniſhed in a dream to cauſe the ſhields of his ſoldiers to be marked with the ☧, and then give battle. The order was immediately executed, and not only on the ſhields, but likewiſe on the helmets, as appears from an antient medal (7), of all the ſoldiers were diſplayed the croſs, and the name of our Saviour (8).

(7) *Baron. ad ann.* 312.

(8) *Lact. perſ. c.* 44. *p.* 37.

Romans and *Italians* in *Maxentius*'s army, out of hatred to the tyrant, gave way and retired; but the others, chiefly the prætorian guards, the miniſters of his tyranny, ſtood their ground, and fought with great reſolution and intrepidity; ſo that the victory remained doubtful, till *Maxentius*'s cavalry being broken, Maxenthe tyrant abandoned the field to ſave himſelf acroſs his bridge of tius *de-*
boats, and return to the city [a] (D). All authors agree, that, *feated, and*
falling into the *Tiber* with his horſe and armour, he was there *drowned*
drowned with many of his men, and ſome of his chief officers. *in the* Ti-
His body being with much ado found the next day, buried in ber.
the mud, *Conſtantine* cauſed his head to be ſtruck off, in order Year of
to ſhew it to the *Roman* people, who had not yet ſhewed any the flood
joy for his death, apprehending it might be only a falſe report, 2752.
ſpread on purpoſe to diſcover their inclination and real ſenti- Of Chriſt
ments [b]. The ſame day, the twenty-ninth of *October*, *Con-* 312.
ſtantine, cauſing the head of *Maxentius* to be carried upon a Of Rome
pole before his army, made his public entry into the city, at- 1110.
tended by the ſenate in a body, and by infinite crouds of people, Conſtan-
who flocked from all parts to behold, and welcome with loud tine *enters*
ſhouts of joy, their new prince and deliverer. In the ſhews Rome.
which were exhibited the following days, the people, neglecting the diverſions, kept their eyes immoveably fixed on *Conſtantine*, returning thanks to the tutelar gods of the city and empire, for giving them, in the room of a cruel and inhuman tyrant, a prince, of whoſe humanity, prudence, and moderation, fame had proclaimed ſo many inſtances [c].

THE battle was no ſooner over, ſays one of the panegyriſts [d], *His cle-*
than *Conſtantine* ſheathed his ſword, and not only pardoned, but *mency af-*
received into favour, even his moſt inveterate enemies [e]; nay, *ter vic-*
preferred ſuch of them as he found qualified for public em- *tory.*
ployments. The people demanded with great importunity the death of ſome of the tyrant's chief miniſters, but could not prevail upon the good-natured emperor to comply with their demands, and humour their revengeful temper [f]. All the troops

[a] Zos. l. ii. p. 676. Anonym. p. 473. Panegyr. 6, 7. p. 145, 170. LACT. p. 38. [b] Zos. p. 677. [c] Panegyr. 7. p. 146, 147. LACT. c. 44. p. 38. [d] Panegyr. 6. p. 148. [e] LIBAN. orat. xii. p. 262. [f] Panegyr. 6. p. 148.

(D) *Lactantius* writes, that the bridge broke down of itſelf during the battle (9); but *Euſebius* and *Zoſimus* tell us, that the engines which faſtened the boats together, giving way under the great weight of the multitude that fled with or before *Maxentius*, the boats parted, and he was puſhed into the river by thoſe who were flying with him (1).

(9) *Lact. p.* 38. (1) *Zoſ. p.* 677. *Euſeb. vit. Conſt. p.* 427.

of *Maxentius* were immediately diſarmed; but *Conſtantine* reinſtated them ſoon after in their former condition, and employed them againſt the barbarians on the banks of the *Rhine* and the *Danube*.

The prætorian guards diſbanded.

As for the prætorian guards, a corps ſo famous ever ſince the time of *Auguſtus*, and ſo powerful as to raiſe to the empire, and depoſe, whom they pleaſed, he either diſbanded them, or reduced them to the rank of common ſoldiers, cauſing their camp, which had been begun by *Sejanus*, in the reign of *Tiberius*, to be utterly demoliſhed[g] (E). Upon the death of *Maxentius*, incredible numbers of informers ſtarted up to accuſe ſuch as had adhered to him. But *Conſtantine*, treading in the footſteps of other good princes, put a ſtop to their accuſations, and the evils that thence threatened the ſtate, by a law enacted this year, in which he declared all informers, and ſuch as attempted to diſturb the peace and tranquillity of private perſons with unjuſt ſuits, guilty of death[h]. He reſtored the ſenate to its former luſtre and authority, filling it with perſons of the greateſt merit, choſen out of all the provinces ſubject to him. He recalled ſuch as had been baniſhed by *Maxentius*, ſet thoſe at liberty whom he had confined, and, by a general edict, remitted to all without diſtinction whatever puniſhment had been inflicted upon them by *Maxentius*[i]. Not ſatisfied with delivering them from the evils under which they groaned, he exerciſed his generoſity and good-nature to all in ſuch a manner, as to make full amends, in the ſpace of two months, for the calamities they had ſuffered during the tyrant's ſix years reign[k].

He enacts a ſevere law againſt informers.

As he was now maſter of all *Italy*, the people crouded from every quarter to *Rome*, to ſee their benefactor and deliverer, and were received by him with ſuch marks of kindneſs, and unfeigned affection, that they returned home with a far greater opinion of his affability, good-nature, and moderation, than fame, which delights in exaggeration, had raiſed in them[l]. The

[g] Zos. l. ii. p. 677. Aur. Vict. p. 526. [h] Cod. Theodoſ. 3. p. 430, 431. [i] Panegyr. 6. p. 137. & 7. p. 175. Euseb. l. i. c. 41. p. 409. [k] Panegyr. 7. p. 174. [l] Idem, p. 173.

(E) *Aurelius Victor* ſeems to inſinuate, that he would not ſuffer any troops to remain in *Rome*, thinking them more apt to foment than ſuppreſs tumults and ſeditions (2). *Zoſimus* writes, that *Conſtantine* puniſhed ſome, tho' very few, of thoſe who had been moſt attached to the tyrant (3); and *Nazarius*, that he cut off his whole race (4), that is, his ſon, for he had no other iſſue; and of him no mention is made from this time forward, though he was alive when his father was drowned.

(2) *Aur. Vict. p.* 526. (3) *Zoſ. p.* 677. (4) *Paneg. 7. p.* 157.

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C. XXV.

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(F) This arch is
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before the ſolemnity
year of *Conſtantine*
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honour of *M. Aureli*
princes, which far
workmanſhip ſuch a
at this time (6).
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tine ſeveral magnifi
which had been rai
charge by *Maxentiu*
obſerves, that the

(5) *Noris de Licin.* n
p. 526.
(7) *Baron*

ſenate, out of gratitude, decreed him the firſt place among the emperors, though claimed by *Maximin*, and a triumphal arch, which is ſtill ſtanding, and was raiſed, as we read in the inſcription, in honour of *Conſtantine*, for having, by divine inſtinct, and with extraordinary courage, delivered, in one combat, the republic from the tyrant, and his whole faction. In the ſame inſcription, *Conſtantine* is ſtyled the deliverer of *Rome*, and the author of the public tranquillity (F). As he aſcribed the late victory, and all his other ſucceſſes, not to his own conduct or ſtrength, but to GOD alone, ſoon after his entry into *Rome*, he cauſed a ſtatue to be erected to himſelf, holding a croſs in the right hand, with an inſcription, importing, that under the influence of that victorious and ſalutary ſign, he had delivered the city from the tyrannical yoke under which it groaned, and reſtored the ſenate and people of *Rome* to their antient liberty and ſplendor. About the month of *November* of this year 312. an edict was iſſued in his name, and in the name of *Licinius*, putting a ſtop to the great perſecution which had been begun by *Dioclefian*, and had raged with incredible fury in moſt provinces of the empire for the ſpace of ten years. This edict was ſent by the two emperors to *Maximin*, the moſt implacable enemy the *Chriſtians* ever had, accompanied by a letter from *Conſtantine*, wherein the pious emperor acquainted him with the miraculous aſſiſtance he had received from Heaven, and the victory he had by that means gained over the tyrant *Maxentius*. As *Maximin* yet pretended to live in friendſhip and amity with *Conſtantine* and *Licinius* (for the letter was ſigned by both princes), notwithſtanding

Honours conferred upon him by the ſenate.

Pays great reſpect to the croſs.

Cauſes a ſtop to be put to the perſecution.

(F) This arch is thought not to have been ended and dedicated before the ſolemnity of the tenth year of *Conſtantine*'s reign, that is, before the year 315 (6). *Baronius* obſerves, that it was adorned with ſeveral ſtatues, taken from monuments erected to the honour of *M. Aurelius*, and other princes, which far excelled in workmanſhip ſuch as were done at this time (6). The ſenate conſecrated likewiſe to *Conſtantine* ſeveral magnificent edifices, which had been raiſed at a vaſt charge by *Maxentius*. *Baronius* obſerves, that the panegyriſts, in deſcribing the triumphal entry of *Conſtantine* into *Rome*, tell us, that he went to the palace, and to the ſenate, but take no notice of his viſiting the capitol, though that was one of the chief ceremonies of the ſolemnity (7). *Zoſimus* writes, that the court being, on occaſion of a certain ſolemnity, obliged to go to the capitol, *Conſtantine* was ſo far from complying with the antient cuſtom, that he openly deſpiſed and derided both that and the other ceremonies of the religion of the *Romans* (8).

(5) *Noris de Licin. num. c.* 3. *p.* 49, 50. (6) *Baron. ann.* 312. *Aur. Vict. p.* 526. (7) *Baron. ibid.* (8) *Zoſ. l.* ii. *p.* 686.

his hatred to the *Chriſtians*, he publiſhed in their favour the decree, which is related at length by *Euſebius* [m], and ſeems to have been enacted this year (G).

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[m] EUSEB. l. ix. c. 9. p. 360.

(G) That writer, in ſpeaking of the conduct of *Conſtantine* at this time, tells us, that he treated with the utmoſt reſpect the miniſters of the true GOD, kept ſeveral of them conſtantly with him, entertained them at his own table, and paid an intire deference to their counſels. He ſeems to have honoured above the reſt *Melchiades*, biſhop of *Rome*; for to him he appeals in ſpeaking of the veneration he had for the catholic church, and his ſincere deſire of ſeeing unity reign in it without the leaſt ſchiſm or diviſion (9). *Theophanes* mentions ſome conſtitutions ſaid to have been addreſſed by *Conſtantine* to that holy biſhop, but thought by *Theophanes* to be ſpurious pieces forged by the *Arians* (1). It is certain, that the emperor beſtowed great privileges on the clergy of the city of *Rome* (2). We are not told what privileges theſe were; but moſt writers ſuppoſe the emperor to have exempted them from the payment of taxes, from the diſcharging of public offices not ſuitable to their calling, and ſuch-like burdens. *Baronius* pretends, that this year, 312. *Conſtantine* gave the *Lateran* palace to the biſhop of *Rome* (3). But *Optatus Milevitanus* writes, that in the year 313. a council was held there in the apartment of the empreſs *Fauſta* (4); whence ſome conclude, that it ſtill belonged to the emperor. However, as it is certain, that it appertained to the ſee of *Rome* in the fourth century, and that the church adjoining to it was even then ſtyled *the baſilic of Conſtantine*. we cannot think it improbable, that the palace was a gift of *Conſtantine* to the biſhops of *Rome*, and that the church was built by him, as we read in *Anaſtaſius* (5). As for the famous donation, by which *Conſtantine* declared the pope prince and ſovereign of *Rome*, it is now looked upon by the *Roman* catholic, as well as the proteſtant writers, as a forgery of a later date. *Baronius* is aſhamed to maintain it as a genuine piece, and yet declines declaring it a forgery. It is commonly believed to have been forged in the eighth century by the noted impoſtor *Iſidorus* (6). *Euſebius* tells us, that *Conſtantine* built a great number of churches, ſupplied them with vaſt riches, and adorned the altars with magnificent offerings (7). There are ſeveral churches at *Rome*, and in other places, ſaid to have been founded by *Conſtantine*; but the authority of *Anaſtaſius*, and ſuch-like writers, is not of ſufficient weight with us to aſcribe that glory to any in particular. What he writes of the church of St. *Peter* on the *Vatican*, is confirmed by two verſes, that were formerly

(9) *Euſeb. hiſt. l.* x. *p.* 391. (1) *Theoph. p.* 14. (2) *Cod. Theodoſ.* 16. *t.* 2. *l.* xiv. *p.* 40. (3) *Baron. ann.* 312. (4) *Optat. l.* i. *p.* 44. (5) *Anaſt. c.* 34. *p.* 13. (6) *Vide P. Pagi, p.* 324. (7) *Euſeb. vit. Conſt. l.* i. *c.* 4. *p.* 429.

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(8) *Baron. ann.* 324. *Anaſt. c.* 34
(1) *Idem, p.* 70.
430. & *l.* iv. *c.* 4. *p.* 528. (2) *Theopb.*

THE *indictions*, that is, a cycle or revolution of fifteen years, made uſe of in reckoning time, are ſuppoſed to have begun about the end of the preſent year 312. The origin of this cycle, and the etymology of its name, has occaſioned great diſputes among modern writers (H). *The* indiction.

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to be ſeen in the vault of that church, importing, that it had been founded by *Conſtantine* (8). In demoliſhing the antient church, to build that which is at preſent looked upon as the moſt magnificent ſtructure in the world, the name of *Conſtantine* was diſcovered in ſeveral places. In ſome monuments, thought to be of the ſixth century, we read, that *Conſtantine* built at *Rome* the baſilic of the *Seſſorian* palace, in which he placed the true croſs, about the year 326. whence it was called *the church of the holy croſs* (9). In ſome antient inſcriptions, the church of St. *Agnes* is ſaid to have been built by *Conſtantine*, at the requeſt of his daughter *Conſtantia*, or rather *Conſtantina*, who is ſuppoſed to have been buried there in 354 (1). *Theophanes* writes, that *Conſtantine* no ſooner ſaw himſelf maſter of *Rome*, than he cauſed the relics of the holy martyrs to be carefully gathered, and honourably interred (2). He received, continues *Euſebius*, in deſcribing his conduct, all ſtrangers with great demonſtrations of kindneſs, and made them rich preſents. Not thinking it enough to relieve the common beggars with money, he cauſed them to be maintained and cloathed at his own expence. To ſuch as were come of noble, but decayed families, he was rather magnificent than liberal, beſtowing upon ſome of them eſtates, and profitable employments upon others. He took under his protection orphans and widows, ſupporting them with great generoſity, and eſtabliſhing rich funds for their maintenance. He married to wealthy citizens, and perſons of diſtinction, many young women, who were deſtitute of friends and relations, allowing them fortunes out of the exchequer proportionable to the eſtates of their huſbands. In ſhort, all who had the good fortune to live under him, felt the effects of his generoſity and good-nature. No one ever implored his aſſiſtance in vain; no one ever departed diſſatisfied from his preſence. He was often heard to ſay, that whoever was allowed to approach his prince, ought to receive ſome favour or other at his hands; that it was incumbent upon the prince to make it his chief ſtudy to content all who applied to him: hence to thoſe, againſt whom juſtice obliged him to pronounce in the judging of cauſes, he uſually gave large ſums, or by ſome other means made good the loſſes they ſuſtained; ſo that his generoſity was no leſs extolled and commended by thoſe who loſt their ſuit, than his juſtice was by ſuch as carried it. Thus far *Euſebius* (3).

(H) The reader will find in *Du Cange* a liſt of the authors

(8) *Baron. ann.* 324. *Anaſt. c.* 34. *p.* 15. (9) *Boll.* 18. *Feb. p.* 69.
(1) *Idem, p.* 70. (2) *Theoph. p.* 11. (3) *Euſeb. l.* i. *c.* 43. *p.* 429, 430. & *l.* iv. *c.* 4. *p.* 528.

DURING the war between *Conſtantine* and *Maxentius* in the weſt, *Maximin*, who had enjoyed a profound tranquillity in the eaſt

who have written on this ſubject (4). *Conſtantine* having reduced the time, which the *Romans* were obliged to ſerve, to fifteen years, ſays *Baronius*, he was conſequently obliged every fifteen years, to impoſe, or *indicere*, according to the *Latin* expreſſion, an extraordinary tax for the paying of thoſe who were diſcharged; and hence came this new cycle, which, from the *Latin* word *indicere*, was ſtyled *indiction* (5). The opinion of *Baronius*, tho' in reality a bare conjecture, ſeems to *Petavius* more probable than any thing that has been ſaid by others on the ſame ſubject (6); for we know nothing for certain touching the origin, name, or author of this cycle. There are three kinds of indictions, to wit, the *Cæſarean* or *imperial* indictions, which begin on the twenty-fourth of *September*, and were long made uſe of in *France* and *Germany* (7); the *Conſtantinopolitan* indictions, beginning with the year of the *Greeks*, on the firſt day of *September*; and the papal indictions, or indictions of the popes, who, ſome centuries ſince, reckon from the firſt of *January* of the year 313. *Petavius* ſeems to think, that the *Conſtantinopolitan* indiction was generally uſed among the *Greeks* as early as the reign of the emperor *Anaſtaſius*, and perhaps of *Theodoſius* the younger; nay, he is inclined to believe, that the indiction originally began on the firſt of *September* (8). And truly, from various paſſages of the hiſtory of the fifth century, it appears, that the emperors of *Conſtantinople* followed this ſtile, and that it prevailed all over *Syria*, and even at *Rome* (9). Some have reckoned the indictions from the year 314. or from *September* of the year 313. but *Petavius* (1), and cardinal *Noris* (2), ſhew, that we ought to count them from the month of *September* of 312. tho' we have no certain proof, that they firſt began then; for ſome pretend, that they were in uſe in the time of *Julius Cæſar*, or *Auguſtus* (3); which we can hardly believe, ſince no mention is made of indictions by any author who flouriſhed before the reign of *Conſtantine*. The firſt thing we find dated by them is the council of *Antioch*, held, as we read in *Athanaſius* (4), if that paſſage is genuine, which *Petavius* queſtions (5), in the year 341. and in the fourteenth indiction. However, it is certain, that St. *Ambroſe* mentions the indiction in a letter of the year 386. and obſerves, that it began in the month of *November* (6). From that time forward it is common in the code, where mention is made of the indiction of the year 367. and in other monuments both of ſacred and profane hiſtory; but the indictions, as cardinal *Noris* obſerves, are ſeldom marked right

(4) *Vide chron. paſchale, ſeu Alexandrin. ex edit. Cangiana, Pariſ. ann.* 1688. (5) *Baron. ann.* 312. (6) *Petav. doct. temp. l.* xi. *c.* 40. *p.* 365. (7) *Vide Johan. Forbes, inſtit. hiſtorico-theologic. l.* v. *c.* 20. *p.* 268. & *P. Pagi, ann.* 312. (8) *Petav. p.* 564. (9) *Noris, epoch. p.* 340--342. (1) *Petav. p.* 363. (2) *Noris, ibid.* (3) *Vide Petav. c.* 39. *p.* 360--362. & *Noris, epoch. p.* 169. 171. (4) *Athan. de ſyn. p.* 894. (5) *Petav. p.* 363. (6) *Idem, p.* 364.

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[n] EUSEB. l. ix. c. 7. p. 355.

(7). *Onuphrius* quotes
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(7) *Noris, epoch. p.* 342.
(1) *Concil. tom.* ii. *p.* 527.

east ever since his agreement with *Licinius*, began anew the persecution, which the edict of *Galerius*, in favour of the *Christians*, had obliged him to interrupt for some time. In a rescript addressed to the inhabitants of *Tyre*, he had bragged of the happiness of his reign, which, he said, had never been interrupted or disturbed by wars, storms, dearth of provisions, contagions, or earthquakes. This exemption from the evils that afflicted other parts of the empire, he ascribed to the great care he took in promoting the worship of the gods, and persecuting with fire and sword their enemies the *Christians* [n]. But Providence did not fail to humble his pride, and punish, in a very remarkable manner, his cruelty to those who deserved it the least. For the very next winter proving exceeding dry, the drought produced a famine when no-wise expected, and the famine a dreadful plague, attended with nauseous sores, which breaking out in the face, and especially about the eyes, deprived of sight an infinite number of men, women, and children. This *Eusebius*, with a great deal of reason, looks upon as a punishment from Heaven upon *Maximin*, who sparing, out of his great mercy, to use his expression, the lives of several *Christians*, caused their right eyes to be put out, in order to distinguish them by that mark of infamy from his other subjects [o]. To the famine and plague that ravaged the dominions of *Maximin* with a fury hardly to be expressed, was added a destructive war. For the tyrant, attempting to oblige the *Armenians*, who had embraced the true religion, to offer victims to his false deities, forced them to take arms in their own defence, and, from antient friends and allies, to become enemies of the *Roman* people and empire [p]. This must be understood of *Armenia Major*; for the people of *Armenia Minor* were not allies, but subjects of the empire. This

Maximin *persecutes the* Christians.

His dominions afflicted with many dreadful calamities.

[n] Euseb. l. ix. c. 7. p. 353, 354. [o] Idem ibid. [p] Idem, p. 355.

(7). *Onuphrius* quotes a book on the indictions, by one *Chyrius Fortunatianus*, whom he takes to be the bishop of *Aquileia* of that name, so famous in the time of *Constantine*'s children (8). But *Petavius* thinks there never was any such book; and likewise rejects, as quite groundless, the opinion of those who tell us, that the council of *Nice* commanded all bishops to mark the indiction in their letters (9). He even suspects the council of *Rome*, said to have been held under pope *Julius*, and dated the sixth indiction (1). The reader must observe, that the first year of this cycle is called the first indiction; the second year, the second indiction, and so of the rest, till the fifteenth; after which, the cycle is begun anew, and the years counted in the same manner.

(7) *Noris, epoch. p.* 342. (8) *Onuph. p.* 265. (9) *Petav. p.* 365.
(1) *Concil. tom.* ii. *p.* 527.

is the first instance we find in history of a religious war, or a war for the sake of religion. As to the issue of it, we are only told, that, in the course of this war, *Maximin*, and his army, suffered much, our historian being wholly taken up in describing the inexpressible miseries that attended the plague, and the famine, in all the provinces subject to *Maximin*, and the charitable conduct of the *Christians* towards their greatest enemies, during the time of their distress [q]. *Maximin* was obliged, as we have related above, by the decree of *Constantine* and *Licinius*, to put a stop to the persecution this year, not daring yet openly to oppose them.

THE next consuls were *Constantine* and *Licinius*, both for the third time. The former did not, it seems, stay at *Rome* above two months, as appears from a law which he published at *Milan*, dated the tenth of *March* [r]. He was met in that city by *Licinius*, and there he married to him his sister *Constantia*, whom he had betrothed to him before his war with *Maxentius* [s]. They both wrote to *Diocletian*, inviting him to assist at that solemnity; but he begging to be excused on account of his age, they highly resented it, and sent him a second letter, filled with menaces, which hastened his death; for he died soon after, in the month of *July* of this year 313 [t]. The two emperors, in this interview, enacted an edict in favour of the *Christians*, which is related at length by *Eusebius* [u]. *Constantine* was soon obliged to leave *Milan*, and hasten into *Gaul* to make head against the *Franks*, who, forgetful of the treaty which they had made with him a few years before, were assembling their forces with a design to invade the *Roman* dominions. The emperor arrived while they were preparing to pass the *Rhine*; but finding they withdrew, awed by his presence, he gave out, that the *Germans* too were ready to break into *Gaul*; and leaving some troops concealed among the woods at a small distance from the river, retired with the rest. The *Franks* no sooner heard of his departure, than they passed the *Rhine*; when the *Romans*, rising unexpectedly out of their ambuscade, fell upon them before they could draw up their forces, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to repass the river in the utmost confusion. *Constantine*, not allowing them time to recover themselves from their consternation, entered their country, laid waste their lands, burnt their habitations, and, having taken an incredible number of captives, exposed them all to be devoured by the wild beasts in the shews, which he exhibited on account of

Constantine *marries his sister* Constantia *to* Licinius.

Overcomes the Franks.

[q] EUSEB. l. ix. p. 353--357. [r] Cod. Theodos. t. 5. p. 114. [s] LACT. pers. c. 45. p. 38. VICT. epit. p. 545. Zos. l. ii. p. 677. Anonym. p. 473. [t] VICT. epit. p. 542. [u] EUSEB. l. x. c. 5. p. 388.

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welfare of the state,
the worship of GOD a
to *Cæcilianus*, as app
the fifteenth of *Apr*
was granted only to
the *Donatists*, attem
it; which obliged C
granted them by a n
of this year (K).

[w] VALES. rer. Fra
Theod. chronol. p. 7
P. 392. [b] Cod.

(I) This severity
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good-natured prince
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towards an enemy
treacherous, was no

his victory [w] (I). For this victory he took the title of *Francicus* [x]. *Conſtantine* was, as appears from the date of ſeveral laws [y], in the months of *November* and *December* of this year, at *Treves*; during which time the panegyric of the anonymous writer is thought to have been pronounced [z], in which the orator extols the victory, which he had lately gained over *Maxentius*; and in the end of his ſpeech addreſſes himſelf to the *great and only true* GOD; but at the ſame time plainly ſhews, that he had not yet wholly renounced the ſuperſtitious ceremonies of the gentiles. He obſerves, that certain barbarians, who inhabited a diſtant country, had ſubmitted to *Conſtantine*; but as to this particular, there is a profound ſilence among hiſtorians.

He beſtows great privileges on the clergy, and the church.

THIS year *Conſtantine* granted great privileges to catholic churches in *Africa*, which province had ſubmitted to him upon the news of the death of *Maxentius*. In a reſcript addreſſed to *Anulinus*, whom he had appointed proconſul of *Africa*, he commands him to exempt the clergy belonging to the catholic church there, of which *Cæcilianus*, biſhop of *Carthage*, was the head, from all civil employments, that they might not be diverted from the ſacred functions of their office. Nothing, ſays he in that reſcript, ſpeaking of the clergy, will more contribute to the welfare of the ſtate, than their applying themſelves wholly to the worſhip of GOD [a]. This ordinance was notified by *Anulinus* to *Cæcilianus*, as appears from his anſwer to *Conſtantine*, dated the fifteenth of *April* of this year 313 [b]. As this exemption was granted only to the catholic clergy, the heretics, probably the *Donatiſts*, attempted to diſturb them in the enjoyment of it; which obliged *Conſtantine* to confirm the privileges he had granted them by a new edict, dated the twenty-firſt of *October* of this year (K).

WHEN

[w] VALES. rer. Franc. l. i. p. 23. [x] Idem, p. 25. [y] Cod. Theod. chronol. p. 7. [z] Panegyr. 6. [a] EUSEB. l. xx. c. 6. p. 392. [b] Cod. Theod. t. 6. p. 21.

(I) This ſeverity towards a perfidious and faithleſs enemy, whom no ties could bind, is commended by his panegyriſt; but whether it anſwers the character of a mild, generous, and good-natured prince, which all the writers of thoſe times give him, is what we leave our readers to judge. Cruelty, even towards an enemy, however treacherous, was not, at leaſt, countenanced by the religion which he profeſſed.

(K) His exempting the clergy thus far from the public offices in the cities, proved very burdenſome to the other inhabitants, and many entered themſelves among them on purpoſe to enjoy that privilege: the emperor therefore, by another edict, put a ſtop to the increaſe of the clergy, ordaining, that none ſhould be admitted

WHEN *Conſtantine* left *Milan* to oppoſe the *Franks*, threatening to invade *Gaul*, *Licinius* returned to *Illyricum*, where he

admitted among them but to ſupply the places of others deceaſed; and that thoſe, who were admitted, ſhould be perſons not qualified by their birth or wealth for the firſt and moſt chargeable employments. In virtue of this edict, ſeveral cities attempted to oblige ſuch of the clergy as were qualified for thoſe offices to diſcharge them, tho' they had been ordained before it was enacted; which *Conſtantine* prohibited by a reſcript, dated the eighteenth of *July* of the year 320. But after all, his forbidding perſons of rank and eſtates to enter themſelves among the clergy, in order to eaſe the laymen, was afterwards looked upon by other emperors, ſome ſay by *Conſtantine* himſelf, as an affront and injury offered to the church; and therefore that edict was annulled, and perſons of the higheſt rank were allowed to enter into holy orders, but upon condition of their reſigning to others, either their whole eſtates, or the greateſt part of them; which was deemed ſuitable to that diſintereſtedneſs which the church requires in her miniſters (2). Some writers are of opinion, that *Conſtantine* at the ſame time exempted the church-lands from all taxes and burdens whatſoever, there being mention made of this immunity, as already eſtabliſhed, in a law of the year 315. but others pretend this law to be of a later date, and aſcribe the above-mentioned exemption to *Conſtantius*, the ſon of *Conſtantine* (3). We have a letter written this year by *Conſtantine* to *Cæcilianus*, biſhop of *Carthage*, acquainting him, that he deſigned to put into the hands of the miniſters of the catholic church a conſiderable ſum, to be diſtributed by them among the indigent *Chriſtians* in *Africa*, *Numidia*, and *Mauritania*; and that with this deſign he had ordered *Urſus*, his receiver in *Africa*, to pay to him a certain ſum, to be diſtributed according to the tickets which he ſhould receive from *Oſius*: he adds, that if the ſum he mentions was not by him thought ſufficient, he might recur to *Heraclides*, another of his receivers, whom he had injoined to ſupply him with what moneys he wanted for ſo pious an uſe (4). *Oſius*, mentioned in this letter, is, without all doubt, the great *Oſius*, biſhop of *Corduba*, to whoſe counſels *Conſtantine* ever paid the utmoſt regard in whatever related to the affairs of the church. In the ſame letter he acquaints *Cæcilianus*, that, by word of mouth, he had ordered *Anulinus*, proconſul of *Africa*, and *Patricius*, lieutenant in that province, to check and ſuppreſs thoſe who diſturbed the peace of the catholic church there, meaning, we ſuppoſe, the *Donatiſts*, who had formed a powerful party againſt *Cæcilianus* himſelf. Not ſatisfied with the orders he had given to his officers, in order to put an end to the diſturbances raiſed by thoſe obſtinate ſchiſmatics, and maintain the unity of the church, he aſſembled on the ſecond of *October* of this year, a council at *Rome*; and another, far more famous, the year following, at *Arles* in *Gaul* (5).

(2) *Cod. Theod. t.* 6. *p.* 23, &c. (3) *Cod. Theodoſ. chronol. p.* 11. (4) *Euſeb. l.* x. *c.* 6. *p.* 393. (5) *Idem ibid.*

was

was ſoon after attacked by *Maximin*, who, taking umbrage at his marrying the ſiſter of *Conſtantine*, and jealous of the good underſtanding that paſſed between thoſe two princes, reſolved to deſtroy them, and to begin with *Licinius*, whoſe ruin he hoped to compaſs, while the other was employed in *Gaul* againſt the *Franks* and *Germans*. With this view, he aſſembled in great haſte his forces; and leaving *Syria*, marched in the depth of the winter into *Bithynia*; and from thence paſſing into *Thrace*, laid ſiege to *Byzantium*, which, after having held out eleven days, was obliged to ſubmit. He attacked *Heraclea* next, which made a vigorous defence, but was in the end taken by ſtorm. In the mean time, *Licinius*, having drawn together what forces he could, took the field, not with a deſign to venture an engagement (for he had with him only thirty thouſand men, whereas *Maximin*'s army was twice that number), but to ſtop the progreſs of his conqueſts. However, the two armies meeting between *Heraclea* and *Adrianopolis*, *Licinius*, if we may give credit to *Lactantius* [c], was admoniſhed in a dream to give the enemy battle, and aſſured of victory, provided he implored the aſſiſtance of the true GOD by a prayer which was ſuggeſted to him in his ſleep. *Licinius* remembered it when he awaked, dictated it to his ſecretary, and cauſed many copies of it to be diſtributed among his ſoldiers, whom he took care to acquaint with his dream; which inſpired them with new courage, and an eager deſire of engaging the enemy, over whom they promiſed themſelves certain victory, ſince Heaven had declared in their favour. This prayer is related at length by *Lactantius* [d]. *Licinius* deſigned to give battle on the firſt of *May*, the day on which *Maximin* ended the eighth year of his reign. But *Maximin* having drawn up his army in battle-array on the laſt day of *April*, *Licinius* could no longer put off the engagement.

War between Licinius *and* Maximin.

Licinius's *dream or viſion.*

WHEN the two armies were in preſence of one another, the officers and ſoldiers of *Licinius*, quitting their ſhields and helmets, with their hands lifted up to heaven, repeated three times the above-mentioned prayer. Afterwards the two princes had an interview; but *Maximin* hearkening to no terms, they parted, and ordered the ſignal for battle to be given [e]. *Zoſimus* writes, that *Licinius*'s men at firſt gave ground, and retired; but ſoon after returned to the charge, and carried the day [f]. But *Lactantius* [g] and *Euſebius* [h] tell us, that the army of *Maximin* was put to flight at the very firſt onſet, and purſued with great ſlaughter by the conqueror. Moſt of his troops, eſpecially the legions, were cut in pieces, and the reſt, his guards not excepted,

He gains a complete victory over Maximin.

[c] LACT. perſ. c. 46. p. 39. [d] Idem ibid. p. 40. [e] Idem ibid. [f] Zos. l. ii. p. 677. [g] LACT. p. 41. [h] EUSEB. l. ix. c. 10. p. 363.

excepted, abandoning him, ſubmitted to *Licinius*. *Maximin* himſelf, quitting his purple robes, fled in the diſguiſe of a ſlave; and croſſing the *Boſporus*, reached *Nicomedia* on the firſt of *May* about ſun-ſet, having in the ſpace of twenty-four hours traveled an hundred and ſixty miles. He did not ſtop at *Nicomedia*; but taking with him his wife and children, continued his flight into *Cappadocia*, where he halted, and reſumed the purple, being met there by ſome troops that were marching from *Syria* to his aſſiſtance [i].

Licinius *becomes maſter of all* Bithynia.

LICINIUS entering *Bithynia* a few days after the battle, was received every-where with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy imaginable, eſpecially at *Nicomedia*, where he cauſed ſolemn thanks to be returned to the Almighty for the ſucceſs with which he had bleſſed his arms; and then ordered the edict, which had been enacted by him and *Conſtantine* at *Milan*, in favour of the *Chriſtians*, to be publiſhed; which was done accordingly on the laſt day of *June* of this year, 313. that is, about ten years and four months after the edict, which gave riſe to this long and bloody perſecution, had been firſt publiſhed in the ſame city, by *Diocleſian* and *Galerius* [k]. *Licinius* had no ſooner put a ſtop to the perſecution by this edict, than he left *Nicomedia*, and purſuing *Maximin*, arrived at the ſtreights of mount *Taurus*, where he had reſolved to make a ſtand; but his courage failing him at the approach of the victorious army, he retired with great precipitation to *Tarſus*, propoſing to paſs from thence into *Egypt*, and raiſe a new army there. But diſtruſting the troops he had with him, and apprehending they deſigned to deliver him up to *Licinius*, he altered his mind, and reſolved, ſince he found no means of making his eſcape, to put an end to his life with poiſon; which however had not the deſired effect, but brought upon him a dreadful diſtemper, whereof the unaccountable ſymptoms are deſcribed at length by *Euſebius* [l] and *Lactantius* [m], who aſcribe it to divine vengeance (L). At length it put an

The unaccountable diſtemper of Maximin.

[i] EUSEB. LACT. ZOS. ibid.
[k] LACT. perſ. c. 48. p. 41.
[l] EUSEB. l. ix. c. 10. p. 361.
[m] LACT. perſ. c. 49. p. 43.

(L) He was tormented night and day with inexpreſſible pains; his eyes and tongue putrefied, a puniſhment juſtly inflicted upon him for the blaſphemies he had uttered againſt Heaven, and his cauſing the eyes of many *Chriſtians* to be put out; an inviſible fire, to uſe the expreſſion of *Euſebius* (6), was kindled in his bowels, which, being attended with unrelenting torments, reduced him in a few days to a ſkeleton; his whole body was covered over with a kind of leproſy, and devoured by ſwarms

(6) *Euſeb. p.* 365.

of

an end to his life at *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, about the middle of *Auguſt*, after he had reigned nine years with the title of *Cæſar*, and five years and ſix months with that of *Auguſtus* [n]. He left ſeveral children behind him, whom he had created *Cæſars*, as appears from ſeveral antient coins [o]; but their names are not mentioned by hiſtorians. *His death.* Year of the flood 2753. Of Chr. 313. Of Rome 1111.

By his death, *Licinius* became maſter of all the eaſtern provinces; ſo that the whole empire was now divided between him and *Conſtantine*. *Maximin* was declared by the edicts of the two ſurviving princes a public enemy, and treated as ſuch; for his ſtatues were pulled down, his images defaced, his name raſed out of all public inſcriptions, and ſuch monuments as had been erected to his honour, overturned, and leveled with the ground. His children and relations were ſentenced to death, and publicly executed; his wife was thrown into the *Orontes* at *Antioch*, and drowned; all his miniſters and favourites were involved in his ruin, and among the reſt *Culcianus*, who had put a great number of *Chriſtians* to death in *Egypt*; *Firmilianus*, who had ſignalized his hatred againſt them in *Palæſtine*; and *Peuceces*, whom the tyrant had favoured above the reſt, and created three times conſul. *Licinius* cauſed likewiſe a celebrated magician, by name *Theotechnes*, and all his aſſociates, to be publicly executed at *Antioch*, after having obliged them to diſcover and own the impoſtures, with which they had led aſtray the ignorant populace, and ſtirred them up againſt the *Chriſtians* [p]. *Candidianus*, the ſon of *Galerius*, being introduced to *Licinius* at *Nicomedia*, was received by him with great demonſtrations of kindneſs, and treated for ſome time in a manner ſuitable to his rank; but when he thought himſelf ſafe, he was, by the order of *Licinius*, murdered with *Severianus*, the ſon of *Severus*, killed, as we have related above, in the year 307. *Valeria*, the daughter of *Dioclefian*, and widow of *Galerius*, who had adopted *Candidianus*, was no ſooner informed of his death, than ſhe withdrew from *All his friends, relations, and favourites, put to death by* Licinius.

[n] Chron. Alex. p. 456.
[o] Noris de Licin. c. 2. p. 48.
[p] Euseb. l. ix. c. 11. p. 366, 367. & de Pall. c. 18. p. 342.

of vermin: he could not be prevailed upon to take any nouriſhment, but greedily ſwallowed handfuls of earth, as if he had hoped by that means to aſſwage his pains, and allay the hunger, which tormented him without intermiſſion (7). *Euſebius* tells us, that, reflecting in this condition on his unjuſt conduct towards the *Chriſtians*, and aſcribing the agonies he ſuffered to his cruelty towards them, he cauſed an edict to be publiſhed, more favourable to them than that which he had been forced by *Conſtantine* and *Licinius* to enact the year before.

(7) *Euſeb. p.* 365. *Lact. p.* 44. *Hier. in Zachar.* xiv. *ver.* 12.

Antioch

Antioch with her mother *Priſca*, and wandered about in diſguiſe and undiſcovered for the ſpace of fifteen months; but being at laſt known at *Theſſalonica*, ſhe was ſeized there, and by *Licinius*'s order publicly executed with her mother, and both their bodies thrown into the ſea[q]. Thus were the families of theſe three cruel perſecutors of the church, *Dioclesian*, *Galerius*, and *Maximin*, utterly cut off and exterminated (M).

The death of Valeria *and* Priſca.

THE next conſuls were *Rufius Voluſianus* the ſecond time, and *Annianus*. *Conſtantine* paſſed the firſt months of this year at *Treves*, as appears from the dates of ſeveral laws[r]. By one, which was publiſhed at *Rome* on the twenty-fourth of *April*, he declared all thoſe free, who had been condemned to ſlavery by *Maxentius*, commanding, under the ſevereſt penalties, ſuch as held them in captivity to reſtore them forthwith to their antient liberty[s]. From *Treves* the emperor paſſed to *Arles*, where he ordered a general council of all the biſhops of the Weſt to meet, in order to ſuppreſs the *Donatiſts*, who raiſed great diſturbances in the church. The letter he wrote to the council is a manifeſt proof of his piety, of his reſpect for the clergy, and his zeal for the unity of the church[t]. He was obliged to leave *Gaul* before the biſhops met, a war breaking out this year between him and *Licinius*, of which hiſtorians give us but a confuſed account, ſome blaming *Licinius* as the author of it, and others *Conſtantine*. The anonymous writer, whom we have often quoted, lays the whole blame on *Licinius*. According to him, *Conſtantine* had married his ſiſter *Anaſtaſia* to *Baſſianus*, whom he deſigned to create *Cæſar*, and appoint governor of *Italy*; but not caring to take this ſtep without the approbation of *Licinius*, he diſpatched one *Conſtantius* to acquaint him with his deſign, and obtain his conſent. But having diſcovered at the ſame time, that *Licinius* attempted to ſtir up *Baſſianus* againſt him by means of *Senecio*, the brother of *Baſſianus*, he wrote a letter to *Licinius*, upbraiding

War between Conſtantine *and* Licinius.

[q] EUSEB. c. 50, 51. p. 44, 45. [r] Cod. Theodoſ. chronol. p. 8, 9. [s] Cod. Juſt. 7. tit. 22. leg. 3. p. 665. [t] Concil. tom. i. p. 1431.

(M) *Zoſimus* tells us (8), that the ſecular games ought to have been celebrated at *Rome* this year, but were neglected by *Conſtantine*; which was noways pleaſing to the pagans, who looked upon them as one of the chief ſupports of the empire, and a powerful preſervative againſt plagues, wars, earthquakes, and other calamities, tho' the laſt, celebrated by *Severus* an hundred and ten years before in the conſulate of *Chilo* and *Libo*, had not, as we have ſeen, kept off theſe evils.

(8) *Zoſ. l.* ii. *p.* 671.

him

him with treachery, and inſiſting upon his delivering up to him *Senecio*, who had taken refuge in his court.

LICINIUS was ſo far from complying with his requeſt, that reſenting the letter he had written to him, he cauſed his ſtatues to be pulled down in *Æmona*, a city of *Upper Pannonia*. Hereupon *Conſtantine*, having drawn together in great haſte a body of twenty thouſand men, marched into *Illyricum*, hoping to ſurpriſe *Licinius*. But he found him already in the field, with an army far more numerous than his own. However, he advanced into *Pannonia*; and the two armies meeting in the neighbourhood of *Cibalæ*, an engagement enſued, in which *Licinius* was utterly defeated, with the loſs of twenty thouſand of his beſt troops. It appears from *Zoſimus*, who relates the moſt minute particulars of this battle, that it was fought on the eighth of *October* 314 [u]. *Licinius* fled to *Sirmium*, and from thence, with his wife, his children, and treaſures, into *Dacia*, where he raiſed to the dignity of *Cæſar* one of his officers, by name *Valens*. From *Dacia* he paſſed into *Thrace*, and there aſſembled a ſecond army, far more numerous and powerful than the former. In the mean time, *Conſtantine* made himſelf maſter of *Cibalæ* and *Sirmium*; and having cauſed the bridge over the *Save* to be repaired, which *Licinius* had ordered to be broken down, he purſued the enemy into *Thrace*. Upon his arrival at *Philippopolis*, he was met by a deputation from *Licinius*, with propoſals for an accommodation; but *Conſtantine* inſiſting upon his depoſing *Valens*, and *Licinius* obſtinately refuſing to comply with that article, a ſecond battle was fought in the plains of *Mardia* in *Thrace*, which laſted from morning to night, when both armies retired, according to *Zoſimus*, without any conſiderable advantage on either ſide [w]. *Aurelius Victor* [x], and the anonymous author of *Conſtantine*'s life [y], write, that *Conſtantine* would have gained a complete victory, had not night intervening ſaved *Licinius*'s army from utter deſtruction.

Licinius defeated in Pannonia; and in Thrace.

THE next day *Licinius* ſent one *Meſtrianus*, who is ſtyled *comes* or *count* to *Conſtantine*, to negotiate a peace, which was in the end concluded upon the following terms: 1. That *Valens* ſhould be forthwith depoſed, and reduced to his former condition. 2. That *Syria*, *Egypt*, *Libya*, *Aſia*, *Thrace*, *Mœſia*, and the leſſer *Scythia*, ſhould remain in the poſſeſſion of *Licinius*; but that *Illyricum*, *Dardania*, *Macedon*, *Greece*, and *Mœſia*, ſhould be yielded to *Conſtantine* [z]. *Mœſia* is named in both diviſions, there being then two provinces of that name,

The articles of their agreement.

[u] Anonym. p. 473. Zos. l. i. p. 678. EUTROP. p. 588. EUSEB. p. 210. VICT. epit. p. 543. [w] Zos. p. 679. [x] AUR. VICT. p. 526. [y] Anonym. p. 474. [z] Idem ibid. SOSOM. l. i. c. 2. p. 403. Zos. p. 779.

the

the one, known at preſent by the name of *Servia*, belonging to *Illyricum*, and the other, now *Bulgaria*, to *Thrace*. Peace being thus concluded, the two emperors entered the following year, 315. on their fourth conſulſhip. *Conſtantine*, as appears from the dates of ſeveral laws, paſſed the beſt part of this year in *Illyricum* and *Greece*, which had been yielded to him by the late treaty (N). From *Illyricum Conſtantine* went to *Aquileia*, and from thence to *Rome*, where he was, on the twenty-fifth of *Auguſt*, and the thirteenth of *September*, as appears from a law addreſſed to *Probinus*, or rather *Probianus*, proconſul of *Africa*, and from an edict addreſſed to the people of *Rome* [a]. On the eighteenth of *October*, he was at *Naiſſus* in *Dacia*; for the law bears that date, which he publiſhed there, forbidding, under pain of being burnt alive, the *Jews*, and their patriarchs, to moleſt ſuch as ſhould abandon their ſect to embrace the true religion, and inflicting ſevere puniſhments on thoſe who ſhould embrace the *Jewiſh* religion [b]. *Conſtantine* paſſed almoſt the whole year enſuing, when *Sabinus* and *Rufinus* were conſuls, in *Gaul*; for on the eleventh of *January* he was at *Treves*, on the fourteenth of *May* at *Vienne* in *Dauphiny*, and on the thirteenth of *Auguſt* at *Arles*, where his wife *Fauſta* was delivered of a ſon, whom ſome take to be *Conſtantine* his eldeſt ſon, and others to

Fauſta *delivered of a ſon at* Arles.

[a] Cod. Theod. chronol. p. 10. [b] Cod. Theodoſ. l. xvi. tit. 8. leg. 1. p. 214.

(N) By one of theſe laws, dated the firſt of *Auguſt*, he forbids the crucifying of criminals, and intirely aboliſhes that ſort of puniſhment, tho' common among the *Romans* till his time, eſpecially with reſpect to ſlaves. This prohibition is generally looked upon by the fathers as an inſtance of his reſpect for the croſs and paſſion of our Saviour (9). By another law, enacted at *Naiſſus* on the thirteenth of *May*, he commands the officers of the revenue to receive and educate at his expence ſuch children as ſhall be brought to them by their parents, as not being in a condition to provide for them by their own labour and induſtry (1). He ordered this law to be ingraved on braſs, and to be publicly hung up in all the cities of *Italy*. In the year 322. he extended it to *Africa*, injoining the proconſuls, governors, and receivers of the revenue there, to ſupply with corn out of the public granaries ſuch parents as they ſhall find incapable of maintaining their children. By a third law publiſhed this year at *Sirmium*, and dated the ſecond of *June*, he forbids, on pain of death, the attaching for debt either ſlaves or cattle employed in tilling the ground (2).

(9) *Vide Auguſt. ſerm.* 88. *c.* 9. *p.* 473. (1) *Cod. Theod.* 11. *t.* 27. *l.* i. *p.* 188. (2) *Cod. Theodoſ. l.* i. *p.* 224, 225.

be

be his youngeſt ſon *Conſtans* (O). In the month of *October* of this year, the emperor was at *Milan*, and there heard the complaints of the *Donatiſts* againſt *Cæcilianus* biſhop of *Carthage* [c]; and on the fourth of *December* at *Sardica*, where he enacted a law, commanding perſons even of the greateſt diſtinction, when guilty of rapes, extortions, or other crimes of that nature, to be tried by the governors of the provinces, and executed, without being allowed to appeal to the governor of *Rome*, or the emperor [d]. This ſeverity was judged neceſſary to check the inſolence of the nobility, who began to oppreſs the people in a moſt tyrannical manner, eſpecially in the remote provinces.

Criſpus, Conſtantine, *and young* Licinius, *created* Cæſars. Year of the flood 2757. Of Chriſt 317. Of Rome 1115.

THE following year, 317. when *Gallicanus* and *Baſſus* were conſuls, *Conſtantine* and *Licinius* agreed to create three *Cæſars*, to wit, *Criſpus* and *Conſtantine*, the ſons of the emperor *Conſtantine*, and *Licinius* or *Licinianus*, the ſon of *Licinius* by *Conſtantia*, the ſiſter of *Conſtantine*. This promotion was made, according to the beſt chronologers, on the firſt of *March*, and was afterwards notified to the armies, and publiſhed in all the cities of the empire [e]. The ſon of *Licinius* is ſtiled on the antient coins *Valerius Licinianus Licinius*, and alſo *Licinius the younger* [f], and was but an infant, about twenty months old, when raiſed to the dignity of *Cæſar* [g]. *Criſpus*, *Conſtantine*'s ſon by his firſt wife, was born, according to ſome, in the year 300. according to others in 296. ſo that he was at this time in the ſeventeenth or twenty-firſt year of his age [h]. *Conſtantine* had committed the care of his education to the celebrated *Lactantius*, a perſon equally capable of inſtructing him in the ſciences,

[c] Cod. Theod. chronol. p. 13. [d] Cod. Theodoſ. l. ix. tit. 1. leg. 1. p. 3, 4. [e] Anonym. p. 474. Zos. l. ii. p. 679. HIER. chron. LIBAN. orat. iii. p. 111. [f] GOLTZ. p. 130. NORIS de Licin. c. 1. p. 39, 40. [g] VICT. epit. p. 543. [h] Zos. p. 679. Panegyr. 7. p. 177.

(O) This year the emperor enacted a law, dated the eighth of *June*, and addreſſed to a biſhop, by name *Protogenes*, probably the celebrated biſhop of *Sardica*, by which he gave leave to all maſters to infranchiſe their ſlaves in the preſence of the *Chriſtian* people aſſembled with their biſhops or paſtors in the church, without recurring, as was preſcribed by the *Roman* laws, to the prætors and conſuls. Thus the manumitting of ſlaves, which before was attended with great difficulties, and no ſmall expence, became eaſy and no-ways chargeable, the maſters being no longer obliged to recur to the prætors and conſuls at *Rome*, but only to their own biſhops and clergy (3).

(3) *Cod. Juſt. l.* i. *tit.* 13. *leg.* 1. *p.* 111. *Sozom. l.* i. *c.* 9. *p.* 414.

and inſpiring him with ſentiments of piety. *Euſebius* ſtiles him *an excellent prince, a prince beloved of Heaven, a ſon in no reſpect inferior to his father* [i]. He is called in the antient inſcriptions *Flavius Valerius Julius Criſpus* [k]. This year was born, according to the common opinion, on the ſeventh, or as others will have it, on the thirteenth of *Auguſt* in *Illyricum*, and according to ſome in the city of *Sirmium*, *Conſtantius*, *Conſtantine*'s ſecond ſon, by *Fauſta*, the ſiſter of *Maxentius* [l]. *Conſtantine* paſſed the following year, when *Licinius* was conſul the fifth time with *Criſpus*, partly in *Illyricum*, and partly in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, and revived the antient *Roman* law againſt parricides, which had been abrogated by *Pompey the Great*, comprehending under the name of parricide the murder, not only of a father and mother, but likewiſe of a ſon [m].

Conſtantius *born.*

THE next conſuls were, *Conſtantine* the fifth time, and *Licinius Cæſar*. *Conſtantine* paſſed this and the three following years in *Illyricum*; and by ſeveral laws enacted there, and addreſſed to the governors of *Rome*, and to the *Roman* people, endeavoured to reform the many abuſes which had long prevailed in the metropolis of the empire. By one of theſe laws, publiſhed at *Rome* on the firſt of *February*, he gives the pagans leave to conſult the aruſpices, that is, thoſe who pretended to foretel events from the entrails of victims; but forbids the aruſpices, as well as the other pagan prieſts, to enter the houſes of private perſons, tho' their friends or relations, upon pain of being burnt alive: ſuch as received them were by this law to forfeit their eſtates, and be baniſhed for life; the informers were not to be puniſhed in this, as in other caſes, but amply rewarded for their zeal [n]. The end of this law was to prevent all private ſacrifices and conſultations. By another law, dated the ſeventeenth of *December*, he commands thoſe, who ſhall conſult the aruſpices, or other diviners, to ſend their anſwers to him [o]. The emperor continued this year at *Sirmium* till the twenty-ſecond of *June*, as appears from the dates of his laws; was at *Naiſſus* on the fifteenth of *July*, at *Milan* on the ſeventh of *September*, at *Aquileia* on the twelfth of *October*, at *Sardica* on the twenty-ſixth of *November*, and again at *Sirmium* on the firſt of *December* [p].

Laws againſt the aruſpices.

THE following year *Conſtantine* entered upon his ſixth conſulſhip, having his ſon *Conſtantine* for his collegue. This year

[i] EUSEB. l. x. c. 9. p. 398. [k] GOLTZ. p. 129. [l] Cod. Theodoſ. chronol. p. 13. DU CANGE Byzant. famil. p. 47. [m] Cod. Theodoſ. l. ix. tit. 15. p. 112, 113. [n] Cod. Theodoſ. l. ix. tit. 16. leg. 1, 2. p. 114, 115. [o] Idem, l. xvi. tit. 10. leg. 1. p. 257. [p] Cod. Theodoſ. chronol. p. 16--27.

he abrogated the *Papian*, and all other laws againſt celibacy; but ſuffered thoſe who had children to enjoy the privileges granted them by thoſe laws [q]. He annulled another law, impowering the creditors to ſeize on the eſtates and effects of their debtors; and at the ſame time declared, that ſuch as had forfeited their eſtates by that law, might redeem them by paying the ſums they owed [r]. By a law dated the firſt of *February*, he forbids the officers of the revenue to puniſh with rods, or confine to the public priſons, ſuch as were backward in paying the common taxes; but orders them to be ſecured in places where every one might ſee and viſit them [s]. This law muſt have been unknown to *Zoſimus*, who tells us, that rods, and all ſorts of torments, were uſed by the officers of *Conſtantine* in exacting what was due to the exchequer [t]. Two other laws were enacted by *Conſtantine* this year, the one forbidding married men to keep concubines [u], and the other commanding all judges to diſpatch the cauſes of criminals, and the gaolers to treat them, however guilty, with humanity, to keep them in open and wholſome places, and not to confine them, at leaſt in the day-time, to dungeons: he declares ſuch as ſhall by ill uſage extort money from their priſoners, guilty of death; and threatens with his indignation the magiſtrates who ſhall wink at ſuch diſorders [w]. This year *Criſpus* gained a victory over the *Franks*, the particulars of which are not mentioned in hiſtory: *Nazarius* in his panegyric only tells us, that he overcame the *Franks*, granted them a peace, and then returned to his father [x].

Conſtantine revokes the Papian *and other laws againſt celibacy.*

Laws in favour of priſoners;

THE following year, when *Criſpus* and *Conſtantine*, the emperors two ſons, were conſuls, *Conſtantine* publiſhed an edict on the ſeventh of *March*, forbidding all manner of work on *Sundays* [y] (P). The following year 322. *Petronius Probianus* and *Anicius Julianus* being conſuls, *Conſtantine* gained a great victory

and for keeping holy Sundays.

[q] SOZOM. l. i. c. 9. p. 413. EUSEB. vit. Conſt. l. iv. c. 26. Cod. Theod. p. 643, 644. [r] Idem, p. 251, 252. [s] Idem, p. 68, 69.
[t] Zos. l. ii. p. 691. [u] Cod. Theodoſ. p. 70, 71. [w] Idem, p. 33.
[x] Panegyr. 7. p. 177. [y] EUSEB. vit. Conſt. l. iv. c. 18. p. 534. Cod. Juſt. l. iii. tit. 12. leg. 3. p. 250.

(P) *Sozomen* writes, that, out of reſpect to the croſs, he likewiſe ordered *Fridays* to be kept holy (4). But of this edict no mention is made either by *Euſebius*, or any other hiſtorian. However, the authority of *Sozomen*, who lived at *Conſtantinople*, was by profeſſion a pleader, and ſhews himſelf every-where thoroughly acquainted with the laws, is of great weight with us.

(4) *Sozom. l. i. c. 8. p. 412.*

Conſtantine *defeats the* Sarmatians;

over the *Sarmatians* [z]. *Optatianus* writes, that they were overcome in ſeveral battles with the *Carpi* and the *Getæ*, that is, the *Goths* [a]. Theſe battles were fought, according according to that writer, at *Campona*, *Marga*, and *Bononia*, all three cities of *Illyricum* on the *Danube*, the firſt in *Pannonia* or *Valeria*, near the preſent city of *Buda*, and the other two in *Upper Mœſia* [b]. *Rauſimodes* king of the *Sarmatians* had, as we read in *Zoſimus* [c], beſieged a city, which he does not name; but *Conſtantine*, haſtening to the relief of the place, put the enemy to flight, and having obliged thoſe who had made their eſcape to repaſs the *Danube*, purſued them croſs that river, defeated them a ſecond time with great ſlaughter, their king being killed among the reſt, and returned with an incredible number of captives. *Euſebius* does not ſpeak of this victory in particular; but tells us in general terms, that Heaven rewarded with many victories over the different clans of barbarians the emperor's zeal for the propagation of the goſpel [d]. The *Sarmatian* games, which were yearly celebrated about the latter end of *November*, probably took their riſe from this victory [e].

THE next conſuls were *Severus* and *Ruſinus*. *Conſtantine*, after his victory over the barbarians, marched with his army to *Theſſalonica*; but while he was buſied there in making a port, the *Goths*, notwithſtanding their late defeat, entered *Thrace* and *Mœſia*, committing every-where dreadful ravages. *Conſtantine* marched againſt them with incredible expedition; and having gained a complete victory over them, purſued them with great ſlaughter into the dominions of *Licinius*; which that prince highly reſenting, complained of it as an open breach of the treaties ſubſiſting betwen them. *Conſtantine* endeavoured to appeaſe him; but as *Licinius*, diſſatisfied with the late partition of the empire, waited only a plauſible pretence to break with *Conſtantine*, after ſeveral embaſſies and unſucceſsful negotiations, both princes began to prepare for war. *Conſtantine* diſpatched expreſſes into all the provinces, ordering his troops to haſten into *Illyricum*, and join him [f] (Q). *Conſtantine* was ſtill at *Sirmium*

and the Goths.

War between Conſtantine *and* Licinius.

[z] Cod. Theodoſ. chronol. p. 22. Zos. l. ii. p 680. [a] OPTAT. c. 23. [b] BAUD. [c] Zos. l. ii. p. 680. [d] EUSEB. vit. Conſt. p. 431. [e] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 22. [f] Anonym. p. 474.

(Q) *Zoſimus* writes, that his army was an hundred and thirty thouſand men ſtrong, and that he aſſembled at the port of *Athens* a fleet conſiſting of two thouſand two hundred veſſels of different rates and ſizes; whereas *Licinius* had with him but an hundred and fifteen thouſand men, and three hundred and fifty gallies (5).

(5) *Zoſ. l.* ii. *p.* 681.

on the twenty-fifth of *May* [g], and a few days after at *Theſſalonica*, whence he marched into *Thrace*, and found *Licinius* encamped there on the banks of the *Hebrus*, in the neighbourhood of *Adrianople*. The two armies continued ſome days encamped over-againſt each other, being parted by the river. *Conſtantine* was for laying a bridge croſs the *Hebrus*; but in the mean time having diſcovered a ford at ſome diſtance, he paſſed it at firſt with twelve horſemen, who being followed by a few more, kept the enemy in play, till the whole army croſſed the river. Both princes drew up their forces in battle-array, and prepared for the enſuing engagement, which was likely to prove deciſive. *Euſebius* writes, that the author of the war, that is, *Licinius*, gave the ſignal for the onſet, and that *Conſtantine*, having firſt with a fervent prayer invoked the Almighty, and given for the parole GOD *our Saviour*, ordered the croſs, in which he confided more than in the number and bravery of his ſoldiers, to be diſplayed at the head of his army. His confidence, ſays the ſame writer, was not ill-grounded; for victory attended the royal banner where-ever it appeared [h]. *Conſtantine*'s men behaved with incredible bravery, animated by the example of their leader, who, though he expoſed himſelf to the greateſt dangers, eſcaped only with a ſlight wound in the thigh. But of the enemy thirty-three thouſand were killed upon the ſpot, and the reſt, though advantageouſly poſted upon a riſing ground, obliged to betake themſelves to a precipitate and diſorderly flight. *Licinius* eſcaped in the night, with what forces he could rally, to *Byzantium*; and the next morning ſuch of his men as had remained in the neighbourhood of *Adrianople*, ſubmitted to *Conſtantine*, who, tranſported with joy for ſo ſignal a victory, granted a diſcharge to many of his veterans [i]. This memorable battle was fought on the third of *July* of this year 323 (R).

Licinius *intirely defeated at* Adrianople. Year of the flood 2763. Of Chriſt 323. Of Rome 1121.

As

[g] Cod. Theod. p. 23. [h] EUSEB. vit. Conſt. l. ii. c. 3. & 6. p. 445, 447. [i] EUSEB. ibid. Anonym. p. 475. Zos. l. ii. p. 681.

(R) *Euſebius* tells us, that *Licinius*, before the battle, retired to a neighbouring wood to ſacrifice to his gods; and, when the ceremony was over, told thoſe who attended him, that he had offered victims to the gods, whom both his and their anceſtors had ever adored, but the enemy had forſaken, to embrace a religion unknown to the *Romans*, whoſe ſtandards he diſhonoured with the ignominious ſign of a croſs. He added, that as *Conſtantine*, tranſported with a blind zeal for his new religion, had declared himſelf an enemy rather to the gods than to him, it was incumbent upon them to defend and protect him, that the

As *Licinius* had fled to *Byzantium*, *Conſtantine* purſued him thither without loſs of time, ordering his fleet, commanded by his ſon *Criſpus*, to repair to the ſame place. *Criſpus* immediately put to ſea, and ſailing along the coaſts of *Macedon* and *Thrace*, entered the ſtreights of *Gallipoli*, where the enemy's fleet, conſiſting of two hundred veſſels, under the command of *Abantus*, or, as others call him, *Amandus*, waited for him. As the place was very narrow, *Criſpus* thought it adviſeable to engage him only with eighty of his beſt ſhips. Victory was long doubtful, both fleets fighting with great obſtinacy and reſolution; but in the end the enemy being incumbered by the great number of their ſhips running foul of one another in ſo narrow a place, were utterly defeated, with the loſs of five thouſand men, and one hundred and thirty ſhips. *Amandus*, the enemy's admiral, with the utmoſt difficulty ſaved himſelf aſhore [k]. *Zoſimus*, who deſcribes all the particulars of this battle, tells us, that even the winds fought for *Conſtantine*, in order to render the victory of the ſon by ſea no leſs glorious than that of the father had been by land [l]. *Criſpus* himſelf haſtened to his father with the joyful tidings of the total defeat of the enemy's fleet, and was by him received with the moſt tender expreſſions of paternal affection and eſteem. *Conſtantine* had already laid ſiege to *Byzantium*, after having gained ſome new advantages over the enemy; but, before his fleet arrived, *Licinius* made his eſcape by ſea, and taking with him the flower of his troops, and his treaſures, paſſed the ſtreights, and ſhut himſelf up in *Chalcedon*, with a deſign to raiſe a new army in *Aſia*.

And his fleet by Criſpus *in the ſtreights of* Gallipoli.

[k] Zos. l. ii. p. 681, 682. Anonym. p. 475. [l] Idem ibid.

world might conclude from the ſucceſs of the approaching engagement, how powerful were the gods of the *Roman* empire, how weak the unknown God adored by *Conſtantine*. "If we "are overcome (continued he) "we muſt deſpiſe thoſe deities "whom we now adore, and adore "that Deity whom we now de- "ſpiſe. But if our gods bleſs "our endeavours with ſucceſs, "as I am confident they will, "we muſt with an eternal war "purſue their enemies, and ut- "terly extirpate the *Chriſtian* "name." *Euſebius* tells us, that he learnt his ſpeech, ſoon after the battle, of thoſe who were with *Licinius* when he made it (6). *Sozomen* likewiſe writes, that *Licinius* had reſolved, if his gods had granted him the victory, to purſue with fire and ſword their enemies the *Chriſtians*; and therefore that writer looks upon his defeat as a glaring inſtance to prove, that the *Chriſtians* were, in a ſpecial manner, favoured by Heaven, and that their religion was not an human contrivance, but the work of the Almighty (7).

(6) *Euſeb. vit. Conſt. l.* ii. *c.* 5. *p.* 445, 446. (7) *Sozom. l.* i. *c.* 7. *p.* 409.

In

In that city he preferred to the dignity of *Cæsar* one *M.* *Martinianus*, the chief officer of his houſhold, and diſpatched him with a conſiderable force to *Lampſacus*, to make head againſt *Conſtantine*, in caſe he attempted to enter the *Helleſpont* [m]. But *Conſtantine*, leaving *Byzantium*, embarked his troops, and croſſing over into *Aſia*, landed in the neighbourhood of *Chalcedon*; and finding *Licinius* encamped on a riſing ground not far from that city with a numerous army, which he had drawn together with incredible expedition, he began to prepare for a ſecond engagement. But in the mean time deputies arriving from *Licinius*, with propoſals for an accommodation, *Conſtantine* hearkened to them with great joy, and complied with the terms they propoſed, which were, ſays *Euſebius* [n], no leſs advantageous to *Licinius*, than to the whole empire. But this agreement was ſhort-lived; for *Conſtantine* being ſoon after informed, that *Licinius* was drawing together forces from all parts, and had even invited the barbarians to join him, advanced to *Chalcedon*, with a deſign to inveſt the place, and oblige *Licinius* to comply with the terms of their agreement. But as he approached *Chryſopolis*, the port of *Chalcedon*, he was there, to his great ſurprize, met by *Licinius* at the head of a very numerous army (S). *Conſtantine* drew up his men in battle-array; but, ſcrupling to break the treaty, waited till the ſignal was given by the enemy; which was no ſooner done, than he fell upon them with ſuch reſolution and intrepidity, that, not able to withſtand him, they immediately gave way, and fled in the utmoſt confuſion. In this battle *Licinius* loſt, according to the anonymous writer of *Conſtantine*'s life, twenty-five thouſand men [o]; but, according to *Zoſimus*, above an hundred thouſand [p]. It was fought on the eighteenth of *September*; and a few days after the cities of *Byzantium* and *Chalcedon* opened their gates to the conqueror. *Licinius* fled, with what forces he could rally, to *Nicomedia*, whither *Conſtantine* purſued him, and immediately inveſted the place; but, on the ſecond day of the ſiege, his ſiſter *Conſtantia* intreating him with many tears, by the tenderneſs he had ever ſhewn for her, to forgive her huſband, and grant him at leaſt his life,

M. Licinius *creates* Martinianus Cæſar.

An agreement between Licinius *and* Conſtantine, *which is broken by the former.*

Licinius *utterly defeated.*

[m] Zos. p. 683. Anonym. p. 475. c. 15. p. 451.
[n] Euseb. vit. Conſt. l. ii.
[o] Anonym. p. 475.
[p] Zos. l. ii. p. 683.

(S) *Zoſimus* writes, that he had with him above an hundred and thirty thouſand men, counting the troops commanded by *Martinianus*, whom he had ordered to leave *Lampſacus*, and join him (8).

(8) *Zoſ. l.* ii. *p.* 683.

he was prevailed upon to comply with her requeſt; and the next day *Licinius*, finding no means of making his eſcape, preſented himſelf before the conqueror, and throwing himſelf at his feet, yielded to him the purple, and the other enſigns of ſovereignty. *Conſtantine* received him with great demonſtrations of kindneſs, entertained him at his table, and afterwards ſent him to *Theſſalonica*, aſſuring him, that he ſhould live unmoleſted, ſo long as he raiſed no new diſturbances[q]. However, he was ſoon after ſtrangled by *Conſtantine*'s order, who on that account is highly blamed by *Zoſimus* and *Aurelius Victor* (T). *Licinius* had been created emperor on the eleventh of *November* 307. and conſequently had reigned near ſixteen years (U). For this victory *Conſtantine*, and after him his ſon, and ſeveral of his ſucceſſors,

He ſubmits to Conſtantine.

He is by his order put to death.

[q] Zos. l. ii. p. 684. Vict. epit. p. 543.

(T) St. *Jerom* has copied the very words of the latter in his chronicle. The anonymous writer, whom we have often quoted, tells us, that, the ſoldiers having demanded the death of *Licinius*, *Conſtantine* complied with their requeſt, fearing he might, in imitation of *Maximian*, one day reſume the empire. *Zonaras* writes, that upon the complaints brought againſt *Licinius* by the ſoldiery, *Conſtantine* referred the whole affair to the ſenate, who ſentenced him to death (9). *Socrates* ſays in expreſs terms, that *Licinius* began privately to make new preparations for war, and to invite the barbarians to his aſſiſtance; which *Conſtantine* no ſooner knew, than he ordered him to be put to death, and by that means prevented a new civil war (1). *Conſtantine* cauſed all his ſtatues to be pulled down, and by two laws, the one dated the ſixteenth of *May* 324. the other the twelfth of *February* 325. annulled all his acts, and repealed the laws which had been publiſhed by him, or his officers, in his name (2). As for *Martinianus*, *Zoſimus* writes, that *Conſtantine* abandoned him to the fury of the ſoldiery (3), as ſoon as he fell into his power. But the anonymous writer and *Victor* the younger aſſure us, that *Conſtantine* at firſt granted him his life; but afterwards ordered him to be put to death, as having been privy to the deſigns of *Licinius* (4). All thoſe who had prompted him to perſecute the *Chriſtians*, underwent the ſame fate (5), and among the reſt his ſon *Licinius*, who was this year degraded from the dignity of *Cæſar*, and two years after, that is, in 325. according to St. *Jerom*, ſentenced to death.

(U) We have not thought it neceſſary to take notice of the miracles, which *Zonaras* and *Nicephorus* have inſerted in their account of the defeat of *Licinius*, as things not vouched by any antient writer.

(9) *Zonar. vit. Conſt. p.* 4. (1) *Socrat. l.* i. *c.* 4. *p.* 8. (2) *Cod. Theodoſ. l.* xv. *tit.* 14. *leg.* 1. *p.* 404. 405. (3) *Zoſ. p.* 685. (4) *Anonym. p.* 475. *Victor. epit. p.* 543. (5) *Euſeb. vit. Conſt. p.* 452. *Anonym. ibid.*

aſſumed

aſſumed the title of *Victorious*, which we find ſtill prefixed to ſome of his letters [r]. Not long after the defeat of *Licinius*, he preferred *Conſtans*, at that time his third ſon, and ſix years old, to the dignity of *Cæſar*.

CONSTANTINE, now maſter of all the eaſtern provinces, made it his chief ſtudy to eſtabliſh there the worſhip of the true GOD, as he had already done in the weſt, and to aboliſh all remains of idolatry, which had been no leſs countenanced by *Licinius*, than the chriſtian religion perſecuted and oppreſſed. He began with two edicts, whereof both *Greek* and *Latin* copies were ſent into all the provinces of the empire, ſigned with the emperor's own hand, and addreſſed, the one *To the churches of* GOD, the other, *To the people of each province*. By theſe edicts, Conſtantine reinſtates in their former condition all, who, on account of their religion, had been condemned to exile, to the mines, or any other puniſhment; orders their goods and eſtates to be forthwith reſtored to them, or to their heirs; gives leave to ſuch as had been deprived of their military employments to reſume them, if they pleaſed; and commands the officers of the revenue, as well as private perſons, of what rank or condition ſoever, to deliver up to the churches, upon the publication of the edict, without waiting the ſentence of the magiſtrates, what houſes, tenements, gardens, orchards, *&c.* had ever belonged to them; but more eſpecially the places where the holy martyrs had been interred. He threatens with his indignation, ſuch as ſhall not yield immediate obedience to this ordinance, which, he ſays, compriſes thoſe too who may have purchaſed ſuch lands, houſes, *&c.* of the emperor, or received them as a preſent, or by way of reward for their paſt ſervices. Theſe, however, he encourages to depend upon his generoſity; but requires of them, as well as of the reſt, an immediate compliance with his edict [s].

He orders whatever had been taken from the churches, &c. to be reſtored to them.

Theſe ordinances were followed by others, forbidding the offering of ſacrifices to idols, the conſecrating of any new idol, and the conſulting, either in public or in private, the aruſpices, ſoothſayers, oracles, *&c.*

He enacts ſeveral edicts againſt the worſhiping of idols.

HE had no ſooner cauſed theſe laws to be publiſhed, than he enacted another, ordering the churches, which had been pulled down during the perſecution, to be rebuilt at his own expence, injoining his receivers in the different provinces to furniſh the neceſſary ſums for that purpoſe; and thoſe whom he appointed to overſee ſuch buildings, to take care that they were capable of containing all the inhabitants; for we hope, added the pious emperor, that they will all embrace the faith of the true GOD. He wrote upon the ſame ſubject to all the metropolitan biſhops,

[r] EUSEB. vit. Conſt. p. 452. OPTAT. p. 284. [s] EUSEB. ibid. l. ii. c. 19—28. p. 453, 458.

ſtiling

ſtiling them his *beloved brethren*, and among the reſt to *Euſebius* of *Cæſarea*, who inſerts his letter at large, and tells us, it was the firſt he had received from him [t]. Not long after, he publiſhed an edict drawn up by himſelf, and addreſſed to all the people of the empire; wherein he exhorts them to renounce their antient ſuperſtition, to adore but one GOD, the Creator of the univerſe, and to place all their hopes in Jeſus Chriſt. This edict is quoted at large by *Euſebius*, who tranſlated it out of the original *Latin* into *Greek* [u]. *Conſtantine*, not thinking it yet adviſeable to pull down the temples of the idols, ordered them to be ſhut up in all the places where that might be done without tumults and bloodſhed; to be ſtripped of their riches and ornaments, and even of their idols; and all the lands, houſes, and revenues belonging to them, to be applied to pious uſes. In virtue of this ordinance, the *Pythian* and *Sminthian Apollo*, the tripod of *Delphos*, the *Muſes* of *Helicon*, the famous *Pan*, whom all the cities of *Greece* had conſecrated after the *Perſian* war, and whatever miſled antiquity had, for many ages revered and adored, were publicly dragged through the ſtreets, and either daſhed in pieces, or made uſe of as maſterpieces of art to adorn the ſquares, villas, palaces, public galleries, *&c* [w]. From the ſeveral laws enacted this and the following year 324. when the emperor's two ſons, *Criſpus* and *Conſtantine*, were conſuls, it appears, that *Conſtantine* continued in the Eaſt, reſiding for the moſt part at *Nicomedia*.

Orders the temples to be ſhut.

THE next year, *Paulinus* and *Julianus* being conſuls, the emperor, to put a ſtop to the diſturbances and diviſions that rent the church, aſſembled the famous council of *Nice*, at which he aſſiſted in perſon, and afterwards condemned to baniſhment the refractory hereſiarch *Arius*, with *Euſebius* of *Nicomedia*, *Theognis* of *Nice*, and ſeveral others, who could not be prevailed upon to renounce his impious tenets. On the twenty-fifth of *July* of this year, the emperor ſolemnized, with extraordinary pomp and magnificence, the twentieth year of his reign, and on that occaſion made a great entertainment in his palace, to which he invited all the biſhops of the council, treated them with the utmoſt reſpect, made them ſeveral preſents, and cauſed large ſums to be diſtributed among the poor, diſpatching at the ſame time orders to all the governors of provinces to ſupply yearly the ſacred virgins, widows, and eccleſiaſtics, in each city of their reſpective diſtricts with a certain quantity of corn [x]. *Conſtantine* paſſed this year partly at *Nice*, partly at *Nicomedia*, as appears from the dates of ſeveral laws.

Aſſembles a council at Nice.

Year of the flood 2765.
Of Chriſt 325.
Of Rome 1123.

[t] EUSEB. vit. Conſt. l. ii. c. 44, 45. p. 464, 465. [u] Idem ibid. c. 47, 48. p. 465, 466. [w] Idem, p. 510, 511. Sozom. p. 449. [x] EUSEB. p. 491. Soz. p. 438.

By

By one publiſhed at *Nicomedia* on the ſeventeenth of *October*, and addreſſed to all the ſubjects of the empire, he encourages ſuch as had been, or ſhould be oppreſſed, or any ways injured, by his miniſters, counſellors, governors of provinces or cities, &c. to apply to him for redreſs, aſſuring them, that they ſhould be well received, and amply rewarded, for undeceiving him, ſince he had employed none but ſuch as he believed to be men of integrity. "But the beſt princes (adds he) are liable to "be deceived and impoſed upon by wicked miniſters. If there- "fore thoſe in whom I repoſed an intire confidence, have de- "ceived me by a falſe appearance of integrity, and injured "the meaneſt of my ſubjects, let the perſon thus injured lay "his complaints before me, and accuſe me as the author of "the injuries he has ſuffered, if I do not revenge them [y]." In the beginning of *November*, he enacted another law, forbidding throughout the whole empire, the combats of gladiators, and ordering, that criminals, inſtead of being obliged to fight in the arena, ſhould, for the future, be condemned to work in the mines [z].

He encourages all his ſubjects to recur to him.

THE following year *Conſtantine* entered upon his ſeventh conſulſhip, having his third ſon *Conſtans* for his collegue. The emperor paſſed the winter in *Thrace* and *Illyricum*; for he was on the third of *February* at *Heraclea*, and on the fifteenth of *March* at *Sirmium*. From thence he went to *Milan*, and from *Milan* to *Rome*, where he was on the eighth of *July*; but he did not ſtay long there, being, as appears from the dates of ſeveral laws, in the beginning of *October* at *Spoletum*, on the twenty-third of the ſame month at *Milan*, and on the laſt day of *December* at *Sirmium* [a] (W). He left the city, highly diſſatisfied with the diſreſpectful behaviour of the *Roman* people, and was never after prevailed upon to return to it [b]. But the moſt remarkable event of this year was the death of *Criſpus*,

[y] Cod. Theod. chronol. p. 25.
[z] Cod. Theodoſ. tit. 5.
[a] Cod. Theodoſ. chronol. p. 28.
[b] LIBAN. p. 397. orat. XV. p. 412.

(W) *Zoſimus*, a declared enemy to *Conſtantine*, writes, that the whole *Roman* people loaded him with injuries and curſes, for having abandoned the religion of his anceſtors, and promoted, with great zeal, the worſhip of an unknown GOD; and adds, that the diſreſpect and averſion which the *Romans* ſhewed him, prompted him to tranſfer the ſeat of the empire to *Byzantium* (6). *Libanius* tells us, that he bore with great patience the ſatires and lampoons that were daily publiſhed againſt him during his ſtay at *Rome*.

(6) *Zoſ. l.* ii. *p.* 686.

Conſtantine's

Conſtantine's eldeſt ſon. The empreſs *Fauſta*, jealous of the great reputation he had acquired, and piqued to ſee him preferred to her own children, falſly accuſed him of having ſolicited her to inceſt. Some ſay, that ſhe charged him with aſpiring to the ſovereignty. Be that as it will, *Conſtantine*, hearkening to the accuſation, and not only forgetting on this occaſion his uſual clemency, but acting contrary to all laws of juſtice and equity, without examining an accuſation of ſuch importance, without giving the accuſed prince room to clear himſelf, ordered him to be put to death. Some write, that he was diſpatched with poiſon; others, that by the emperor's orders his head was ſtruck off. He was, according to the moſt probable opinion, executed at *Pola* in *Iſtria*, on the firſt of *March*, being then in the thirtieth, or, as others will have it, only in the twenty-fifth year of his age. He was a prince of extraordinary endowments, had ſignalized himſelf in a very eminent manner againſt the *Franks*, and in the war with *Licinius*, and was univerſally beloved by the people and ſoldiery, on account of his bravery, his obliging behaviour to perſons of all ranks, his generoſity, and other princely qualities. He had in all likelihood embraced the chriſtian religion, nay, and been baptized, according to *Baronius*; but the authority of *Nicephorus*, whom that writer quotes, is of no great weight with us.

He puts his ſon Criſpus *to death;*

THE death of *Criſpus* was followed by that of young *Licinius*, *Conſtantine*'s nephew, at that time in the twelfth year of his age[c]. St. *Jerom* ſtiles theſe executions the effect of an unheard-of cruelty[d]. *Fauſta* did not long out-live her ſon-in-law; for, being this very year convicted of having accuſed him falſly, and moreover of having proſtituted her honour to perſons of the meaneſt rank, *Conſtantine* cauſed her to be ſuffocated with the ſteam of an hot bath[e]. With *Fauſta* many perſons of diſtinction, ſuppoſed to have been acceſſory to her crimes, were condemned, and either privately diſpatched with poiſon, or publicly executed[f] (X).

and likewiſe his nephew Licinius, *and his wife* Fauſta.

THIS

[c] Zos. l. ii. p. 685. AUR. VICT. p. 527. AMMIAN. l. xiv. p. 29. EUTROP. p. 588. [d] HIER. chron. [e] Zos. p. 685. VICT. epit. PHILOSTORG. hiſt. eccleſ. 470. AMMIAN. p. 56. HIER. chron. [f] EUTROP. p. 588.

(X) *Evagrius*, to excuſe *Conſtantine*, denies all theſe facts (7); but they are too well atteſted, both by the *Greek* and *Latin* hiſtorians, to be denied, or even called in queſtion. *Euſebius*, in his eccleſiaſtic hiſtory, which he publiſhed before the death of *Criſpus*, beſtows the higheſt encomiums upon that prince, and

(7) *Evag. l.* iii. *c.* 41. *p.* 371.

tells

THIS inexcuſeable cruelty and injuſtice in *Conſtantine* drew down upon his family divine vengeance; for his brothers, his nephews, and his favourite miniſters, were, ſoon after his death, all maſſacred by *Conſtantius*, his ſecond ſon by *Fauſta*, whom he loved and cheriſhed above the reſt. *Conſtantine*, his eldeſt ſon, was killed by *Conſtans* the youngeſt, *Conſtans* by *Magnentius*, *Gallus* their couſin by *Conſtantius*, and *Conſtantius* by *Julian*, the brother of *Gallus*. *Julian* periſhed in a moſt miſerable manner, and in him ended the numerous family of *Conſtantine*, which, every one expected, would have furniſhed the empire with princes for many ages, the emperor having three brothers, four ſons, ſeveral ſiſters and daughters, and nine nephews [g]. *Conſtantine* ſeems to have paſſed the following year 327. when *Conſtantius* and *Maximus* were conſuls, in *Illyricum* and *Thrace*; for, on the twenty-ſeventh of *February* he was at *Theſſalonica*, on the eighteenth of *May* at *Sardica*, and at *Heraclea* on the fifth of *Auguſt*. He probably paſſed the following winter at *Nicomedia*; for he was in that city on the firſt of *March* [h]. This year *Conſtantine* granted the privileges of a city to the village of *Drepanum* in *Bithynia*, ſtiling it, from the name of his mother, *Helenopolis*. This honour he beſtowed upon the place, out of reſpect to the holy martyr *Lucianus*, who had ſuffered under *Maximin* in the year 312. and was interred there [i]. About this time, the empreſs *Helena* is ſaid to have diſcovered the ſepulcre and croſs of our Saviour, which induced *Conſtantine* to build at *Jeruſalem* the famous church *of the reſurrection*, which was conſecrated in the year

His cruelty and injuſtice puniſhed by heaven.

Makes Drepanum a city.

[g] JULIAN. ad Athen. p. 497, 498. [h] Cod. Theod. p. 29.
[i] HIER. chron. p. 662. SOCRAT. l. i. c. 18. p. 49.

tells us, that he had great ſhare in the victory gained over *Licinius* (8); but, in the life of *Conſtantine*, he ſuppreſſes thoſe encomiums, and though he deſcribes at large that memorable victory, yet he does not ſo much as mention the name of *Criſpus*. This ſilence is, in our opinion, a ſtrong argument againſt *Evagrius*, who pretends the above-mentioned facts to have been feigned by the enemies of *Conſtantine*, becauſe he does not find them in *Euſebius*; but, as they are ſufficiently atteſted by ſeveral other credible writers, we ought rather to infer from the ſilence of *Euſebius*, that he was well appriſed nothing could be alleged to excuſe *Conſtantine*, and therefore took no notice of thoſe executions, chooſing rather to incur the cenſure of having tranſgreſſed the known laws of hiſtory, than to take upon him the juſtifying of facts, which all the world but too juſtly condemned.

(8) *Euſeb. l. x. c. 9. p. 398, 399.*

The empress Helena *dies.*

335 [k]. The pious princess died soon after, in the arms of her son, who caused her body to be conveyed with great pomp to *Rome*, and to be interred in the burying-place of the emperors [l]. To honour her memory, he gave the name of *Helenopolis* to a city of *Palæstine* [m], and that of *Helenopontus* to a part of the *Euxine* sea [n]; and caused a statue to be erected to her honour at *Daphne* near *Antioch*. From this statue, the street in which it stood took the name of *Augustal* [o].

THE following year, *Januarius* and *Justus* being consuls, *Constantine* was, as we have hinted above, on the first of *March* at *Nicomedia*, and on the thirteenth of *July* at a place in *Mœsia* called *Oiscos* and *Escos* [p]; whence some conjecture, that he was waging war with the barbarians in those parts: and indeed we read in the chronicle of *Alexandria* [q], that this year the emperor passed the *Danube* several times, and that he even laid a bridge over that river (Y). According to the chronicle of *Alexandria* [r], he began this year the city of *Constantinople*; but, according to others, on the twenty-sixth of *September* of the following year 329. Notwithstanding his zeal for the catholic faith, he recalled this year from banishment the two bishops *Eusebius* and *Theognis*, great sticklers for the doctrine of *Arius*, and suffered them to gain a great ascendant over him.

The emperor recals from banishment two Arian *bishops.*

The next year, *Constantine* took upon him his eighth consulship, having his eldest son, the fourth time consul, for his collegue. He passed this whole year in the neighbourhood of the *Danube*; for, on the nineteenth of *June*, he was at *Sardica* in *Dacia*; on the twenty-second of *July*, at *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*; on the twenty-fifth of the same month, at *Naissus* in *Dardania*; on the third of *August*, at *Heraclea* in *Thrace*; on the eighteenth of the same month, and twenty-ninth of *September*, at *Sardica*; and on the twenty-fifth of *October* at *Heraclea* [s].

Constantine *undertakes the*

THE following year 330. when *Gallicanus* and *Symmachus* were consuls, is remarkable for the dedication of the city of *Constantinople*, the greatest of all *Constantine*'s works. Authors

[k] PHILOSTORG. hist. eccles. l. ii. c. 12. p. 474. [l] THEODOR. l. i. c. 17. p. 564. EUSEB. vit. Const. l. iii. c. 47. p. 506. [m] SOZOM. l. ii. c. 1. p. 443. [n] Cod. Just. p. 235. [o] SUID. p. 448. [p] Cod. Theod. p. 30. [q] Chron. Alexand. p. 662. [r] Chron. Alex. p. 602. [s] Cod. Theodos. chronol. p. 30, 31. & l. xi. tit. 30. leg. 15. p. 236, 237.

(Y) Both the *Victors* mention this bridge amongst his other great works; and on several antient coins of this and the following years, notice is taken of a bridge, of his passing the *Danube*, and his defeating the *Goths* (9).

(9) *Birag.* p. 467.

are

are divided in their opinions, with reſpect to the motives that prompted *Conſtantine* to undertake the building of that city (Z). The firſt place he choſe for the building of a new city, was between *Troas* and antient *Ilium*, on the coaſt of *Aſia*: but afterwards changing his mind, upon a viſion which he had, or imagined to have had, he reſolved to inlarge the antient city of *Byzantium*, and make it the ſecond, or, if he could, the firſt of the empire (A). He began with extending the walls of the antient city from ſea to ſea; and, while ſome of the workmen were buſied in rearing them, others were employed in raiſing within them a great number of ſtately buildings, and, among the reſt, a palace no-way inferior, in magnificence and extent, to that of *Rome*. As he deſigned to fix his own court there, and was deſirous, that the ſucceeding emperors ſhould follow his example, and honour his new city with their ordinary reſidence, he ſpared no coſt or labour to render it both beautiful and convenient.

building of a new city.

Year of the flood 2770. Of Chriſt 330. Of Rome 1128.

He inlarges the city of Byzantium;

WITH this view, he built a capitol and amphitheatre, made a circus maximus, ſeveral forums, porticoes, and public baths and divided the whole city into fourteen regions, ſecuring the inhabitants with many wholſome laws, and granting them great privileges and immunities. By this means *Byzantium* became in a ſhort time one of the moſt flouriſhing and populous cities of the empire, whole families flocking thither from all

adorns it with many new buildings,

(Z) *Zoſimus* writes, that he did it out of hatred to the *Romans*, ſeeing himſelf ſcorned and inſulted by them for having embraced and introduced a new religion (1). He had, according to *Eutropius*, nothing elſe in view but to diſplay his power, and ſhew, that, in a few years, he could build a city equal to *Rome*, which, for ſo many ages, had been not undeſervedly looked upon as the wonder of the univerſe (2). Others tell us, that *Conſtantine*, diſliking *Rome*, for motives unknown to them, reſolved to build a city elſewhere, and reſide there. That he diſliked *Rome*, whatever his motives were, is very plain; for though he had been maſter of that metropolis near twenty years, yet he had never made any long ſtay in it, but paſſed moſt of his time in *Gaul*, and, after his victory over *Licinius*, in *Thrace*. *Sozomen* writes, that *Conſtantine*, ſeeing himſelf abſolute maſter of the whole empire, and not being diſturbed by any domeſtic tumults, or foreign wars, undertook the building of a new city, as a work worthy of a great prince, and reſolved, as he did not care to reſide at *Rome*, to ſettle the imperial ſeat there (3).

(A) This pretended viſion is much ſpoken of by the modern *Greek* and *Latin* writers (4); and *Conſtantine* himſelf, in one of his laws, declares, that, in the choice of the place, he followed the directions of Heaven (5).

(1) *Zoſ. l.* ii. *p.* 686. (2) *Eutrop. p.* 488. (3) *Soz. l.* ii. *c.* 3. *p.* 444. (4) *Vide Du Cange urb. Conſtantinop. deſcript. l.* i. *p.* 23, *&c.* (5) *Cod. Theod. tit.* 5. *p.* 64.

parts,

parts, especially from *Pontus*, *Thrace*, and *Asia*, *Constantine* having appointed, by a law enacted this year, that such as had lands in those countries, should not be able to dispose of them, nor even leave them at their death to their heirs, unless they had an house in his new city. The common people were enticed thither from the different and most distant provinces, and even from *Rome* itself, by the emperor's largesses, and the great quantities of corn, oil, and meat, which were daily distributed among them [t]. But however desirous the emperor was to see his new city filled with people, yet he did not care it should be inhabited by any but Christians; and therefore caused all the idols to be pulled down, and their temples to be consecrated to the true GOD. He built besides an incredible number of churches, and caused crosses to be erected in all the squares and public places.

and solemnly consecrates it,

WHEN most of the buildings were finished, the emperor, on the eleventh of *May* of the year 330. the twenty-fifth of his reign, caused this new city, by a very solemn dedication, to be consecrated, according to *Cedrenus*, to the virgin *Mary* [v]; but, according to *Eusebius*, to the GOD of martyrs [w] (B). It was on this occasion that *Constantine* stiled the new city from his own name *Constantinople*, or the city of *Constantine*, and likewise *Second*, or, as others will have it, *New Rome* [x]. At the same time he equaled it to antient *Rome*, granting it the same rights, immunities and privileges enjoyed by that metropolis [y].

and equals it to Rome.

He established a senate, and other magistrates, with a power and authority equal to that of the *Roman* senate [z], and declared *New Rome* the metropolis of the East, as *Old Rome* was of the West. *Constantine*, having accomplished this great work, according to some in five, according to others in two years, fixed his residence in the new city, and never more returned to *Rome*. The removal of the imperial seat from *Rome* to *Constantinople* happened in the year of the christian æra 330. the twenty-fifth of *Constantine*'s reign, and 1128. after the foundation of *Rome*. By this removal, the *Roman* empire received a fatal stroke, and shrunk by degrees into nothing, as the reader will find in the sequel of this history.

[t] Zos. l. ii. p. 687. Soz. p. 444. SOCRAT. l. ii. c. 13. p. 90. [u] Vide DU CANGE de Constantinop. l. i. p. 27. [w] EUSEB. vit. Const. l. iii. c. 58. p. 507. [x] SOCRAT. p. 45. [y] SOZOM. l. ii. c. 3. p. 444. [z] Cod. Theod. l. xiv. tit. 13. leg. 1. p. 220, 223.

(B) Some modern *Greek* writers tell us, that this ceremony was performed by the fathers of the council of *Nice*; that the solemnity lasted forty days, and that *Constantine*, during the whole time, caused an immense quantity of all sorts of provisions to be daily distributed among the populace (6).

(6) *Vide Georg. cod. in antiq. Constantinop. p.* 25.

The END of the FIFTEENTH VOLUME.

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Gräf. Vtt. B. 1

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Weſt. *Conſtantine*, having acco
cording to ſome in five, accordin
his reſidence in the new city, an
The removal of the imperial ſe
happened in the year of the chri
of *Conſtantine*'s reign, and 1128
By this removal, the *Roman* em
ſhrunk by degrees into nothing,
ſequel of this hiſtory.

[t] Zos. l. ii. p. 687. Soz. p. 4
[u] Vide DU CANGE de Conſtantin
Conſt. l. iii. c. 58. p. 507. [x] Soc
p. 444. [z] Cod. Theod. l. xiv. ti

(B) Some modern *Greek* writers tell us, that this ceremony was performed by the fathers of the council of *Nice*; that the ſolemnity laſted forty days, and

(6) *Vide Georg. cod. in*

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